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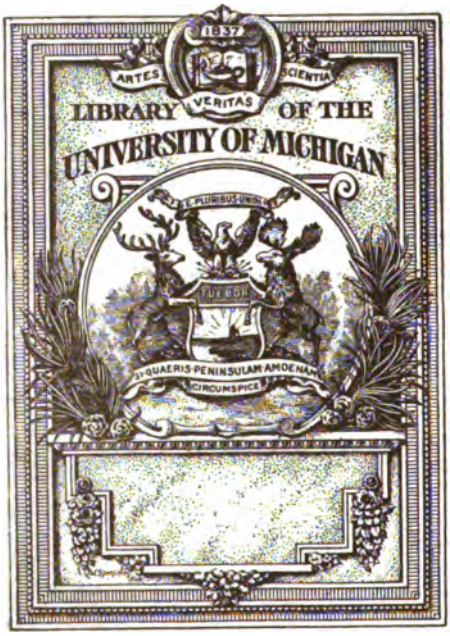
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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—WESLEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

[ARTICLE FIRST.]

A Biographical History of Philosophy. By G. H. LEWES. Two volumes. London.
History of Moral Science. By ROBERT BLAKEY. Two volumes. London.
Wesley and Methodism. By ISAAC TAYLOR.
England in the Eighteenth Century. By W. E. H. LECKEY. Two volumes. New York: Appletons.
Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN. New York: Harper & Bros.
Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography. By SIR JAMES STEPHEN. Two vols. London.
Studies in Poetry and Philosophy. By J. C. SHAIRP. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co.
The North British Review. Article, S. T. Coleridge. December, 1865.
Life of John Locke. Two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.
Lives of John Wesley. By WATSON, TYERMAN, RIGG, STEVENS, etc.

MANY are the modes of contemplating a great man in his relations to his age and the ages. Luther was as mighty in his effect on German literature as on German religion, on government as on ecclesiasticism. His influence on all tongues and times is equally noticeable and unsearchable. Columbus, opening a new world, is himself the vital center of innumerable influences which are just beginning to be. Washington to some minds is only a soldier, to others a surveyor, to others one who couldn't tell a lie, to others the founder of an empire. But Washington, in his influence on nationalities yet unformed, the representative of free and equal government over all the earth, is an unmeasured, an immeasurable, influence.

Wesley has more sides to him than any man of his century,

not excepting Washington; for Wesley's government was both of this world and not of this world. It was a spiritual power that is not to be measured by national lines and political influences. It is a force yet unabated; nay, more and more potent with every increasing year. To estimate that force no essay, no book, no hour, no year of hours, is sufficient. It has already entered every form of human action, molded States, fashioned philosophies, leavened literature, created philanthropies, extirpated iniquities, occupied with its influences every land under the whole heaven. The souls that have been affected by his having been, spiritually and immortally, are already numbered by scores, if not hundreds, of millions; for the spiritual life of a century and a half in Protestant Christendom has been filled with this force. All the agencies for the renewal of society have been touched to their issues by this man. Not a slave has been liberated, not a prisoner relieved, not a barbarism in warfare abolished, not a tract has given light and refreshment to the soul, not a Sunday-school scholar been taught, not a joyous Christian melody been sung, not a Bible been dropped gratuitously into a welcome or unwelcome hand, not a cheap and vivid Christian story been published, not a rumseller or drinker been suppressed, but that it can be traced as directly to John Wesley as the rays in the sky can be traced to the sun.

These are but portions of his influence. He has affected medicine, and law, and politics, and literature. The change of medical treatment from the harsh, crude, cruel course of a century ago is due in no small degree to his common sense applied to the healing of the body. The other departments equally recognize his presence. Does this seem wild? Hear Sir James Stephen on one department of this work, a department already immeasurable in its influence. Speaking of the Clapham Sect, he says: "They were the sons, by natural and spiritual birth, of men who in the earlier days of Methodism had shaken off the lethargy in which, till then, the Churches of England had been entranced, of men by whose agency the great evangelic doctrine of faith, emerging in its primeval splendor, had not only overpowered the contrary heresies, but had, perhaps, obscured some kindred truths. In their one central and all-pervading idea they had found an influence hardly less than magical."

Who was the father of the sires of these sons? He essays to give great glory to Whitefield, and in his "Evangelical Succession" confines his list exclusively to the Whitefieldians. Yet who was the father of Whitefield? Who took that raw and reckless youth, going from his drams to his prayers and from his prayers to his drams—a youth without consistency or constancy, without principle or purpose, without a more hopeful future than Chatterton or Goldsmith—who took him, molded him, made a man and a minister of him, under God, and sent him forth to shake the nations? Wesley. This same eulogist of Whitefield, describing the clownish servitor, full of spasms of piety and profanity, declares, "He became the associate of Charles, and the *disciple* of John Wesley." "These future chiefs of a religious revolution," he calls these Wesleys. As "the disciple of John Wesley," Whitefield always recognizes him as Master. He owed his strength and steadiness to the founder of Methodism. So all of Whitefield's influences, spiritual and other, excepting his one error of doctrine, are thus due, humanly speaking, to John Wesley.

The Clapham Sect had in its lists such men as Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Lord Teignmouth, the first President of the Bible Society and ruler of India, Sir John Shore, also ruler of India, Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, Brougham, Henry Martyn —every philanthropist, social or religious, of England, a century and less ago. These men affected every realm of thought and duty. They organized every sort of philanthropy. As says Sir James Stephen: "They formed themselves into a confederacy, carefully organized and fearlessly avowed, to send forth into all lands, but, above all, into their own, the two witnesses of the Church, Scripture and tradition—Scripture, to be interpreted by its divine Author to the devout worshiper; tradition, not of doctrinal tests, but of that inextinguishable zeal which, first kindled in the apostolic times, has never since wanted either altars to receive or attendant ministers to feed and propagate the flame."

Well does he add: "Bibles, schools, missionaries, the circulation of evangelical books and the training of evangelical clergymen, the possession of well attended pulpits, war through the press and war in Parliament against every form of injustice which either law or custom sanctioned—such were the

forces by which they hoped to extend the kingdom of light and to resist the tyranny with which the earth was threatened."

Thus he confesses and concludes: "That confederacy which was pent up within the narrow limits of Clapham, which jocose men invidiously called a sect, is now spreading through the habitable globe. The day is not distant when it will assume the form, and be hailed by the glorious title, of the Universal Church."

And all this philanthropic power is thus confessedly traced to John Wesley; for, speaking of the era of Whitefield, he says: "It was at this period that the *Alma Mater* of Laud and Sacheverell was nourishing in her bosom a little band of pupils destined to accomplish a momentous revolution in the national Church; and of this little band John Wesley was the acknowledged leader."

We do not purpose to examine and illustrate the whole sphere of the influence of Wesley. One can see at a glance its vastness. The whole field of organized humanitarianism, of organized spiritual and ecclesiastical and Christian propagandism, is included in this range. Martyn translating the Scriptures into Persian and Hindustani, Judson into Burmese, Morrison into Chinese, Van Dyke into Arabic, Moffat into the South African dialects, are all because Wesley lived and wrought. Every missionary society, Bible, tract, and book society, sprang from his influence. Every Sunday-school book—alas, that it must be said, even in its weakness!—he is compelled to call his child; for he initiated that literature. Every temperance, anti-slavery, anti-tobacco, and woman suffrage society, much as one may dislike to acknowledge it, took its rise in the chambers of the Fellow and Vice-Rector of Lincoln. He first since Paul emancipated woman in the prayer-room and the pulpit. His principles necessitate her complete liberation.

Green says of this movement of Wesley's, that "it changed in a few years the whole temper of English society. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave-trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education. The revival began in a small knot of Oxford students." After speaking of Charles Wesley and Whitefield, the same writer adds: "It was John

Wesley who embodied in himself, not this or that side of this vast movement, but the very movement itself." *

These facts are too patent to need discussion. Let us proceed to a more recondite study.

At first glance one might say he did not influence literature and philosophy. The one was too refined, the other too subtle, for his practical, experimental, sociological facultie.s Yet both of these have felt the impress of his presence. His influence upon literature has been marked and marvelous. Thackeray and Dickens, Tennyson and Browning, though they knew it not, George Eliot and Charles Reade, Mrs. Stowe, and every reformatory romancer—even Oliver Wendell Holmes, who strikes at Christ, and yet is indebted to Wesley for the disposition and ability to strike—have another atmosphere blowing through their brain and giving character to their writings than they would have had if John Wesley had never lived. For each of them is a writer touched with reform. By comparing "Dotheboys-hall" with Fielding or Scott, we see the difference at a glance. Scott, though of the later generation, has no relation to these questions; nor Disraeli. Bulwer, a very slight one; his "Coming Race" is almost his only modern novel. Dickens is almost exclusively a reformer; Thackeray, largely so. The first reformatory novel, "The Fool of Quality," Wesley himself adopted into his library. He has been the father of multitudes of such, and has practically overturned that whole realm.

It is, however, in his relation to modern philosophy, as the antagonist of material, as the exponent and starter out of spiritual or transcendental philosophy, that Wesley stands forth in a clearness of light that makes it impossible not to recognize and accept his sovereignty. To set this in sytematic form will be the aim and effort of this article. To do this justly we shall consider the *status* of philosophy when he arose, its theologic forms, and his relations to the same; his escape from it, how it was affected, and what were its revelations in him; his influence subsequently upon this department of thought, direct and indirect.

I. Before we draw near Wesley, and the forces that made him, and that he made, look a little closer at the contest itself.

* See also Leckey's "England in the Eighteenth Century."

The two contending systems of philosophy are spiritual and material. They have always wrestled in the human soul since that soul became the slave of its passions and of its body, in falling under the snare of its appetites, the lowest or most outward of all the organs that had been appointed its servants. The apple eat in disobedience of law made the spirit the slave of the grossest of the physical functions.

To justify himself to himself, man has ever since been creating schemes of ontology that make this outward and lowest the inward and highest of all his faculties. He has sought to deduce the inner world from the outer, and to make the outermost the uppermost. Schemes of philosophy and of religion have gained foothold in generations, races, tracts of earth deep-rooted as the hills of whose nature they partake, and ruling widely as the skyey influences, no higher than which do they go.

Against these have arisen the spiritual protests—

> "Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
> Are yet the master light of all our being."

These declarations are not protests so much as higher assertions—gleams of the earlier age, when man stood on his feet and not his head, when he talked with God face to face, as friend talketh with friend. These truths, too, sank deep into the human heart, and flashed forth their energies against the materializing forces of the depraved humanity. The Brahman fought with the Buddhist, Pythagoras and Plato with Zeno and Aristotle, Pharisee with Sadducee, the Greek Christian with the Roman. Adown the ages the conflict ran, and to-day it still goeth on. The earth doth not protect the woman, but riseth against her. Flesh warreth against the spirit, man with God.

The Church has felt this conflict. Mohammed conquered the Eastern Church with his sword, and the Western with his dogma. Fatalism took possession of the Roman Church as the Greek fell in ecclesiastical liberty, and almost in ecclesiastical existence.

The Reformation developed the vitality of the hostile hosts. Luther, the apostle of freedom, was followed almost instantly by Calvin, the apostle of bondage. How much their blood had to do with their philosophic theology, is a question more

easily asked than answered. For the German has always been a lover of liberty; the Frenchman, of law. Perhaps even the Roman bondage of Augustinianism, which Calvin modernized, arose from the Roman stringency of law, that external and potent governmental sense that to this day characterizes the Church which centers its power on the hills of Cæsar, and under the name of Pontifex Maximus.

This conflict passed over to England, and sprang up in the fierce theologic strife that broke the long winter of Roman authority with the oncoming influences of the present summer of grace. Bacon stood at the parting of the ways, but gave no hint as to which he should take. Though experimental in his treatment, he was ideal in his concept. Cranmer was an Erasmian, and Hooker, Latimer and Owen were Calvinists.

Henry More, the first writer on philosophy of any repute in English literature, was a Platonist, an Idealist. He was a graduate of Milton's college—Christ's of Cambridge—and, perhaps, was inspired in his freedom of thought by that master, for he spent one year with him as an undergraduate, More entering in 1631, Milton graduating in 1632. As More became a Fellow of Christ's, Milton must have often met him in his visits to his *Alma Mater*, and held deep and rich communion with a brother spirit of like perceptions with himself.

His influence, however, among those who profess to set forth English philosophy has been very slight. Lewes does not regard him as worthy of mention; and he is not, if Lewes' theory of philosophy is accepted as the real English system. He may yet come to his desert, and take his rank at the head, which he deserves, no less for his position in time, than for his far higher position in thought.

The father of modern English philosophy, or the one usually accredited as such, is Thomas Hobbes. He is undoubtedly the father of English material philosophy. Lewes, in his "History of Philosophy," recognizes him as the first; Robert Blakey, also, in his "History of Moral Science," begins with the name of Hobbes, though nothing could be more immoral than the science of Hobbes.

This displacement of More is after the world fashion. Cain was preferred to Abel; the outward to the inward. More published his first philosophical treatise, a poem, eleven years

before Hobbes issued the "Leviathan." His prose treatises on these themes followed that of Hobbes. They should be revived in this day of the revival of his faith.

Thomas Hobbes was the son of a minister, and is one of many such, down to Holmes and Emerson, who have forgotten their father's house, and turned the weapons wherewith they were trained upon the sacred Source of both their life and culture.

He located all ideas in sensation. "Concerning the thoughts of man," he says, "they are every one a representation or appearance of some quality or other accident of a body without us, which is commonly called an object, which object worketh on the eyes, ears, and other parts of man's body, and by diversity of working produceth diversity of appearance. The original of them all is that which we call sense; for there is no conception in a man's mind which hath not at first totally, or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense. The rest are derived from that original."

This is the purest materialism, and from this is naturally deduced a scheme of religion, if such it can be called, equally material. He, as properly as Stuart Mill, his last and ablest pupil, may well declare that there is no good or evil, except in relation to the person affected; "there being nothing simply and absolutely so; nor any common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves, but from the person of man, where there is no commonwealth, or, in the commonwealth, from the person that representeth it, or person, or arbitrator, or judge, whom men, disagreeing, shall by consent set up and make his sentence the rule thereof."

This is precisely Stuart Mill's position in his "Liberty," where every man is a law unto himself absolutely, and is only required not to injure others physically by his own indulgences. The family tie is under no moral restraints. Parents, however, would do well to regard the health of their offspring, but not any nuptial ties. Houses of prostitution or dram-shops should not be forbidden, only riot or other tumult that might disturb neighborhoods, and psalm-singing might do that to such a degree that churches should be suppressed before brothels.

Hobbes was succeeded by Locke, who was the ruler of English philosophy when Wesley arose. His essay on the Human

Understanding was published in 1690. Hobbes published his Leviathan in 1651. Hobbes was sixty-three years old when his great work appeared, Locke fifty-eight when his was published. He sought to branch the river of Hobbes' thoughts, rather than to discover a new fountain higher up. Hobbes was to him *sacræ fontis caput*, not Plato, nor Christ. He attributed all sensation to outward objects, but discerned also a faculty that could combine these under new forms that had in themselves seemingly no relation to external things. This faculty he called Reflection. But he does not deny that all the ideas derived from Reflection came originally from Sensation, and that but for Sensation there would be no Reflection; so that he is usually classed in the category of materialists, and justly, especially as he gives the original, and, therefore, the highest, place to Sensation.

The Life of Locke, lately published, acknowledges his relation to Hobbes in his essay, as well as its materialistic character. It shows that when in college he was attracted to Descartes, who was then, first in modern philosophy, advocating the doctrine of "innate ideas." Locke wavered between the magnets of Hobbes and Descartes, but settled at last on the, to him, stronger attraction of the older and the English philosopher. His biographer quotes from a commonplace-book of his, dated 1761, nearly twenty years before his work was published, in which he says, "I imagine that all knowledge is founded on and ultimately derives itself from sense, or something analogous to it, and may be called sensation." He also adds that "long before 1671, from the time when as an Oxford undergraduate he began to study Descartes, it is clear that he had thought much *de intellectu humano*, and had gradually arrived at very distinct opinions of his own, altogether opposed to the doctrine of innate ideas which Descartes had reinforced with so many new and powerful arguments."* He also acknowledges Locke's indebtedness to Hobbes, of whom "he had become a diligent and wise student," from whose writings he quotes to show how closely Locke follows him, though he sought to separate himself from Hobbes' "atheism, which was always revolting to him."† But he could not

* "Life of John Locke," vol. ii, p. 89. Harpers' edition.

† *Ibid*, p. 90.

emancipate himself from this atheism unless he first liberated himself from its philosophy, and that he would not do. It is curious to observe that this biographer, who commends Locke and Hobbes, also puts James Mill in the same category, (and thus John Stuart Mill,) and puts him as claiming, after the fashion of all materialists and skeptics, the highest names of reason and faith. He says that that which Hobbes develops from his "bald and bold theory of sensation," a theory of imagination, or "remains of past sense," James Mills calls ideation, that is, an imagination or ideality, which is only a decaying or vanishing sensation, the decaying part being called by him Memory. How different Descartes' definition of memory: "The pores of the brain, through which the spirits before took their entrance, are more easily opened to the spirits which demand re-entrance, so that, finding those pores, they make their way sooner through them than through others." Fanciful, but less false than Hobbes and Mill's complete annihilation of soul and spirit. In the same style of his father's appropriating "ideation" to a material memory, John Stuart Mill in his autobiography claims to be a Platonist.

This indebtedness to Hobbes has one peculiar variation. His work was encouraged, and a syllabus of it first published, by Le Clerc, the editor of the Remonstrants' magazine, *Bibliotheque Universelle*, the first religious magazine ever published. This was the organ of the Arminians of Holland. Locke and they were led together by their common views on toleration, and not by any especial sympathy in philosophy. Their relations were curious, since he who first introduced Locke to the philosophic world was the disciple of Arminius, while he who did more than all others to displace Locke from the philosophic throne was also an acceptor of the same teacher, and honored him by giving his name to his own theological monthly, the "Arminian Magazine."

Hobbes carried his ideas of government into his religion, and though he never formally denied Christianity, but the rather affirmed it, he still put such fatalism and sensuousism into it as denied its spiritual origin and real authority. Locke plead for toleration, and avowed himself a Christian, but refused to claim for Christianity the supreme and all-authoritative seat.

These were the philosophers who ruled England when John Wesley, a youth of nineteen, went from Charter House to Oxford. Locke had then been dead eighteen years, he having died on October 28 of the year (1704) after Wesley was born, (June 17, 1703.) They were thus sixteen months on the earth together.

Berkeley had put forth his treatise, (1709,) which carried Locke yet one step farther back; for as Locke had declared that sensation was nothing, so Berkeley declared that the substance from which they drew their sensation was naught. "The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call matter, or corporeal substance." Still he argued that he did not deny the existence of things seen, but that they existed only in the seeing. Such super-Hobbesism could not affect weightily the public thought. It still clung with British tenacity to Locke, as its best interpreter. Until long after Wesley left college Locke reigned alone.

Nor was his first real successor of a different school. Hume, born eight years after Wesley, (1711,) sprang early into the front rank of metaphysicians. At twenty-eight his first treatise, that on Human Nature, appeared. Wesley that same year was founding his Church in London, and framing into reality his own views of metaphysics and theology. In 1741 Hume's first essays appeared, and with their baneful influence, purely material, commenced their career with that of their great counterpart. Voltaire and Wesley are contrasted by Southey. Much more truly were Hume and Wesley the antagonists who fought all over England, and have since fought all over the world for the soul of man. Hume puts his philosophy into religion, Wesley his religion into philosophy. Ingersoll, a pupil of Hume, is striking at experimental Faith, the child of Wesley. Faith and Reason struggle for the mastership, but Faith springs from the higher reason, and shall conquer.

II. A true exhibit of the *status* of that age, in its philosophic aspects, requires a glimpse also of its theologic conditions.

Much has been written on the decay of religion at the coming in of Methodism. Not sufficiently has the cause of that decay been noted. It has been charged to worldliness. It should be charged to fatalism and materialism. It was the dogma of fatalism and sensuousism that possessed the school

which also possessed and paralyzed the Church. Locke had followed Hobbes in denying the supremacy of moral standards, high and immutable. "I think," he says, "it will be hard to instance any one moral rule which can pretend to so general and ready an assent as '*What is, is*,' or to so manifest a truth as this, that 'It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be;' whereby it is evident that they are farther removed from a title to be innate, and the doubt of their being native impressions on the mind is stronger against these moral principles than the other." He seeks to avoid belittling them by adding: "Not that it brings their truth at all in question. They are equally true, though not equally evident." But it is not far to go to lop off this excrescence, and to affirm on his postulate of the inferiority of moral ideas, the dogma of Hobbes, that good and evil exist only in the feeling of the recipient, like tobacco and tomatoes, which one esteems good, and another evil.

The theology had gone down to the same level. There had been resistance, but it had not been effectual. The devout men were Calvinists, and, therefore, fatalists. The nondevout were philosophers of the materialistic, or popular school of Hobbes and Locke, and, therefore, also fatalists. John Owen and John Howe, the great lights of the Cromwellian age, were the highest type of fatalists. And when persecution arose, and penury and martyrdom followed, their followers clung the closer to their ruling dogma. As persecution abated and the floods of ungodly men that had made them afraid dried up, the Church lapsed into the arms of this most powerless of stimulants. Baxter and Watts, and Henry and Doddridge, good men and faithful, of the preceding and contemporaneous age, were filled with this heresy, while the prelates and inferior clergy of the Established Church were possessed with the same death in the popular philosophy.

III. How Wesley wrestled with and overcame this false philosophy has never been told. His biographers give but little light on his earlier studies at Oxford, Tyerman telling even less than Southey. This is to be regretted. Students of his life, disciples of his faith, are anxious to know how he wrestled himself out of the ruling philosophy and theology into that freer and higher type with which his name is identified. That

he broke from it early one instance shows. He revolted from predestination when in college, and his mother confirmed him in his detestation of it. "The doctrine was shocking," she said, "and ought utterly to be abhorred." This was written to him, in answer to his objections, when he was but twenty-two years old. Her father being a Puritan minister, this revolt is the more noticeable. Perhaps she thought wiser than she was taught, in this as in so many other directions. Soon after, John Wesley became Fellow of Lincoln, and pursued his studies in logic, metaphysics, and theology. The metaphysics were necessarily Locke's; the theology was equally unspiritual and hard-bound—the God of Hobbes then ruling soul and body, time and eternity—Church and State, with equal authority and with equal lack of goodness or reason. Wesley presided over debates every day in the week, on literature, philosophy, and theology, and continued these exercises, more or less regularly, for six years. This position gave him great power of discrimination, perhaps greater than of discernment. Yet he could not be a dialectician for so long a time without investigation, and possibly, and probably, the basis was laid in these years for his departure from the field of fatalism and materialism in philosophy and doctrine.

He might have taught, he must have read, Descartes, and thus began to differ with his mighty predecessor, who was a Master of Oxford, who had even been a student of his own college, Christ Church, where he had long resided as tutor. In Locke's day, his biographer tells us, "Descartes' new books began to be read." Wesley may have accepted what Locke had rejected, and been a teacher of "innate ideas" over against Locke and Hobbes' materialistic sensationalism. How desirable is information on this point. Is it impossible to obtain it? He might have seen thus early what Mr. Lewes declares to be the fact, that "Skepticism, gulf-like, yawns as the terminal road of all consistent metaphysics."* It surely does of all materialistic and utilitarian metaphysics, which proves that they are not metaphysics nor utilitarian, but spurious counterfeits of spiritual, true, divine philosophy.

Professor Shairp declares of Wesley and his age: "How

* Lewes' "History of Philosophy," p. 478.

entirely the mechanical philosophy had saturated that age may be seen from the fact that Wesley, the leader of the great spiritual counter-movement of the last century, the preacher of divine realities to a generation fast bound in sense, yet in the opening of his sermon on faith indorses the sensational theory, and declares that to man in his natural condition sense is the only inlet to knowledge." *

Isaac Taylor, who more than any other writer discerned the spiritual and philosophic work of Wesley, though his Scotch leanings prevented complete discernment, says: "He led this revolution by appealing to principles that have their root in philosophy." Such praise could never be ascribed to materialism; nay, could never be ascribed to fatalism, much as it might be connected with faith. It was the materialism in Locke and Hobbes, and all the expounders of his own time, against which he made vigorous warfare. And he made this warfare, not so much by philosophic forms and phrases, as by a philosophic spirit and principle that gave birth to forms and phrases.

We are led to ask, Did Mr. Wesley find this path by his own faculties, by grace, by necessities of his work, or from schools? Mr. Isaac Taylor attributes it to his own being. Erring, as a Calvinist and pupil of the Scotch philosophy might, concerning the true basis of philosophy, he still assigned to Wesley the original faculty out of which true philosophy springs—the intuitions. He says: "Not one of the founders of Methodism was gifted with the philosophic faculty—the abstractive and analytic power. More than one was a shrewd and exact logician, but none a master of the higher reason." But he denies himself when he adds: "Wesley's *instinct* of belief, *which was a prominent characteristic* of his mind, met with no counteractive force in its structure," though, he adds, this instinct "was not at all of the philosophic cast." Again, in spite of these declarations that he was not master of the higher reason, he adds: "He reasoned more than he thought. Might we not say that it (the Jeffry ghost) so laid open his faculty of belief that the right of way for the supernatural was opened through his mind." And again: "Wesley was thus

* "S. T. Coleridge," in the "North British Review," December, 1865. The analysis of that age in this article is worthy of attention.

almost intuitively master of arts," though he must belittlingly add, "or of all but the highest, to which the predominance of secondary faculties bars the way." Again he compliments him with the "energy of the intuitive reason," and again, unphilosophically, declares this "precludes the philosophic faculty." He still is blinded to the true philosophic faculty, while he happily recognizes Wesley's faculty when he declares he possessed "the irresistible force, or, one might say, the galvanic instantaneousness, of the intuitions," though, with his old falseness of view, he adds that "this forbids and excludes the exercise of the abstractive and analytic power."

He, however, concedes a point bearing on our exposition of the current philosophies of his age, when he says: "At the time when Wesley was acting as moderator in the disputations at Lincoln College, there was no philosophy abroad in the world—there was no thinking—that was not atheistical in its tone and tendency." Hear that, ye materialistic and empirical schools! This declaration disagrees with his previous statement, that philosophy consists in abstraction and analysis; for these qualities were certainly abroad in the world when Wesley began to teach.

We shall accept Mr. Taylor's concessions, and show that from them John Wesley was one whom Wordsworth truly describes:—

> "That best philosopher, who yet dost keep
> His heritage, the eye amongst the blind,
> That, deaf and silent, read'st the eternal deep,
> Haunted forever by the eternal Mind.
> Mighty prophet! seer blest!
> On whom those truths do rest
> Which we are toiling all our lives to find."

He had the basis in his nature of the real, spiritual philosophy, Platonic and Coleridgian—intuitive, whose "irresistible force, galvanic instantaneousness," is the life and soul of real philosophy. If "he reasoned more than he thought," he had the higher reason, which Taylor confusedly denies him. He grasped it, held it, enjoyed it, preached it, and with it made steadfast and successful warfare against all false forms of fatalism and naturalism, in school, and Church, and society.

That was the philosophy he initiated successfully against its antagonist. Hobbes, Locke, Hume, were mastered by the

spirit that never sought to assail them, and by practices they never dreamed of examining or opposing.

We are thus led to our next queries: How did it rise in him, and what is its result in the realm of philosophic thinking? These questions will be considered in a subsequent article.

ART. II.—CHRISTIAN LIFE AND PRACTICE IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

The Early Years of Christianity. By E. DE PRESSENSÉ, D.D. Vol. I, Apostolic Era. Vol. II, Martyrs and Apologists. Vol. III, Heresy and Christian Doctrine. Vol. IV, Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church. New York: Nelson & Phillips.

WHAT a fascination there is in the study of primitive Christianity! As we examine the records, monumental or bibliographic, of the early Church, our sympathies overleap the intervening centuries, and we feel our spiritual kinship with the persecuted yet triumphant community of believers, who conquered the old Roman world for Christ. "We are but of yesterday," writes Tertullian at the close of the second century, "yet we fill every city, town, and island of the empire. We abound in the very camps and castles, in the council chamber and the palace, in the senate and the forum; only your temples and your theaters are left." * The grandeur of that victory against such tremendous odds is one of the sublimest proofs of the divine energy of the Gospel, and of its perfect adaptation to the profoundest needs of humanity.

In the noble volumes of Pressensé we have probably the best apparatus extant for the study of this most interesting and important period of human development. We are greatly mistaken in our judgment, also, if the last volume, just published, will not be considered the most valuable and interesting of the series. The learned author has worthily crowned the labors of a long and studious life by this important work. For over twenty years it has been growing under his hand, and it is enriched with the fruits of his ripened scholarship and mature judgment. While based, after the strictest historical method, upon an extensive and careful study of the best contemporary

* Apol., cap. 37.

authorities and evidences, it is not the work of a cold critic or a formal annalist. The author is instinct with sympathy with his subject, and his style, therefore, glows with animation; yet he is not the blind partisan nor sectarian advocate. He maintains a judicial mental equipoise. He detects the germs of nascent error, and traces the divergence of early heresies from the norm of truth. The charm of the present volume to the Christian reader will be the vivid insight it gives into early Christian life and character. As we read its pages we are present at the worship of the primitive Church, we study its ecclesiastical organization, we listen to the prayers and hymns of the persecuted flock of Christ, and to the homilies of the faithful pastors and bishops who shepherded that flock in those troublous times.

The subject of this volume is treated under three divisions. The first of these discusses ecclesiastical life in the second and third centuries. This includes, as sub-sections, the admission of converts into the Church, the organization of authority, discipline in the local Church, and the mutual relations of the Churches at the beginning of the third century. We are struck with the wise care observed in excluding the formalist, the hypocrite, and the unworthy from the communion of saints. "Holy things to the holy," was the watchword of the Church in that period of unspeakable moral pollution of the pagan world. According to the "apostolical constitutions," converts from heathenism must continue for three years to receive instruction as catechumens before they were admitted to the full privileges of the community of believers.

Sacramentarian theories find no support from the investigation of the offices and institutions of the primitive Church. The simplicity and parity with their fellows of the early elders and bishops was the furthest possible remove from the sacerdotalism of the Church of Rome or of high Anglicanism. So, also, the utter baselessness of the Romish assumptions of authority is clearly shown. The spiritual supremacy of the great Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome—those mighty centers of thought—was a supremacy of intellectual and moral influence, not of ecclesiastical authority. It was only after long struggles against strenuous opposition, and through many fortuitous circumstances, that the self-seek-

ing primates of Rome in the third and following centuries usurped that authority which has brought with it such a flood of corruptions.

The second great division of this volume discusses the private and public worship in the Churches of the second and third centuries. The first Christian Churches were the Churches in the house, and the first worship was the worship of the family. Every-day life was consecrated by prayer and praise. Each meal was a eucharist, in which the faithful broke bread with gladness, in singleness of heart. The father was the priest of the household, and offered daily the sacrifice of thanksgiving unto God. The following are examples, which have come to us down the ages, of a morning and an evening hymn, such as were wont to hallow in a thousand happy Christian homes the opening and close of each new day:—

MORNING HYMN.

Day by day will we bless thee,
And will praise thy name forever,
And from age to age.
Vouchsafe, O Lord, that we may be kept this day also without sin.
Blessed art thou, O Lord, the God of our fathers,
And thy name is to be praised and glorified forever.—AMEN.

TWILIGHT HYMN.

Calm light of the celestial glory,
O Jesus, Son of the Eternal Father,
We come to thee now as the sun goes down,
And before the evening light
We seek thee, Father, Son,
And Holy Spirit of God.
Thou art worthy to be forever praised by holy voices.
O Son of God, thou givest life to us,
And therefore does the world glorify thee.

The worship of the early Church was not yet stereotyped into liturgical forms. It was characterized by a grand simplicity and freedom. Its prayers, our author remarks, were "fed and nourished on Scripture, the sacred texts being constantly reproduced, either by literal quotation or by allusion. The Divine Word bears them heavenward, as the eagle bears the eaglet on its mighty wings. The simplicity of the prayers forbids long periods, but they are equally free from dullness and abruptness. Frequent repetitions occur, the outpourings

of the deepest and tenderest emotions of the soul. As in a musical composition the principal theme recurs again and again, so in prayer we catch at frequent intervals the one dominant note, like the recurring toss of the wave on the shore, and the repetition prolongs the impression, which might else die away too soon." *

And this liberty and spontaneity of prayer long continued. It was not till the Council of Toledo, in 633, that uniformity of worship was commanded, and spontaneous prayer forbidden. Much of the spirituality of primitive worship was destroyed by this enforced formalism. "The grand liturgical productions of following ages," our author beautifully remarks, "seem sometimes, in their magnificence, to resemble the splendid tombs erected by the synagogue to the prophets whom it had first slain. It was when the spirit of true evangelical prophecy, the fire of free and fervent prayer, had been stifled under an accumulation of forms, that the Church erected these sumptuous monuments of prescribed devotion, which are too often but the cenotaphs of departed piety."†

It was probably in connection with the baptismal and eucharistic services that liturgical forms were first introduced. In the forms of prayer which accompany these rites in most of the Churches of Christendom is heard the echo of those early litanies which have come down the ages from the worship of the early Church.

The third section of this book, that on the moral life of the Christians of the third and fourth centuries, will be that, we think, which will possess the greatest charm to most readers. It was the most signal glory of early Christianity that amid the thoroughly effete and corrupt society of paganism it manifested the intense energy of that moral leaven that was to regenerate the world. It is scarce possible for modern imagination to conceive the appalling pollutions of that old pagan life. The heathen satirists and historians and the Christian Fathers and Apologists unite in painting its corruptions in most lurid hues. "Society," says Gibbon, "was a rotting, aimless chaos of sensuality." Yet, like the snow-white lily, springing in virgin purity from the muddy ooze, primitive Christianity ex-

* "Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church," p. 289.

† Idem, p. 293.

haled its moral fragrance amid the social corruptions of its vile environment. The lives of the believers were the noblest testimony to the power of the Gospel to quicken, and renew, and save. For they themselves, as Origen declared, "had been reclaimed from ten thousand vices." And St. Paul, magnifying the grace of God, describes some of the vilest of characters, and exclaims, "Such were some of you, but ye are washed, ye are sanctified."

The early Christians, therefore, recoiled with abhorrence from the corruptions from which they had themselves been rescued. They thus became emphatically a peculiar people, and the easily marked prey of persecution. The whole public and private life of the heathen was pervaded with the spirit of idolatry. Almost every act was performed under the auspices of some deity. Buying or selling, feasting or toiling, pleading in the courts or saluting in the market-place, the contamination of paganism was ever imminent. Hence the Christians were especially exhorted to "keep themselves from idols." From many trades and occupations they were, therefore, excluded, and the public amusements and festivities of the heathen were alike abhorrent to their modesty and piety.

"Philosophy," says Lecky, "may dignify, but is impotent to regenerate, man; it may cultivate virtue, but cannot restrain vice." The ethics of paganism were the speculations of the philosophic few, and so left uninfluenced the toiling and degraded many. The ethics of Christianity were embodied in practical principles which controlled the daily life of even the unlettered and the slave. Hence became possible the reconstruction of society on a loftier plane—the building of a new "city of God" even in the great Babylon of the West.

One of the grandest results of these Christian principles was the new dignity given to man, no matter how lowly and degraded, as one for whom Christ also died. The loftiest heathen virtue looked down with a supercilious contempt upon the toiling helots or "vile plebs" that ministered to its pleasures or enhanced its gains. The existence of a vast slave population was at once the crime and the Nemesis of pagan society. It became the hot-bed of every vice, and was alternately led by its lusts or crushed by power. Labor became degraded and

unremunerative, as slave labor always is. Hence some of the fairest and most fertile regions of Italy became sterilized to a desert, and the mistress of the world was dependent for bread on her conquered provinces. A storm on the Mediterranean, scattering the corn fleet, threatened Rome with famine and with the ravening revolt of that myriad-headed wild beast, her hunger-bitten slave population.

This vast, dumb, weltering mass of human wretchedness and vice Christianity came to elevate, to ennoble, and to bless. It raised the victims of bondage and oppression from the condition of beasts and chattels to the dignity of men and the fellowship of saints. It was the boast of the Christian apologists that in Christ Jesus there was neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free—that in the Church the conditions of worldly rank were abolished.* The wealthy noble and the lowly slave—"not now a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved"—bowed together at the same table of the Lord, saluted each other with the kiss of charity, and, side by side in their narrow graves, returned to indistinguishable dust.

Christianity also dignified and ennobled labor, and threw around it the hallowed associations of Jesus the carpenter, Peter the fisherman, and Paul the tent-maker. Labor was enjoined as a daily duty. The Christians, while fervent in spirit, were also diligent in business, and were patterns of thrift and industry. They faithfully performed life's lowly toils, and followed blamelessly whatsoever things were lovely and of good report. To the sneer of the pagan Celsus that the ranks of the Church included cobblers and weavers and ignoble slaves, Tertullian grandly answers that the humblest Christian artisan understood loftier truths than Plato ever knew.

One of the most notable results of the growth of Christianity was the development of a new instinct of philanthropy in the soul, and the creation of an extensive organization of charity. And a wide field was open for the exercise of this grace in the great multitude of suffering and sorrowing of the old Roman world. There were cruel wrongs to be mitigated, and fierce oppressions to be alleviated, and bruised and broken hearts to be cheered and bound up. Nor were these hallowed minis-

* Apud nos inter pauperes et divites, servos et dominos, interest nihil.—Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, vs. 14, 15.

trations confined to the Christian kinsmen of the early believers; they were extended oftentimes to their pagan enemies, to the outcast and the vile, to the unthankful and the unworthy. This impossible virtue, as the heathen deemed it, was a testimony for Jesus that even Stoic natures could neither gainsay nor deny. And doubtless the unwearied and passionate charities of the Christians melted the icy barriers of many a pagan heart, and opened the way for the reception of the truth. Voluntary collections* were regularly made in the Christian assemblies for the poor, the aged, the sick, the brethren in bonds, and for the burial of the dead. "Our charity dispenses more in the streets," says Tertullian to the heathen, "than your religion in all the temples." The Church at Antioch, says St. Chrysostom, maintained three thousand widows and virgins, besides the sick and poor. The charity of the Christians found abundant scope in ransoming their brethren held in bondage. For this purpose the Church in Carthage contributed at one time a sum equal to four thousand dollars. To ransom a number of poor captives Paulinus of Nola not only sold the treasures of his beautiful church, but is said to have sold himself into slavery. "Better clothe the living temples of Christ," says Jerome, "than adorn the temples of stone." In obedience to this principle Acacius, Bishop of Amida, sold the treasures of his church to rescue a number of poor prisoners. "God has no need," he said to a remonstrant, "of dishes and plates." In the terrible plagues which visited the great centers of ancient civilization the saintly ministrations of the Christians were especially conspicuous. When Alexandria was decimated by pestilence, the Christians, we learn from Eusebius, organized themselves, to the number of six hundred, into a fraternity for the care of the sick and the burial of the dead. Even when a fierce persecution was raging in Carthage, the Christians, many of them bearing the scars of imprisonment and the brand of the iron upon them, imperiled their lives to minister to their persecutors.

In nothing is the elevating influence of Christianity more conspicuous than in the benefits it has conferred upon woman. It has raised her from being the toy or slave of man to become his helpmate and companion. It has given tenderness and fidel-

* Nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert.—Tertullian. *Apol.*, c. 39.

ity to the conjugal relations, instead of caprice and selfishness, and has enshrined marriage in a sanctity before unknown. In the old heroic days of the Republic woman's virtue was "the most immediate jewel of her soul." This the Lucretias and Virginias of those early times held dearer than their lives. But under the Empire the vast influx of foreign wealth, foreign slaves, and foreign superstitions, brought with them their avenging Nemesis. Even the wives of the emperors flaunted their shame in the high places of the earth. Philosophers and sages, by both precept and example, undermined the foundations of the family, which are also the foundations of the State. Cicero, who reasoned so profoundly concerning the nature of the gods, basely put away his wife that he might repair his wasted fortunes by marrying his wealthy ward. Woman, says Gibbon, was not a *person*, but a *thing*. She had no rights, no interests of her own; nor should she have any friends nor any gods, says Plutarch, but her husband's. The recklessness of divorce and prevailing profligacy of life was recognized even by a licentious poet as the cause of national decay.* But Christianity came to rescue woman from this abyss of shame, to enthrone her amid the sanctities of home, to invest her with the household virtues, and to employ her in the tender ministrations of love. It recognized in her an immortal soul. It treated her as a fellow-pilgrim with man through a world of probation to an eternal reward. Marriage, therefore, was sanctified as a type of the mystical union between Christ and his Church, and modesty was regarded as the crown of all the graces. Divorce, which had attained a fatal facility among the heathen, was regarded as a flagrant sin, save only for the cause which Christ himself assigns as rendering it lawful. In a passage of great beauty, addressed to his own wife, Tertullian expresses the dignity and purity of Christian wedlock. He exclaims:—

> How can I paint the happiness of a marriage which the Church ratifies, the sacrament confirms, the benediction seals, angels announce, and our heavenly Father declares valid! What a union of two believers—one hope, one vow, one discipline, one worship! They are brother and sister, two fellow-servants, one spirit and one flesh. They pray together, fast together, exhort and support one another. They go together to the house of God, and to the

* Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.—HORACE.

table of the Lord. They share each other's trials, persecutions, and joys. Neither avoids nor hides any thing from the other. They delight to visit the sick, succor the needy, and daily lay their offerings before the altar without scruple or constraint. They do not need to keep the sign of the cross hidden, nor to express secretly their joy, nor to receive by stealth the eucharist. They join in psalms and hymns, and strive who best can praise God. Christ rejoices at the sight, and sends his peace upon them. Where two are joined in his name he also is; and where he is there evil cannot come. *

How infinitely superior is such an ideal of marriage to that of Cicero, or even of Cato the Censor, who ceded his wife to his friend Hortensius, with the approval of her father, and took her back again after his death.

The peril of intermarriage with the heathen was strongly urged in the primitive Church, and believers were enjoined, under pain of ecclesiastical penalties, to marry only in the Lord. "Women married to pagans," says St. Jerome, "become parts of the bodies whose ribs they are." Where a heathen matron was converted to Christianity, she was exhorted, by faith and prayer and the exhibition of the Christian graces, to strive to win her companion to the truth. Tertullian thus describes the obstacles which the Christian wife of an idolator must meet in her religious life: "At the time for worship the husband will appoint the use of the bath; when a fast is to be observed, he will invite company to a feast. When she would bestow alms both safe and cellar are closed against her. What heathen will suffer his wife to attend the nightly meeting of the Church, the slandered Supper of the Lord, to visit even in the poorest hovels the sick and the afflicted, to kiss the martyr's chains in prison, to rise in the night for prayer, to show hospitality to stranger brethren?" * Secret marriages were forbidden, and Tertullian exhorts that the approbation of the earthly as well as of the heavenly parent should accompany this sacred rite.

A conformity on the part of Christian households to the pomps and vanities of the heathen, all of which they had solemnly renounced at baptism, was strictly forbidden by primitive discipline. In their apparel and the modest adornments of their houses, they avoided the ostentatious luxury and costly adornings of the pagans around them. Christian women were

* Ad Uxorem, ii, 8.

exhorted to be patterns of sobriety and godliness, abstaining from the wearing of golden ornaments, which often were contaminated by heathen symbols. "Let woman breathe the odor of the true royal ointment, that of Christ," writes Clement of Alexandria, "and not of unguents and scented powders. Let her be anointed with the ambrosial chrism of industry, and find delight in the holy unguent of the Spirit, and offer spiritual fragrance. She may not crown the living image of God as the heathen do dead idols. *Her* fair crown is one of amaranth, which groweth not on earth, but in the skies." *

In similar strain, also, Tertullian exhorts Christian matrons to wear the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit as the truest adorning of the female character. "Be arrayed in the ornaments of the apostles and prophets," he writes, "drawing your whiteness from simplicity, your ruddy hue from modesty, painting your eyes with bashfulness, your mouth with silence, implanting in your ears the word of God, fitting on your neck the yoke of Christ. Clothe yourself with the silk of uprightness, the fine linen of holiness, the purple of modesty, and you shall have God himself for your lover and spouse." †

A conspicuous symptom of the decay of primitive simplicity and piety was an increased sumptuousness of apparel. Against this the writings of the Fathers especially inveigh, and sumptuary regulations prohibited the use of gold brocade or silken tissue. Clement of Alexandria denounces with indignation the extravagance and luxury that had invaded the Church of that city—a sort of ancient Paris, setting the fashion of folly and frivolity and oriental extravagance and effeminacy even to Rome itself. Wealthy ladies, instead of succoring the poor and maintaining widows and orphans, expended their means on chariots and gilded litters, in baths and banquets, in costly cabinets and couches, and in luxurious draperies and jewelry; and wasted their sympathies, not unlike some of their modern sisters, on parrots, peacocks, monkeys and Maltese dogs.‡ He compares, let us hope with unnecessary severity, the fashionable women of Alexandria to "an Egyptian temple, gorgeous indeed without, but enshrining only a cat or a crocodile; so beneath their meretricious adorning were concealed vile and

* Pædagogus, ii, 8. † De Cultu Feminarum, ii, 3–18. ‡ Pædagogus, iii, 4.

loathsome passions." * "Nevertheless," he adds, "they cannot with their bought and painted beauty avoid wrinkles or evade death." Yet he does not condemn riches in themselves, but urges sanctified wisdom in their use. "They are like the deadly asp," he says, "which will sting us unless we know how to take it by the tail."

Few objects are more common among the disinterred relics of old Roman life at Pompeii than the rouge pots, ceruse vases, and other articles of toilet luxury of the proud dames of that gay summer city. It appears, from the indignant protest of Jerome, that after the peace of the Church, when Christianity had become fashionable with the court party, this worldly example was copied by some professed disciples of the lowly Nazarene. "What business," he scornfully asks, "have paint and rouge on a Christian cheek? Who can weep for her sins, when her tears wash bare furrows on her skin? With what trust can faces be lifted to heaven which their Maker cannot recognize as his workmanship?" † St. Cyprian satirically suggests of such, that the Almighty might not be able to recognize them at the resurrection. Moreover, he adds, they should not dye their hair, since it is an attempted violation of the decree: "Thou canst not make one hair white or black." This practice seems to have been not uncommon among the fair dames of Carthage, another great center of wealth and fashion, as also the custom, not unlike certain modern modes, of wearing the hair, often false, in a towering mass, and tortured into unnatural forms. ‡ With characteristic vehemence Tertullian denounced these "flame-colored heads, built up with pads and rolls, the slough, perhaps, of some guilty wretch now in hell." §

An important chapter of Pressensé treats of Christianity and asceticism. The tendency in this direction was largely the result of the moral recoil of the Christians from the selfish and often polluting indulgence of the senses encouraged by heathen life. The ascetic notions of the Essenes among the Jews, and of the Therapeetæ of Egypt probably encouraged this spirit

* Pædagogus, iii, 6.

† Polire faciem purpurisso, et cerusa ora depingere, *Hieron.* 1 Ep., 54.

‡ "Ornare crinem," remarks Jerome, "et alienis capillis turritam verticem struere. Ep. 54.

§ De Velandis Virginibus, ii, 17

among the early Christians. The Gnostic and Manichæan heresies still more widely diffused the conception of the inherent evil of matter and the antagonism of the flesh to the spirit. One of the earliest manifestations of this principle was the exaggerated sanctity of single life. From this bitter root sprang the whole monastic system of later times, with all its evil fruit, putting asunder what God has joined, as holier than he. On the Procrustean rack of this iron rule the tenderest and most sacred affections of the human heart were ruthlessly tortured. But during the first three centuries of the Christian era there is no trace of a celibate clergy. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence of the marriage of ecclesiastics of every rank. Nay, according to Clement of Alexandria, he is most truly heroic who, in marriage, and in the duties of a family and the care of a home, rises above mere pleasure and pain, arming himself against all the temptations that come to him through wife and children, servants and goods. The celibate, on the other hand, escapes the most difficult of all ordeals: he is occupied only with himself; hence his inferiority to the man, who, instead of being absorbed only in his own salvation, devotes himself also to the good of his household.*

The testimony of the Roman Catacombs distinctly shows that in the earlier and purer ages of the Church the compulsory celibacy of the clergy was unknown. In numerous inscriptions, even of a comparatively late period, ecclesiastics of various ranks lament the death of their wives, "chaste, just, and holy." "Would to God," exclaims our author, "that all their successors had such!"

It was not till the fourth century that this ordinance of "forbidding to marry," which has been fraught with such appalling moral evils to society, was formulated in a canon of the Church. The conception of the superior sanctity of celibacy now spread rapidly. Jerome writes with characteristic enthusiasm of single life. "The community of virgins are the vessels of gold and silver; that of the married, only of wood and earthenware."† "Marriage replenishes earth," he says; "virginity, heaven."‡ In expounding the parable of the sower, he writes: "The thirty-fold refers to marriage, the sixty-fold to widow-

* Stromata, vii, 12, 70. † Hieron., *Adv., Jour.*, i.
‡ Nuptiæ terram replent, virginitas Paradisum, *Ib.*

hood; but the hundred-fold expresses the crowning glory of virginity." At first world-weary women rather than men, probably, embraced the vocation of single life, for the greater leisure and freedom it gave for religious service, and as an escape from the vacuity and vanity of fashionable folly. Such an enthusiasm was kindled by the exhortations of Jerome that many of the noble and wealthy women of Rome espoused a life of celibacy, and worldly-wise mothers felt constrained to seclude their daughters from the fascinations of his eloquence.

The monastic spirit only gradually pervaded Christendom. As the political aspect of the times became chaotic, and the great empire was breaking up under the weight of its own corruptions and the assaults of barbarians, hope grew dim in the hearts of patient watchers for the dawn. Despairing of the regeneration of society, they sought, in spiritual selfishness, to save their own souls alive by fleeing from a doomed world, and hiding in the clefts of the rock and caves of the earth till the indignation should be overpast.

The doubtful honor of originating monastic life is claimed for the rival saints, Anthony and Paul of Egypt. Of these, the former is the more celebrated through the account of his life written by Athanasius, the reading of which led to the conversion of St. Augustine, the Great Doctor of the West. Anthony, the youthful heir of great possessions, hearing the words read, "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," they came like a voice from heaven to his soul. He immediately obeyed, withdrew to the desert, and underwent the most extreme austerities. He fasted for days, dwelt in caves or among the tombs, slept on the bare ground, and scourged his frame with frequent and unsparing flagellation. His morbid and melancholy imagination dwelt much on the terrors of the quenchless fire, on the torment of the undying worm. He fancied himself the object of demoniacal assault. Loathsome, bestial forms, doubtless the offspring of delirium, haunted his lonely cell; or, more terrible still, beings of unearthly beauty sought to allure him to perdition. But he fought valiantly against them, "chasing them with holy words as with whips." Multitudes of devout ascetics followed him to the wilderness, till, "lo!" writes his biographer, "the cells in the mountains were like tents filled with divine choirs, sing-

ing, discoursing, rejoicing; working that they might give alms thereof, and having love and concord with each other, so that one seeing would have said, 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel!'"

In recounting some of the alleged miracles wrought by the saint, Jerome naively remarks: "These things will appear incredible to those who do not believe, but to those who believe, all things are possible." He tells, for instance, how a she-wolf led the hermit to the cave of the blessed Paul, a fellow-ascetic. A raven, which for sixty years had brought half a loaf daily to the holy man, now brought a whole one; but neither of the saints would break it, Paul declining because he was the host, and Anthony because he was the younger man. After a day's dispute, they compromised the matter by each taking hold of the end of the loaf and pulling till it broke. With such puerilities is this "holy romance" disfigured, and even its historical elements invalidated.

The practice of monastic retirement spread like an epidemic throughout Christendom. Soon no lonely island, no desert shore, no gloomy vale, was without its laura or monastery. At the close of the fourth century Jerome declares there existed an innumerable company of monks,* and, bursting into poetical enthusiasm, exclaims, "O wilderness, blooming with the flowers of Christ! O desert, rejoicing in communion with the Deity!" The land swarmed with anchorets, who seemed spawned, as was contemptuously said, from the mud of the Nile. They became a mighty nation, soon rivaling in number the population of the cities.† All classes of society shared the contagion. Men, wearying of the ignoble life and petty ambitions of cities, left the palace and the forum for the solemn silence of the desert, and forsook the babbling strife of tongues for solitary communion with God. Women, sated and sickened with fashionable folly and tawdry vanity, with something of the old Roman spirit flashing in their eyes, turned from the frivolous enjoyments of the world to a life of stern asceticism. With hearts aching for a spiritual sympathy which they found

* Monachorum innumerabilis multitudo.

† Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantæ pæne habentur in desertis multitudinis monachorum.—Rufin. 7. Pachomius, the first disciple of St. Anthony, had seven thousand followers.

not in their often loveless homes, they yearned for the Divine perfection, and poured the precious ointment of their lives on the feet of the celestial Bridegroom. The once beautiful Mary of Egypt became sordid and emaciated. By constant genuflexion and prayer the knees of the Roman damsel, Asella, became hard as a camel's.* "For twenty years," said Macarius, "I have neither eaten, drunk, nor slept as nature craved. My bread has been weighed, my water measured, and my sleep has been stolen while reclining against a wall."† The record of these ascetic austerities, as given by Theodoret, Evagrius, Socrates, Sozomen, and other contemporary writers, is a painful chapter in the history of superstition.

Pressensé devotes his last chapter to the Christianity of the Catacombs. "There is no historical monument," he says, "comparable to the Catacombs as a source of intimate knowledge of a religion through the feelings of its faithful adherents. We find in them the spontaneous utterances of the heart, never intended for the public eye, and which are, therefore, far more trustworthy than the studied and formal statements of religious thought and feeling which we get in books."—Pp. 493, 494. Similar to this is the testimony of Dean Stanley. "He who is thoroughly steeped in the imagery of the Catacombs," he says, "will be nearer to the thought of the early Church than he who has learned by heart the most elaborate treatise even of Tertullian or Origen."‡ On this part of the subject we shall not dwell, as we have elsewhere given with much fullness of detail and copious pictorial illustration their important testimony as to the history, martyrology, art and symbolism, doctrinal teaching, ministry, rites and institutions of the primitive Church, and as to the life and character, and social and domestic relations, of the early Christians.§

* Hieron., Epis. xxi. † Socrat., iv, 23. ‡ Eastern Churches.

§ Withrow's Catacombs of Rome, and their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity. New York: Nelson & Philips.. See *passim*, and especially pp. 203–543.

ART. III.—SCHLIEMANN'S DISCOVERIES AT MYCENÆ AND TIRYNS.

Mycenæ; A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. By DR. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, Citizen of the United States of America; Author of "Troy and its Remains," "*Ithaque, la Péloponnèse et Troie,*" and "*La Chine et le Japon.*" The Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P. Maps, Plans, and other Illustrations, representing more than 700 Types of the Objects found in the Royal Sepulchers of Mycenæ and Elsewhere in the Excavations. Imperial 8vo., pp. lxviii, and 384. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

NOTHING could be more natural than for Dr. Schliemann, after his remarkable success in unearthing the remains of what may reasonably be believed to be the ancient city of Troy, to turn his eyes with covetous glance to the district known as the Argolis. There, if anywhere, he was likely to obtain confirmation of the accuracy of his theory of the historic reality of the expedition which has been in men's mouths for the past three thousand years—in fact, of that entire cycle of song, whose renown Homer makes, even in the time of his heroes, to have "reached broad heaven." (Odyssey, viii, 74.)

If not beyond dispute the part first settled, the north-eastern corner of Peloponnesus was certainly the part that attained at an early period a very distinct predominance in the politics of the peninsula. One of the Argolic cities was the reputed birthplace of Heracles, or Hercules, the typical Greek hero, and in the vicinity was laid the scene of several of his renowned "labors." Another city was the capital of one of the three kingdoms apportioned among themselves by the Heracleidæ. That it was by far the richest and most powerful, not only of these three kingdoms, but of all the kingdoms of Greece, seems conclusively established. Except on this supposition it is well-nigh impossible to account for the supreme rank conceded to Agamemnon, a prince personally by no means the bravest or most warlike of his age.

Mycenæ, then, the capital of Agamemnon's dominions, or as the poet is wont to say, "of central Argos and the islands," is the spot above all others in Greece where traces of that civilization which appears in the Iliad and to some extent in the Odyssey ought to be discovered. The very fact of the early

destruction of Mycenæ, just at the beginning of the brilliant period of Athenian supremacy, might be expected to be a favorable element in the search. As the total overthrow of the city by the inhabitants of the neighboring and rival city of Argos occurred only eleven years subsequently to the battle of Platæa, whatever remains might be discovered must necessarily belong to a period antedating the great development of Attic art. In fact, in a city which like Mycenæ steadily declined after the end of the heroic age, apparently because of its inability to adjust itself to the new order of things, those remains should exhibit a culture and the marks of a civil life not very dissimilar to those of the time of the rule of the son of Atreus.

So, at least, thought Dr. Schliemann, and scarcely had he completed his excavations at Hissarlik, when he began to make arrangements for exploring the site covered with Cyclopean ruins in the neighborhood of the village of Charvati, long since identified, beyond any dispute, with Mycenæ.

Before speaking of the results of these explorations and discussing their significance, it may be well to recall the principal facts previously known respecting the city.

Mycenæ stood at the northern end of the plain of Argos, which, like all other level spaces in the mountainous country of Greece, is of very limited extent. From Mycenæ to the head of the Argolic Gulf, the length of the plain is barely ten miles, and the breadth, at its greatest, is only nine. North of Mycenæ the plain contracts into a narrow defile between hills of considerable height. Through this defile led in ancient times the road to Nemea and Phlius, as well as to Cleonæ, and thence to Corinth and northern Greece. If it be asked, What considerations led to the selection of a spot now altogether uninhabited for the chief city of early Greece, it may be answered that, apart from the strength of the situation itself, the command of the pass in question probably had considerable influence in the choice. Moreover, it must be remembered that, as Thucydides tells us, (i, 7,) the settlers of ancient times preferred to place their strongholds some distance back from the sea-shore, for greater security in view of the great prevalence of piracy. The plain itself, of which the Inachus was the chief stream, suffered in its upper portions rom the

scarcity of water, in its lower parts from a too great abundance of it. At present there are but two towns of any size. One of these is *Nauplia*, or, as the Italian sailors have christened it, *Napoli di Romania*, not precisely in the plain, but upon a rocky promontory projecting into the bay on the south-eastern side of its head. The position of the town at the base and on the sides of the *Palamede*, its fortress, commends itself to the eye of a soldier as peculiarly capable of defense, especially under the old system of warfare. Accordingly, for ages it has been the key of this part of Greece, and Franks, Venetians, and Turks have successively prized its possession. We have ourselves seen the winged lion of St. Mark on several parts of the gates and fortifications. The city of Nauplia, we believe, still continues to be the most populous place in the modern government (dioikesis) of Argolis. Next to it comes the town of Argos, nestling at the foot of the hill known by its old Pelasgic name of Larissa.

In ancient times there were three principal cities of note: Argos, Tiryns, and Mycenæ. Of these Mycenæ, though according to tradition the latest founded, grew to be by far the most important, and especially about the time of the Trojan War had gained so distinct a pre-eminence that Diomede, king of Argos, figures in the Homeric poems in the light of a chief feudatory under Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. The three cities formed the angles of an obtuse-angled triangle, with the obtuse angle at Argos. Of the three, Argos has left us (above-ground) by far the least interesting remains, for the reason chiefly, perhaps, that, having remained an inhabited city for many ages after the destruction of its rival, the massive Cyclopean constructions doubtless existing there at one time were destroyed, and the material either removed as rubbish, or broken up and employed in the erection of more recent works. Hence the only traces of the early period at Argos are found in some patches of the walls of the citadel, mixed up with Roman, Byzantine and later Mediæval work; while the theater, etc., in the lower town are of an Hellenic or post-Hellenic origin. So much for the remains above ground. Yet we cannot doubt that judicious exploration would reveal much of interest buried for many centuries from the eye of man, of which even the inhabitants of the Hellenic Argos, five

or six hundred years before Christ, were entirely ignorant. So late, however, as the time of Pausanias (in the second century of the Christian era) there was pointed out * a subterranean building, apparently the counterpart of the celebrated *treasuries* of Mycenæ. Dr. Schliemann does not appear to have made any attempt to explore this doubtless very rich site.

Tiryns, the fabled birthplace of Hercules, is the first of the cities whose exploration Dr. Schliemann describes in the volume before us. The site was found without hesitation on the ruin-covered eminence lying between two and three miles north of Nauplia, in the lower part of the plain. The hill, rising solitary in the midst of a very level district, has been compared to a ship riding on smooth water. What strikes the traveler as most remarkable in the remains is the wonderful solidity of the walls. The stones are themselves ponderous, being so great that, to use Pausanias' expression, a yoke of mules could not move even the smallest. These huge boulders, rough and apparently unwrought, are piled one upon another, without attempt to bind them together by mortar or clamp of metal, or to observe regularity in the laying of courses. It is characteristic of this style of masonry, (generally credited by antiquaries with being the most ancient of the so-called Cyclopean modes of construction,) that frequently small stones have been forced into the interstices between the large masses; whether with a view to ornament or stability it is, perhaps, not always easy to determine. The walls thus heaped up at Tiryns vary, according to Dr. Schliemann, from twenty-five to fifty feet in thickness, and were, doubtless, when standing at their full height, of proportionate loftiness, constituting a peculiarly commanding object in the lower Argolic plain. Next to the general circuit of the wall so remarkably well preserved, the most singular feature of the ruins was some galleries in the walls, of which one in the south-east part of the circuit is particularly interesting. It is not less than *ninety* feet in length, with a breadth of nearly eight feet, running

* He classes it among the θέας ἄξια, of his own day, (ii, 23, 7.) But the "brazen chamber," in which Danaë was confined by her father, Acrisius, when Jupiter visited her in a shower of gold, and which stood upon or by it, ἐπ' αὐτῷ, had been destroyed by Perilaus.

parallel with the length of the walls. The pointed top is not *arched* over, but is formed by causing the upper courses of stones to overlap until they nearly or quite touch. To add to the singularity, this passage has six side openings of similar form, toward the *outside* of the wall. Had they been in the opposite direction, the use of the gallery might have been supposed to be that of a store-house or armory. As it is, Dr. Schliemann suggests that the six niches may have been intended for arches, and the passage itself as a covered communication to guard-houses, towers, etc. The explanation, however, must still be regarded as obscure and unsatisfactory. Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Tiryns establish a few points of importance. To the walls, which he agrees with other observers in regarding as the most ancient in Greece, he ascribes an antiquity of sixteen hundred to eighteen hundred years before Christ. The only metals met with were bronze and lead. On the other hand, no stone implements were discovered. The archaic pottery, much resembling that subsequently found at Mycenæ, by no means establishes the existence of so low a civilization as the rude walls would lead us to expect; while the fact that pottery of a much later date was discovered outside of the citadel, induces our author to believe that here a new city arose, probably in the beginning of the fourth century before Christ. The majority of the houses of the more ancient city Dr. Schliemann conjectures to have "consisted of unburned bricks, which still form the building material of most of the villages in the Argolid."—P. 9.

It may be noted that at Tiryns Dr. Schliemann began to discover those terra-cotta figures, to which he gives the name of "*cow-headed.*" Just as he believes that the designation "*glaukopis,*" applied to Athena or Minerva, can only be understood as an allusion to the fact that originally that goddess was worshiped *with an owl's head*, so he is confident that the designation "*boöpis,*" belonging to Juno, arose from the circumstance that the wife of Jove was represented with the head and horns of a *cow*. We cannot say that in either case he has brought forward demonstrative evidence, and yet we see much probability in the supposition. As was shown in a previous article, when the views of Dr. Schliemann on this subject, propounded in his "Troy and its Remains," were

under consideration, early pagan mythology seems to point to an antecedent period of idolatry, in which animal forms were worshiped as the embodiment of mental faculties or moral principles. Next we find, by a natural revulsion against the grossness of these representations, the less degraded, but still repulsive, figures, in which, as in the eagle-headed Nisroch, only so much of the animal form is retained as is historically necessary in the worshiper's view. Last of all comes the entire rejection of the animal form, for which a perfect human body is substituted, while some accompanying emblem serves the purpose of recalling the old significance. As the owl is on the later coins of Athens the constant accompaniment of Minerva's head, so the cow's head adorns the coins of Samos, an island where the *cultus* of Juno was more than usually important. However, we must refer the curious in such matters to the full discussion of Dr. Schliemann.* The terra cotta cows and cow-headed "idols" found and figured in the present volume are, it is true, not all of them well made out; some of those in colored plates A, B, C and D require the exercise of a pretty strong imagination to recognize them as cows rather than dogs or cats, and, we suspect, would not have been recognized at all save by a person with decided prepossessions in favor of their vaccine character. Yet the probability that they are meant for cows, and that, being such, they are not mere children's toys, but have a religious significance, is increased by the discovery of the really magnificent head of silver with golden horns, which could scarcely have had other than a symbolic import.† It must not be forgotten that the whole region of which Mycenæ was the center was closely connected with the worship of Juno, as the myths respecting Hercules sufficiently evidence, and, indeed, that the great *Heræum*, or grove and sanctuary of Juno, was only fifteen stadia, or less than two miles (south-east) of Mycenæ. There stood the great statue of the goddess represented in a sitting posture, made of gold

* "Mycenæ," xix–xxii.

† We were at first inclined to regard favorably the view set forth early last year in an Athenian journal by one of the professors in the university, namely, that the head (then somewhat covered with rust, etc.) was intended for a *stag's* rather than a *cow's* head, representing the stag of Cerynia, in Arcadia, the capture of which was the object of the third of the labors of Hercules. An inspection of the plates in Dr. Schliemann's work convinces us that this view is incorrect.

and ivory, the work of the celebrated sculptor, Polyclitus.* So deep-seated was the veneration of the inhabitants of the whole region for Juno, as here adored, that, after the destruction of Mycenæ, her worship was maintained with no less devotion by the Argives, who even reckoned time by the years of the high-priestess of Juno.

The ruins of *Mycenæ*, to which naturally Dr. Schliemann devoted most of his attention, had come down to us with little change from the time when that minute topographer, Pausanias, visited them, seventeen hundred years ago. The description he gives (ii, 16) might answer substantially for the present general aspect.

After stating that "the inhabitants of Argos destroyed Mycenæ out of envy, because, whereas the Argives remained passive during the invasion of the Mede, the Myceneans sent to Thermopylæ eighty men who took part with the Lacedæmonians in the engagement"—a patriotic act "which involved them in destruction, by exciting the resentment of the Argives"—Pausanias adds:—

Nevertheless, there still remains, together with other parts of the circuit, the gate, on which lions stand. It is said that these also are the work of the Cyclopes who built the wall at Tiryns for Prœtus. In the ruins of Mycenæ is the fountain called Perseia, and the subterranean buildings of Atreus and his sons, where were the treasuries of their wealth. There is the tomb of Atreus, and the tombs of as many as Ægisthus slew at a feast when they had returned with Agamemnon from Troy. Respecting the genuineness of the monument of Cassandra the Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ dispute; but there is another of Agamemnon, and that of his charioteer Eurymedon, and the joint tomb of Teledamus and Pelops, twins borne by Cassandra, whom, while still in their infancy, Ægisthus is said to have butchered in addition to their parents. There is the tomb of Electra also, for she was married to Pylades, having been given in mariage to him by Orestes. Hellanicus adds that Medon and Strophius were children of Pylades born of Electra. Clytæmnestra, also, and Ægisthus are buried rather far from the wall, and were not deemed worthy of burial within, where Agamemnon himself lay, and those slain with him.†

* Pausanias, ii, 17, 4.

† Pausanias, Descriptio Græciæ, ii, 16, 5–7. It ought to be remarked that the words *καὶ Ἠλέκτρας* are wanting in the MSS., and are omitted by Schubart, but are required by the connection.

The walls of the citadel of Mycenæ compare not unfavorably in solidity with those of Tiryns, though displaying more variety. Dr. Schliemann says:—

> The Acropolis is surrounded by Cyclopean walls, from thirteen to thirty-five feet high, and on an average sixteen feet thick. Their entire circuit still exists, but they have evidently been much higher. They are of beautiful hard breccia, with which the neighboring mountains abound. They follow the sinuosities of the rock, and show three different kinds of architecture. By far the greater portion of them is built exactly like the walls of Tiryns, although not so massively.*

Dr. Schliemann agrees with previous writers in regarding this as the most ancient style of masonry, older than that which he designates as "walls of the second period," consisting of "polygons, fitted together with great art, so that, in spite of the infinite variety of joints, they formed as it were one solidly united and neat wall, as if of rock." Last of all he places, as "walls of the third period," those walls to the right and left of the great gate, which consist of almost quadrangular blocks arranged in horizontal layers; but their joints are not always vertical, and they present lines more or less oblique."†

The celebrated "Gate of Lions," which Dr. Schliemann has taken extraordinary pains to investigate in all its details, and which is here presented to the eye of the reader with a profusion of illustrations, is the principal entrance to the citadel. Contrary to the statement of previous writers, who pretended to have dug down to the original threshold, and noticed the very ruts of the wheels of ancient chariots, Dr. Schliemann maintains that the unbroken accumulation of rubbish, requiring infinite trouble and no little time to remove, proved indisputably that the gate had never been cleared since the time when apparently the defenders hurled down great stones to block it up! The wheel-ruts exist only in the imagination of the writers. Upon the now uncovered stones there is nothing of the kind to be seen!‡

* "Mycenæ," p. 29.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30. The classification is not an original one, being that, among others, of C. O. Muller, "Ancient Art and its Remains," p. 21, and Aldenhoven, "Itineraire descriptif de l'Attique et du Péloponnèse," pp. 387, 388.

‡ Yet the proportions of the height and breadth of the gate, according to the engraving, for example, in Felton's Smith's "History of Greece," (Boston, 1855,)

The gateway opening is ten feet eight inches high, and widens from nine feet six inches at the top to ten feet three inches below. On this rests a lintel fifteen feet long, and on this in turn the triangular slab (ten feet high, twelve feet wide, and two feet thick) on which "are represented in relief two lions, standing opposite to each other on their long outstretched hind-legs, and resting with their fore-paws on either side of the top of an altar, on the midst of which stands a column with a capital formed of four circles inclosed between two horizontal fillets." The general belief that the heads of the lions have been broken off, Dr. Schliemann shows to be erroneous, for he has found that they were *not* cut from the same stone with the animals, but "were made separately, and fastened on the bodies with bolts." He thinks that, on account of the contracted space, the heads must have been protruding and facing the spectator, and inclines to the belief that they were of bronze, and gilded. As to the significance of the sculpture, his preference is for regarding the column as the symbol of "Apollo Agyieus," that is, the "guardian of the gate-way," whom Orestes and Electra, in fact, invoke when entering their father's house, (Soph. Electra, 1374.)*

To our knowledge respecting the mode of construction and use of the strange underground building commonly known as the Treasury of Atreus, or Tomb of Agamemnon, Dr. Schliemann does not add very much. Of its importance he rightly observes, that "this Treasury is the most important and the only complete monument of prehistoric times in Greece, and the interest attached to it is so much the greater, as tradition assigns it to Atreus, the father of Agamemnon, king of men." The photographic view given of the entrance corroborates the accuracy of the representations of Stuart and others. The dimensions of the enormous inner lintel which has long amazed those unacquainted with the marvels of building which men so destitute of mechanical labor-saving contrivances as the early inhabitants of the peninsula were able to accomplish, are given at three feet nine inches in thickness, twenty-seven and a half

p. 24, are strikingly correct, as may be seen by a comparison with the large view given by Schliemann from a photograph; and what look like "ruts" in the former nearly coincide with the "furrows" of the latter. "Mycenæ," pp. 121, 122.

* "Mycenæ," p. 34.

feet in length on its lower and twenty-nine feet on its upper surface, and seventeen in breadth. The weight is, therefore, about three hundred thousand English pounds, or, one hundred and thirty-eight tons! Others estimate it a little higher, at one hundred and sixty-six tons. Our author coincides in the opinion almost universal among antiquaries, that the entire inner surface of the principal circular dome-shaped chamber, fifty feet high and fifty feet in diameter, was originally covered with bronze plates, secured by means of great broad-headed nails of bronze, of which some have been found whole, and many traces of the rest may be seen embedded in the stones. Such were the brazen chambers of which mythology and primeval history have so much to say. "Thus it is certain that in a remote antiquity, before sculpture or painting came into use for wall decoration, polished metal plates were employed to give both splendor and dignity to the houses of the rich." *

The excavations of our author, which were productive of the magnificent results that have given his name a place among the names of the most fortunate of explorers, began at the "Gate of Lions," and were pushed southward from this point within the inclosure of the Acropolis. One reason for the selection of this spot was the conviction forced upon his mind by a careful reading of the celebrated passage of Pausanias already translated, that the topographer intended to state that the tombs of those he mentions by name were all, with the exception of Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra, situated within the *walls of the Acropolis*, or citadel, and not within the *general walls* of the city merely, as even such judicious writers as Colonel Leake, Dodwell, Prokesch, and Ernst Curtius had supposed.† And, certainly, a second reading of the passage will lead any candid mind to the same conclusion. For the walls referred to are unquestionably the same walls in which but a moment before Pausanias has located the "gate with the lions over it." The natural inference would seem, then, to be that the tombs in question ought to be found just within, or at least not very far distant from the Lions' Gate.

The excavation proved to be a difficult undertaking, not so much because of the natural accumulation of detritus as from "the huge blocks by which the passage was obstructed, and

* *Ibid.*, p. 15. † "Mycenæ," p. 60, *et passim.*

which seem to have been hurled from the adjoining walls at the assailants, when the Acropolis was captured by the Argives in 468 B.C." The first discovery was of a small chamber on the left, immediately on entering the gate. Dr. Schliemann says that it was "undoubtedly the ancient door-keeper's habitation." This is not, however, quite so clear to our mind, for Dr. Schliemann himself makes it to be but four and a half feet high, or much too low for any but a dwarf to stand upright in, not to speak of men of the stature of the contemporaries of the persons whose remains were subsequently disinterred. It is true that Dr. Schliemann apologetically adds that, though the chamber "would not be to the taste of our present door-keepers," "in the heroic age comfort was unknown, particularly to slaves, and, being unknown, it was unmissed."* But he gives no indication of the reason why a more rational height could not be afforded, and, unfortunately, on none of his elaborate plans is the chamber put down.

For a distance of about eighty feet the deep trench from the Lions' Gate disclosed nothing more interesting than a number of walls of Cyclopean style, so called, belonging partly to houses, perhaps, partly to cisterns. This interval past, an unexpected discovery was made. Two parallel rows of nearly vertical slabs were met at the distance of a foot or two apart, which, on further examination, were found to form two complete concentric circles. The slabs had a uniform inclination toward the center of the circles, being at an angle of seventy-five degrees with the horizon. It was Dr. Schliemann's first hasty supposition, before the circuit had been made out, that these slabs set on end were monumental *stelai*, or tombstones; but this had soon to be abandoned. Resting upon them in places were other slabs, which, when inspected, proved to be furnished with tenons fitting into notches in the upright slabs. Evidently, the whole circuit had been similarly provided, and thus a continuous bench had been formed around a space ninety or one hundred feet in diameter. Of this interesting discovery, Dr. Schliemann says:—

My supposition that the double parallel row of large slabs would be found to form a complete circle, has been proved correct. One half of it rests on the wall, which was intended to support it in

* "Mycenæ," p. 62.

the lower part of the Acropolis; the other half is founded on the higher flat rock, and touches the foot of the Cyclopean wall before mentioned; the entrance to it is from the north side.

At first I thought that the space between the two rows might have served for libations or for offerings of flowers in honor of the illustrious dead. But I now find this to be impossible, because the double row of slabs was originally covered with cross slabs, of which six are still *in situ;* they are firmly fitted in and consolidated by means of notches one and a quarter to three and a third inches deep, and four inches broad in the upper edges of the aslant standing slabs of the two parallel rows, which received similar projections on the cross stones, forming a mortice and tenon joint. As these latter exist on all the slabs, there can be no doubt that the whole circle was originally covered in the same way. The vertical slabs are from four feet two inches to eight feet two inches long, and one foot eight inches to four feet broad, and the largest are in the two places where the double row descends from the rock to the supporting wall. Inside there is, first, a layer of stones one foot four inches thick, for the purpose of holding the slabs in their place; the remaining space is filled up with pure earth mixed with long, thin cockle shells in the places where the original covering remains in its position, or with household remains, mixed with innumerable fragments of archaic pottery wherever the covering is missing. This circumstance can leave no doubt that the cross slabs were only removed after the city had been captured and deserted, because all the fragments of archaic pottery must necessarily have been washed down by the rain from the five natural or artificial upper terraces of the Acropolis, and this can, of course, only have taken place after Mycenæ had been abandoned by its inhabitants.*

The inclination is such that a person sitting upon this bench, and facing toward the interior of the circle, would have convenient room for his feet; for it must be noticed that the two rows of slabs come to precisely the same height, and the cross slabs are accordingly perfectly horizontal. Of the identification of the spot with the *Agora*, or *Place of Public Assembly*, of Mycenæ, Dr. Schliemann remarks:—

My esteemed friend, Professor F. A. Paley, has been the first to advance the opinion, accepted by Mr. Charles T. Newton and by myself, that the double parallel circle of slabs, having been in the most solid way covered with cross slabs, must necessarily have served as a bench to sit upon, and as the inclosure of the Agora of Mycenæ. He thinks that the first idea for the form of an Agora was given by the circular dances, (κύκλιοι χοροί,) and the recitation of the dithyrambs. The assembled people sat in a cir-

* "Mycenæ," p. 123.

cle, and the orator stood in the center, as we see in Homer and in Sophocles; and just in the center of this inclosure at Mycenæ I found a rock forming a slight elevation, which might well have served as the platform (*βῆμα*) from which the speakers addressed those sitting on the circular bench.*

As in the case of many another anticipated discovery, it is really surprising how much confirmatory evidence, previously unnoticed, turns up. We may pass by the incidental references made by the later poets and tragedians to the *circular* shape of the Agora and the bench surrounding, as of less importance in establishing the pre-Homeric conditions, and take but one out of many passages of Homer himself upon which a flood of light is thrown by Dr. Schliemann's discovery. On one of the compartments of the Shield of Achilles, the divine artificer wrought a marvelously graphic picture of an *agora*, the scene of a judicial trial before the elders of the city, (Iliad, xviii, 497–508:)—

Λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος, κ. τ. λ.

"Meanwhile a multitude
Was in the *forum*, where a strife went on—
Two men contending for a fine, the price
Of one who had been slain. Before the crowd
One claimed that he had paid the fine, and one
Denied that aught had been received, and both
Called for the sentence which should end the strife.
The people clamored for both sides, for both
Had eager friends; the heralds held the crowd
In check; *the elders, upon polished stones,*
Sat in a sacred circle. Each one took,
In turn, a herald's scepter in his hand,
And, rising, gave his sentence. In the midst
Two talents lay in gold, to be the meed
Of him whose juster judgment should prevail."

We have used Bryant's rendering because, although slightly inaccurate in one or two points, it expresses the meaning of the—

οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἵατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ

better than the "On polished chairs, in solemn circle," etc., of Derby, or "On chairs of polished stone, ranged in venerable circle," etc., of Gladstone. Evidently Homer had such a locality as that of Mycenæ in his mind's eye when composing

* "Mycenæ," p. 125.

these verses, with the elders seated on the bench around a clear space, where the herald moved about from one to the other, holding the scepter or staff; where, also, the prosecutor and defendant stood with the gold lying between them. Only around the circle, which was more properly a *βουλευτήριον* in the midst of a larger *agora*, there were broader spaces than at Mycenæ, spaces which were, on the occasion of the trial, crowded with partisans of either side of the quarrel.

The "circular agora" contained, however, yet greater wonders within its bounds, and a store not merely of antiquarian wealth, but of actual precious metal such as the most excited imagination could not have figured to itself. Far down below the surface, at depths varying from about twenty-five to thirty-five feet, Dr. Schliemann discovered five *tombs*, the contents of which compare with the most valuable of treasures coming down to us from antiquity, and quite cast into the shade even the famous "Treasury of Priam," the wonder and admiration of the readers of "Troy and its Remains." A brief description is all that we can here give, referring for further information to the very full account in the volume before us, and especially to the magnificent illustrations it gives of almost every object discovered.

Each of the five tombs had been dug through the earth, and a short distance, sometimes even as much as fifteen or eighteen feet in the underlying rock. They were all quadrangular, and of considerable dimensions: the first, twenty-one feet five inches long by ten feet four inches broad; the second, twenty-one feet three inches (nineteen feet eight inches on the opposite side) by eleven feet eight inches; the third, sixteen feet eight inches by ten feet two inches; the fourth, twenty-four feet by eighteen and a half feet; and the fifth, eleven and a half feet by nine feet eight inches. In all but the last the four sides had been lined with walls (in three, by *slanting* walls) of stone; in the case of the last, and smallest, there was merely a lining of large pieces of schist placed in a slanting position against the low border of the tomb. Upon the bottom, in every tomb, there was first a layer of pebbles; resting upon these were human bodies that have evidently (as proved by the calcined condition of the pebbles, the smoke upon the walls, etc.) been burned on the very spot; though the fire does

not appear to have been hot enough to reduce them to ashes, but only to burn off their clothing and slightly affect their metallic ornaments. In the five tombs there were altogether fifteen bodies, three in each of the first three, five in the fourth, and only one in the fifth. Those in the third tomb, Dr. Schliemann supposes, from the profusion of jewelry, to have been bodies of women. All the bodies were buried with the head to the east, with the exception of *two* of the five in the large "fourth" tomb, for which room could not be obtained in that way, and which were, consequently, placed with their heads to the north. All the bodies were, of course, reduced to such a condition that, whatever bones remained quickly disintegrated on exposure to the air, although of one a species of mummy, hideous enough no doubt, has been obtained by the speedy application of a solution of gum-sandarac in alcohol. By the immense pressure upon these remains, continuing for so long a period, even the best preserved of the bodies had been reduced to a thickness of only an inch, or an inch and a half!

In honor of the illustrious dead, their corpses were laid out, or rather laden, with a mass of precious utensils and ornaments* that is unexampled in the case of any tomb opened in recent times, whether in Greece, Italy, or elsewhere. And yet these sepulchers had (with the exception to be immediately noted) remained inviolate, in the midst of the poverty of the present inhabitants of this portion of Argolis, for thousands of years—an advantage assuredly due to no other cause than the utter ignorance of the fact of their existence. Of the fifteen skeletons, only one had ever been tampered with; namely, the middle one of the first tomb. This one was found to have been stripped of most of its ornaments, while those in immediate proximity on the right and left had not been touched. Dr. Schliemann comes to the conclusion, from an examination, that it had been reached by making a shaft directly down, and that the deed was perpetrated before the destruction of the city in 6 B. C. The haste of the rob-

* The total weight of the gold objects found in the five tombs is stated by Mr. Gladstone, in the preface, p. xxxvi, and by the index, p. 379, at about one hundred pounds Troy weight, or nearly that of five thousand British sovereigns (say $24,000 to $25,000!)

bers is evidenced by the fact that they left so much booty behind them, scattering many gold buttons, etc., through the earth with which they refilled the excavation. About one half of the corpses had their faces covered and protected by "massive" masks of gold, of which not less than seven were found, all of them but one much injured by the pressure of the superincumbent earth. One seems to have been a child's mask, though of other traces of the burial of the child there were none. Another had a lion's face, according to Dr. Schliemann, though, it must be confessed, the resemblance is difficult to make out in the plate on page 211, and Dr. Schliemann admits that "at first sight its engraving resembles more a jacket than any thing else; but, on closer examination, we find that it represents a lion's head, whose ears and eyes are distinctly seen." Page 222. The other five are men's faces. Dr. Schliemann believes them likenesses of the wearers, and is astonished that any goldsmiths could have been obtained at Mycenæ able to execute them in the brief interval allowed to elapse in Greece and other warm countries between death and interment. There is this to be said in favor of the theory that they were portraits: each differs from the rest, and there is nothing conventional in their treatment. On the other hand, they are by no means handsome. Only one (that on page 289, and marked "Massive Golden Mask of the body at the south end of the First Sepulcher") presents a really heroic cast of countenance. It has well-marked features, clear cut eyebrows, a long, straight nose, compressed lips, indicative of great decision, and a full beard. Some of the dead had also "ornamented *breast covers* of massive gold." One of these (see plate on page 301) measures one foot nine inches in length by one foot two and three fifths inches. Upon and about the dead were great numbers of gold "plates" of various sizes, particularly over the supposed women of the third tomb, where there were not less than seven hundred and one collected. Many of these are of exquisite execution in *repoussé* work, as may be judged from the eight splendid samples on pages 166–169. Then there were quantities of "leaves," "buttons," "stars," etc., of the same material. These are thought to have been intended, at least in part, to be fastened to the dress by glue, or otherwise. In some of the sepulchers, along

with great and costly goblets, and other vessels of gold and silver, caldrons of bronze, etc., there were swords of copper, or bronze, a golden "telamon," or sword-strap, and rows of graduated gold disks, lying in a row, where they had been left, when the wooden and perishable sheath, which they had undoubtedly adorned, rotted away and disappeared. Nor ought the really splendid "diadems" and "crowns," in some cases placed upon the dead, to be omitted from this very imperfect enumeration. That on page 185 was a little over two feet in length, and six inches broad immediately above the forehead, highly wrought with shield-like ornaments, and provided with a singular fringe, or border, of gold leaves of many different patterns.

It is important to notice that on not a single object was a trace of writing of any kind to be found—not even such rudimentary writing as was discovered at Troy. Thus a civilization is revealed so far like that portrayed in the Iliad and Odyssey, that it possessed in a very high degree the arts of working in the precious metals, in ivory, in bronze, in rock-crystal, etc. The story of Vulcan's skill in the fabrication of the famous shield appearing not to be altogether a poetical invention, but the reproduction, possibly on a grander scale, of what the poet was really familiar with. At the same time, the remains of Mycenæ agree with the poems in the total absence of indications of literary culture among the heroes.

As to the *progress* indicated by the remains, some interesting facts come to light. The vexed question respecting the true meaning of the Homeric *chalcos* is answered by the statement that the term covered both *copper* and *bronze*; for while the weapons and a few of the vases contained as large a proportion as from ten to thirteen per cent. of tin, doubtless with a view to strength, the kettles and other domestic utensils had a mere trace of tin, and were almost pure copper. (P. 367.) Copper was employed, also, as a medium in plating. Being apparently unacquainted with any method of overlaying silver directly with gold, the artisans of Mycenæ were wont to put a coating of copper upon a silver base and then impose the gold upon this. (P. 158, *et al.*) We say the artisans of *Mycenæ*, for there is every reason to think that the work which is revealed to us in the contents of the five tombs of the agora (as well as in

the less important tomb just south of it, described in the last chapter of the book,) is of native origin. The proofs are numerous. One is the total absence of any marked resemblance to the manufactures of Egypt, Assyria, India, or any other part of the Oriental world. It can be shown clearly that, though there is in the rudimentary stage of art all over the world a certain vague likeness, neither in the architectonics and works of plastic art of Mycenæ with which we have been long acquainted, (such as the Treasury of Atreus or the lions above the great gate of the city,) nor in the recently discovered treasures, are there any distinctive marks of a community of origin. A second proof is obtained in the numerous *molds* that have come to light, in which various articles were cast, conclusively pointing to a manufacture of such objects upon the spot.* A third, we think, can certainly be traced in the absence, already referred to, of any form of alphabetic writing. As it is almost incredible that the Mycenean tombs can boast of an origin more remote than that of the extant monuments of Egypt and Assyria, and as we know the fondness of the Egyptians and other peoples of the East for inscribing their works with characters, hieroglyphic, cuneiform, etc., it would have been almost a miracle had the Mycenean gold and silver ware been imported, and yet not a single goblet, vase, or gem of the thousands here unearthed contain a letter to disclose the foreign derivation of the whole or the greater part of the treasure.

The truth is, that we have in the works found in the agora of Mycenæ an entirely new and consistent *school of art*, and one that will require and repay study. And in this we find a fourth and most conclusive demonstration of the domestic origin of the treasure. Dr. Schliemann has, for instance, much to say respecting the *spiral* designs so frequently met with, but he has not, we think, turned these to the use of which

* Besides the molds, there are also objects identically the same, which were manifestly cast in molds. As, for instance, among the ornaments found in the fourth tomb was a well executed representation of the *sepia*, or cuttle-fish, two inches and a half in length, (illustration on p. 268.) Fifty-three copies were collected in this single tomb. "All these fifty-three *sepias* are perfectly alike, and have a curious ornamentation in relief representing spirals; all their arms are likewise curved into spiral forms. . . . All appear to have been cast in the same mold, otherwise their *perfect* resemblance is inexplicable." Dr. Schliemann believes that these ornaments were fastened to clothes and drapery.

they are susceptible as corroborative of the native origin of the articles they adorn. This is, of course, a subject which it is very difficult to enter into without the aid of pictorial representation. But this can be said, that probably nowhere have any works of art come to light in the decoration of which spiral lines enter so largely. They are here a specialty. Elsewhere they are occasional, here they are constant. We find them in the greatest variety, and from the simplest curve to the most intricate and labyrinthine maze, in stone, terra-cotta, silver and gold, upon vases, "disks," "plates," and numberless other objects. It is a common type and marks a common tendency. Take, moreover, one of the most curiously formed of these spiral decorations, in which we have several parallel rows, each composed of a series of volutes, and each volute ingeniously connected with all the volutes in its neighborhood, above, below, and on either side. Now we find this volute, for example, executed in *intaglio* on a gold plate found in the "first tomb." (Illustration on p. 311.) We find identically the same ornamental spirals doubly executed in *repoussé* work upon a large gold cup found in the same tomb, (illustration on p. 314,) slightly modified on the breast-cover of massive gold placed on one of the dead in the same, (illustration on p. 301,) and exactly reproduced on one of the three "tombstones" which stood over the "first tomb." (Illustration on p. 80.) Now, if it were supposable that the various movable objects of gold had been imported from some other country, being the fruit of Assyrian or other foreign art, it would be absurd to imagine the same to be true respecting a ponderous slab of stone about four feet square and six inches thick, which, if we mistake not, is evidently of the native calcareous stone, of the neighborhood of Mycenæ, and probably from the same quarries with the slabs of the circular seat of the *agora*.

In view of this distinctly marked *native* character, as well as for other reasons, the theory propounded by Professor Forchhammer has an appearance of baseless hypothesis. He maintains that the antiquities discovered at Mycenæ represent neither early Greek nor any pre-Hellenic barbarous art, but Persian, it may be Assyrian, Babylonian, and Bactrian, workmanship.

In order to explain the exceptional mode of burial and the extraordinary amount of treasure stowed away in the tombs, he

supposes that the skeletons found by Dr. Schliemann are those of generals killed during the siege of Mycenæ and hastily interred within the walls. The treasure itself he traces to the battle of Platæa. Though as early as the Homeric poems Mycenæ was called a rich town, yet such treasures as were found in the tombs by Dr. Schliemann were probably, as Dr. Forchhammer surmises, the booty of the Persian war. That booty was immense, and after it had been tithed for the Olympian Zeus, the Delphic Apollo, and the Isthmian Poseidon, all the rest, women, gold, silver, precious objects, and animals, was divided equally among those who had taken part in the war. It was only eleven years before the siege of Mycenæ that its share of the Persian millards had been deposited within its walls. Nothing, therefore, seems more natural than that, during the siege and previous to the surrender, they should have hidden their treasure in the tombs in which the bodies of their leaders had been deposited, and where, unknown to the enemy, they might have been recovered, unless all had been buried beneath the ruins of the town.*

So wild a theory scarcely deserves serious discussion. Discarding all the evidence the remains themselves afford, and basing his conclusions so little upon the criteria of art that he is uncertain to which one of a number of totally distinct schools he shall assign them, Professor Forchhammer offers a solution which has not a particle of proof in its favor, and than which a more improbable one could hardly be imagined. Not to speak of other difficulties, there is the insuperable objection that not only is there no relic whatever among the treasures, or in the earth heaped upon them at the time, that can be shown to belong to the first half of the fifth century before the Christian era, but not even a trace of alphabetic writing then in common use every-where.

It seems, then, to us to be incontrovertible that the treasures of art discovered by Dr. Schliemann (the authenticity and antiquity of which, as unearthed in the presence of a large number of learned men from the not far distant city and university of Athens, are established beyond question) belong necessarily to a period anterior to the destruction of Mycenæ in B. C. 468. It is equally clear that they belong to the *flourishing* period in Mycenæ's history, that is, to the period closing with the time of Orestes, or at least with the Dorian invasion; not to the period between that invasion and B. C. 468. During this last period we have no reason to suppose that Mycenæ

* Summary in "New York Tribune" of June 18, 1878.

was wealthy, as we know that it was shorn of its political influence. But before the Dorian invasion, we are equally certain that it enjoyed the reputation of being among the most prosperous of capitals. The only two cities to which Homer applies the term "*polychrysos*," "abounding in gold," are Troy and Mycenæ, and by both it was, as the recent excavations prove, equally deserved. We say *equally*, because we do not forget that, as Mr. Gladstone well remarks, we are comparing Troy in its exhaustion (at the close of a protracted war) with Mycenæ in its prosperity. (Preface, p. xvii.)

The dynasty of the Atreidæ, or if we will of the Pelopidæ, the only dynasty respecting whose history we have some slight data, and these possibly, even probably, much distorted by the poetical traditions through which they have come down to us, is the approximate period of the remains. They can hardly have been later, they need not be supposed much older. It would, indeed, have been strange had any other age in the city's existence than that of Agamemnon or his immediate descendants been able to boast the possession of such almost fabulous wealth, that the fragment of it (for such we must suppose it to have been) buried with the bodies of a few illustrious corpses should fill us with amazement.

Can we go further, and fix with a good measure the certainty of the very persons to whom these sepulchers belong? Dr. Schliemann thinks we can. His view, in brief, is this: Pausanias mentions five* monuments as having been pointed out to him, within the walls. The context of the passage shows clearly that previous geographical and topographical writers were mistaken in understanding by these walls the fortifications of the lower city; it establishes conclusively that Pausanias referred to the inclosure of the *Acropolis*, this being the wall containing the Lion's Gate. Clytæmnestra and Ægisthus, for their crimes, were deemed unworthy of burial in the same place, and were, therefore, interred outside.† Now, just inside

*The number, however, is doubtful, for Pausanias does not enumerate clearly. If the reference to Electra is authentic, there would seem to have been *six* tombs: 1. Atreus. 2. Cassandra. 3. Agamemnon. 4. Eurymedon. 5. Electra. 6. Cassandra's twin children, Teledamus and Pelops.

†May not the use of the comparative ἀπωτέρω indicate that their monuments were somewhat further removed from the gate *without* than the other monuments were *within*?

of the Lions' Gate we have discovered five sepulchers, the occupants of which are proved to have been personages of high rank and distinction, not only from the immense treasure buried with them, but from the sepulchers being situated within the inclosure of the circular seat of the *agora.** Must not these have been the tombs to which Pausanias refers? It is true that the tombs themselves, the *stelai*, or tombstones, that stood over four of them, the sacrificial altar over the remaining one, (the fourth tomb, p. 213, and plate F,) and even the circular seat of the *agora*, must have been long since covered up from sight, when Pausanias visited the ruins, and he could have seen nothing of them. But their sites had been carefully handed down, and were pointed out to the indefatigable topographer.†

On this point we must let Dr. Schliemann speak for himself:

I have not the slightest objection to admit that the tradition which assigns the tombs in the Acropolis to Agamemnon and his companions, who on their return from Ilium were treacherously murdered by Clytæmnestra or her paramour, Ægisthus, may be perfectly correct and faithful. I am bound to admit this so much the more, as we have the certainty that, to say the least, all the bodies in one tomb had been buried simultaneously. The calcined pebbles below each of them, the marks of the fire to the right and left in the internal wall of the tomb, the undisturbed state of the ashes, and the charred wood on and around the bodies, give us the most unmistakable proofs of this fact. Owing to the enormous depths of these sepulchers, and the close proximity of the bodies to each other, it is quite impossible that three or even five funeral piles could have been dressed at different intervals of time in the same tomb.

The identity of the mode of burial, the perfect similarity of all the tombs, their very close proximity, the impossibility of admitting that three or even five royal personages of immeasurable wealth, who had died a natural death at long intervals of time, should have been huddled together in the same tomb, and, finally,

* At Megara Pausanias distinctly states the tombs of heroes to have been within the place for council, or *bouleuterion*, saying: "Here they built the place for council, in order that they might have the tomb of the heroes within the place for council." The *bouleuterion* in Megara, as elsewhere always, must have been in the *agora*. ("Mycenæ," p. 126.) We may add that if, as Dr. Schliemann thinks, the circular seat of the *agora* at Mycenæ was built subsequently to the tombs, (p. 340,) then the builders did precisely what the Megarians did, and, doubtless, for the same reason.

† "Mycenæ," p. 343.

the great resemblance of all the ornaments, which show exactly the same style of art and the same epoch, all these facts are so many proofs that all the twelve men, three women, and perhaps two or three children, had been murdered simultaneously and burned at the same time.

The veracity of the tradition seems further to be confirmed by the deep veneration which the Mycenæns, and in fact the inhabitants of the whole Argolid, have always shown for these five sepulchers. The funeral pyres were not yet extinguished when they were covered with a layer of clay, and then with a layer of pebbles, on which the earth was thrown at once. To this circumstance chiefly are we indebted for the preservation of so large a quantity of wood and the comparatively good preservation of the bodies; for in no instance were the bones consumed by the fire, and on several bodies, which were covered with golden masks and thick breastplates, even much of the flesh had remained. The site of each tomb was carefully marked by tombstones, and when these had been covered by the dust of ages and had disappeared, fresh tombstones were erected on the new level, but precisely over the spot where the ancient memorials lay buried. Only on the large fourth sepulcher with the five bodies instead of new tombstones, a sacrificial altar of almost circular form was built.*

Dr. Schliemann finds it necessary to answer the natural objection that the five sepulchers cannot contain the bodies of Agamemnon and his followers, because these were killed by their enemies, and it is inconceivable that either Ægisthus or Clytæmnestra would have buried them or suffered them to be buried with such immense treasures. In answering the objection, he also adduces what he believes to be indications of the *ignominy* dictated by hatred in the mode of the interment:—

This objection falls to the ground before the testimony of Homer, that even he who killed his enemy burned him in his full armor, with all his weapons. Thus, for example, Andromache says to Hector: (Iliad, vi, 413, 419:)—

> . . . "Father I have none,
> Nor honored mother; for divine Achilles
> My father slew, and sacked Cilician Thebes,
> Fair-peopled city of the lofty gates.
> Yet stript he not Eëtion of his arms,
> Through the restraint of a religious awe,
> But, burning him with all his panoply,
> Heaped high his tomb."—*J. C. Wright.*

That it was the custom in the heroic age to bury the dead with those objects which had been dear to them in life is further

* "Mycenæ," pp. 336, 337.

proved by Homer, where the soul of Elpenor begs Ulysses to bury his body with his weapons, and to erect a mound over him. . . . It would therefore appear that, in burying the fifteen royal personages with immense treasures, the murderers merely acted according to an ancient custom, and consequently only fulfilled a sacred duty.

On the other hand, the usage of the age appears to have left the murderers at full liberty regarding the form of the sepulchers and the mode of the burial, *which were consequently as ignominious as possible.* The graves were merely deep, irregular, quadrangular holes, into which the royal victims were huddled by three and even by five, and on the bottom of which they were burned, but each separately, so that their bones might not be mixed together.*

The author proceeds to corroborate this most extraordinary notion of "ignominy" by a reference to "the five immense and magnificent treasuries," (including the well known "Treasury of Atreus,") in the lower city and in the suburb, all of which must necessarily be more ancient than the five royal tombs in the Acropolis:—

If we reflect that princes, who used such magnificent underground palaces as storehouses of their wealth, should have been *huddled away like impure animals into miserable holes,* we find in this *ignominious burial* alone a powerful argument in favor of the veracity of the tradition which points to these sepulchers as those of the king of men, Agamemnon, and his companions, who on their return from Ilium were treacherously murdered by Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra.†

We must confess that this looks too much like special pleading, and gives the impression that almost any act in the solemn putting of the dead out of our sight might, on the same principles, be interpreted as a mark of disrespect. Mr. Gladstone finds special marks of disrespect in connection with "the staggering fact that the bodies of full grown and apparently (p. 295) tall men have been forced into a space of only five feet six inches in length, so as to require that sort of compression which amounts almost to mutilation!" How inconclusive all such arguments are is shown by the very easy and rational explanation of this last and apparently damaging circumstance suggested by an acute writer in "The Nation."‡ The "first" tomb, the bottom of which as cut in the rock is

* "Mycenæ," pp. 344–5. † *Ibid.*, p. 345. ‡ No. 659, Feb. 14, 1878.

about twenty-one and a half feet by eleven and a half, or somewhat larger than at the top, is narrowed by a *lining*, in the shape of a wall three feet high and two feet broad. Upon this was placed a slanting wall of schist plates joined with clay, which reached to a height of six and a half feet, and projected on all sides a foot beyond the wall. In this way the length of the tomb at the bottom for practical purposes was but fifteen and a half feet, and the breadth five and a half. * The three bodies could not have been laid lengthwise. They were laid crosswise at a respectable distance from each other; but the charge is that they were treated "in strange and indecent fashion," because their tall stature was compressed within such brief compass as five and a half feet! But the writer in "The Nation" justly asks whether it is probable "that Clytæmnestra would have had these stone walls, about sixty-six feet long, built around a tomb merely for the purpose of adding a last insult to her royal husband by squeezing his head between his shoulders. The fact is that no probable reason has been advanced for the construction of this very peculiar slanting wall in not less than four out of five tombs, except that it was intended to support the remains of the royal dead, who were for *dignity's* sake raised up so as to appear to be *seated, and looking toward the west, in the direction of the Isles of the Blest.*" † We ourselves know that even at the present time a similar motive dictates in Greece the carrying of a deceased bishop of the Orthodox Oriental Church, propped up in a sitting posture, through the streets of Athens leading to the cemetery beyond the Ilissus, and his burial *in the same posture, but looking eastward toward Jerusalem.* The supposition that the Mycenean heroes were buried in this honor-

* See "Mycenæ," p. 294.

† "It is now a remarkable coincidence," says the writer above quoted, "that thirteen of the fifteen bodies in these tombs were buried with their *feet to the west;* and it may have been a reason for elevating the head in burial that thus the hero was made to turn his face toward the west, that region of romance and hope, where were the 'Happy Isles,' which Hesiod makes the home appointed after death for the 'divine race of heroes who are called demigods,' the very race whose tombs have now been opened. 'These live, with minds free from cares, in the Islands of the Blest, by the deep-eddying ocean; happy heroes, for whom the fruitful earth thrice in the year bears in rich abundance its delicious fruits.'" (Hesiod, "Works and Days," 158, 172.)

able posture would account not only for the strange compression of the skeletons, "the head pressed in such a way on the breast that the upper part of the shoulders was nearly on a horizontal line with the vertex of the head;" but also for the fracture of the golden masks, evidently the result of pressure on the edge and not the front.

But while we cannot acquiesce in Dr. Schliemann's theory respecting the identity of the occupants of the tombs of the Mycenean *agora* as proven, neither do we feel warranted in rejecting it as either impossible or improbable. It is certainly a remarkable coincidence that these tombs have been discovered inside of the walls in which the Gate of Lions is embedded, and just about the spot where a careful reading of Pausanias (never over clear in his descriptions of localities) might have led us to expect them. The circumstance that not a single body, but ordinarily from three to five bodies, were buried together in one tomb, need not be regarded as indicating a discrepancy between the discoveries and Pausanias' account. It may well be that the marshals or heralds of Agamemnon would be buried on either side of him, as Mr. Gladstone suggests,* or the handmaidens of Electra be laid at her side. If it was to the Achæan mind somewhat indecorous to suppose that Penelope would descend alone from her apartments into the hall where the riotous suitors were drinking and listening to the lays of the minstrel, and so the poet makes her come

Οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇγε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο, †

why might not a primitive age place in the tomb of the great, and at their sides, the faithful attendants of their mortal existence, with the expectation that the same service would be continued in another world? Under any circumstances, however, neither Pausanias nor his informants would be likely to make mention of more than the principal persons interred, passing by those of less consequence.

Neither does it appear to be of much importance as affecting the identification of the tombs proposed by Dr. Schliemann, that the discovery of a *sixth* tomb is reported since the five described in this work. It is said to be situated on the western edge of the *agora*, (though the plan of the *agora* offers

* Preface, p. xxxi. † "Odyssey," i, p. 331.

but scanty room for an additional tomb there,) and to be from its position the last made. Of the two skeletons found in it by Mr. Stamatakes, Superintendent of Antiquities, under whose supervision the excavation was made, one wore a gold mask, and "a beautiful little gold cup, quite modern in its make," was also obtained. The conclusion at which the correspondent of the "London Times" jumps, namely, that, inasmuch as the sixth tomb is plainly of the same age as the five previously discovered, the theory that these are the tombs assigned by Pausanias to Agamemnon and his companions must be brushed aside as untenable—this conclusion, we say, is rash, and indeed absurd. As we have seen, it is not clear but that the account of Pausanias calls for *six*, and not merely *five*, sepulchers. Besides which there is nothing in that account to show that it was, or was intended to be, exhaustive in its enumeration.

Dismissing this theory as one which we have not the materials either for definitely proving or decidedly refuting, we must say in conclusion that we rise from the perusal of Dr. Schliemann's sumptuous volume on Mycenæ with a very profound sense of the importance and scientific value of the magnificent results of his persevering efforts. Since the unearthing of Pompeii and Herculaneum no explorations have so enlarged our knowledge of classical archæology as these of Dr. Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ. Such merited success on two fields has rarely befallen one man. While, therefore, the discoveries at Mycenæ have, perhaps, raised more questions than they have answered, and while the reconciliation between the civilization depicted by Homer and that here disclosed cannot yet be said to be fully made out, we feel that the world has gained much by the liberal and intelligent expenditure of time and money on the part of the enthusiastic German whom we, too, are proud to recognize under his favorite designation of "Citizen of the United States of America."

ART. IV.—PLAGIARISM AND THE LAW OF QUOTATION.

[SECOND PAPER.]

"Convey, the wise it call: Steal? foh! a fico [fig] for the phrase!"—*Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I, Scene 3.

SHERIDAN, who was born in 1751 and died in 1816, published a comedy, entitled "The Critic," in which we find the following: "Steal? to be sure they may, and, egad, serve your best thoughts as gypsies do stolen children—disfigure them to make 'em pass for their own." The priority of this just rebuke belongs, however, to Churchill, Sheridan's predecessor by some twenty years. Thus Churchill:—

> "Who to patch up his fame, or fill his purse,
> Still pilfers wretched palms, and makes them worse;
> Like gypsies, lest the stolen brat be known,
> Defacing first, then claiming for his own."

To those who steal after this fashion we commend the words of Milton: "For such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not bettered by the borrower, among good authors is accounted Plagiare." * Of such Samuel Butler said: "A literary plagiarist is like an Italian thief, who never robs but he murders to prevent discovery."

Some of our most distinguished novelists and poets, and even divines, seem to have a bad notoriety in this department of literary malpractice.† Charles Reade, it is said, stands upon the very apex of the pedestal of infamy in this regard. "Never Too Late to Mend" is culled from parliamentary blue books. "White Lies" is charged with being a double plagiarism from two French authors. It is also alleged that "Clouds and Sunshine" is from "Claudie," by George Sand. His "Wandering

* Iconoclast.

† In 1775 Dr. Samuel Johnson published his famous pamphlet on "Taxation no Tyranny," etc. "No sooner," says Wesley's last biographer, "was it issued than, with or without leave, Wesley abridged it, and, without the least reference to its origin, published it as his own, in a quarto sheet of four pages, with the title, 'A Calm Address to our American Colonies. By Rev. Mr. John Wesley, M.A. Price, one penny.' This was an injudicious and unwarrantable act, except on the supposition that there was some secret understanding between him and Johnson, and even then the thing had too much the aspect of plagiarism to be wise."—TYERMANN, vol. iii, p. 186.

Heir" we read in an old number of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and was in print, we imagine, before Mr. Reade was born. Many remember the immense sensation produced by the first appearance of "Griffith Gaunt." It was universally regarded as the masterpiece of its gifted author. It was extolled for its "freshness," its "frankness," and its "originality." It was spoken of as "delicious," as showing the author's "rare gift of creating!" Yet this model, so wonderful in its "originality," is charged with being a literary larceny, a double plagiary of the most barefaced kind.

A writer in "Frazer's Magazine" has shown, by a most formidable array of parallel passages, from "Tristram Shandy" on the one side and "The Caxtons" on the other, that Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has scarcely a right to regard the latter work as his own at all. In view of the rank, of Sir Edward, and his literary celebrity, the writer asks, "If these things are done in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" and as though the Scriptures furnished him with the most forcible material for rebuke, he concludes by declaring himself in the dilemma of the patriarch—"*The words are the words of Sterne, but the voice is the voice of Bulwer.*" *

The most distinguished offenders against the laws of literary honesty have been men for whom no possible excuse can be framed. Disraeli once, with cutting satire, advised Sir Robert Peel to "stick to quotation," adducing as the reason that "he never quoted any passage that had not previously received the meed of parliamentary approbation." How strange that a satirist so subtle as Disraeli, with a pen of his own so facile and linked to such illimitable thought, should stoop so low that, when called upon for an eulogium of the Iron Duke, he should steal it ready-made from the pen of Thiers! If this had been the only theft, we might have supposed that he was the victim of the common carelessness which sometimes intends to

* "A great poet may really borrow; he may even condescend to an obligation at the hands of an equal or inferior; but he forfeits his title if he borrows more than the amount of his own possession. The nightingale himself takes somewhat of his song from birds less glorified; and the lark, having beaten with her wings the very gate of heaven, cools her breast among the grass. The lowlier of intellect may lay out a table in their field, at which table the highest one sometimes may be disposed to partake: want does not compel them. Imitation, as we call it, is often weakness, but it likewise is often sympathy."—LANDON.

give "honor to whom honor is due," but fails. In this case we fear it was a habit. A paper, from whose statements it were idle to appeal, says: "The right honorable gentleman has paid us the high compliment of printing as his own some striking reflections of a celebrated historian which originally appeared in this journal." The peroration of his speech on the third reading of the Corn Bill is a mere paraphrase of the concluding paragraph of Mr. Urquhart's "Diplomatic Transactions in Central Asia."

But few men have been supposed to be more original than Lord Brougham, yet Lord Melbourne says of one of his labored eulogiums on the virtue of justice, that it "was a most brilliant passage; *but he thought he had heard some of it before.* No doubt these were fine expressions, but they put him in mind, however, of Sheridan's celebrated eulogium on the liberty of the press; but they were by no means the worse for that." This criticism of Melbourne's is adduced by a writer in the "Examiner" as an illustration of the wit of the critic. "It is the *nonchalant*, easy tilt of the hilt dropping the man run through the body off the sword." A coarse antagonist would have pinned him; Lord Melbourne let him fall.

If we go a few steps higher upon the ladder of literary fame, it is only to breathe an air more heavily laden with the dust of plagiarism than that which irritated our literary nostrils on the lower rounds.

It was the opinion of Sir Walter Scott that Sterne owed much of his brilliancy to his petty pilferings from birds of much inferior feather. An acute critic, however, has shown that the pretended parallel passages are few in number, and many of them only elaborated hints. It is impossible to deny, however, that Sterne drew his learning from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," and not from the originals, and there are pages of his works belonging to other authors. The most remarkable theft is the complaint against copyists. It is singular that he should plagiarize an invective against plagiarism. An apologist has said: "The appropriation of three or four paragraphs without acknowledgment may detract from his candor, but not from his genius." We will admit his genius, but condemn his taste. It argues a sad perversion of genius that he should imitate the defects of Rabelais.

Le Sage's masterpiece, "Gil Blas," has been said to be an imitation. Voltaire asserted that it was translated or stolen from the Spanish of "Vincent Espinel," and the charge has been repeated by a Spanish Jesuit named Isla. But the Comte de Neuchâteaux, in a dissertation read before the French Academy in 1818, proves that the work named by Voltaire "bears no resemblance to 'Gil Blas,' either in subject, form, or style."

Moore, in his "Life of Byron," says that he observed a volume in his friend's gondola, with a number of papers marked between the leaves. "I inquired of him," he says, "what it was?" "Only a book," he answered, "from which I am trying to *crib*, as I do whenever I can; and this is the way I get the character of an original poet." On taking it up and looking at it, Moore exclaimed, "Ah, my friend Agatha!" "What!" cried Byron archly, "you have been beforehand with me there, have you?" In Moore's opinion, Byron, in imputing to himself premeditated plagiarism, was but jesting. Still, he was inclined to think that it was Byron's practice to thus excite his vein by the perusal of others on the same subject or plan, from which the slightest hint caught by his imagination, as he read, was sufficient to kindle there such a train of thought as, but for that spark, had never been awakened, and of which he himself soon forgot the source.*

Byron represents "Childe Harold," on leaving England, as singing this song:—

"Adieu! adieu! my native shore
Fades o'er the waters blue;
The night-winds sigh, the breakers roar,
And shrieks the wild sea-mew.
Yon sun that sets upon the sea
We follow in his flight;
Farewell awhile to him and thee;
My native land, good-night.

"A few short hours, and he will rise
To give the morrow birth,
And I shall hail the main and skies,
But not my mother earth.
Deserted is my own good hall,
Its hearth is desolate;
Wild weeds are growing on the wall,
My dog howls at the gate."

* See "Moore's Life of Byron," vol. iv.

The original of this is said to have been written by a poet named Wolfgang, and published by him in Munich in 1764. The first two verses of the given poem run as follows:—

"Leb wohl! leb wohl! mein Mutterland,
Gehült ins Blau der Luft;
Der Nachtwind seufst; von Ufer rauschts;
Die Mewe schwebt und ruft.
Die Sonne zieht nach Westen hin;
Sie sinkt an ihrer Pracht;
Wir folgen nach, und senden dir,
Geburtsland, gute Nacht.

"Nach wenig Stunden zeigt sie uns
Den Tag am Wellenrand,
Und Himmels glanz, und grüne See.
Nur nicht dem Mutterland.
Die Hall ist ode, und kalt der Herd,
Verlassen alles, und
Das Unkraut wachst am Gartenzaum,
Und trauernd heult mein Hund." *

It is embarrassing, when attempting to account for this wonderful similarity, to remember that Byron did not know a word of German. The English version, certainly, has the advantage, in a literary point of view, over its German rival.†

Macaulay, in his severe criticism of Montgomery's poem entitled "Satan," convicts the poet of the grossest plagiarism. An author could hardly be more terribly scathed than is this unfortunate, when the great essayist says of his writings that "they bear the same relation to poetry which a Turkey-carpet bears to a picture. There are colors in a Turkey-carpet out of which a picture might be made; there are words in Mr. Montgomery's poetry, which, when disposed in certain order and combinations, have made, and will again make, good poetry."

It had been affirmed of Dante "that he had borrowed much from Virgil. The fate of his suicides, for instance, is clearly taken from the Polydorus of the "Æneid." Some other features of the scenery of Inferno are also borrowed. Much of the "Vision" has been attributed to the "Somnium Scipionis"

* "Augsburg Gazette," quoted by "N. Y. Post."

† "Byron's 'Manfred' is 'Faust' in an English dress; his 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' is modeled after the 'Dunciad;' his 'Art of Poetry' is worked out of a suggestion made by Dr. Johnson; his 'Sardanapalus' is a shadow of Otho in 'Juvenal;' and his 'Don Juan,' a copy of the Page in 'The Marriage of Figaro.'"—*Anon.*

of Cicero. But by far the greater has been credited to the "Vision" of Alberico, a monk, who two hundred years before had seemed to behold the mysteries of the future world." * †

Dismissing poets and essayists, how is it in regard to theologians and divines? Surely their robes are kept immaculate! The mud and mire of petty pilfering can hardly be found clinging to their sacerdotal skirts! Alas, charity compels us, so far as the living are concerned, to follow the example of Shem and Japheth, and, gathering up all the garments our hands can hold, (a single garment in this case would be useless,) go in backward. The disreputable practice of purloining for the pulpit is comparatively a modern vice. In Cowper's day, however, there were those whose business it was to

> "transform old print
> To zigzag manuscript, and cheat the eyes
> Of gallery critics by a thousand arts."

A humorist, contemporary with Cowper, in a few keen lines has hit off a practice more reprehensible, if possible, than the stealing of sermons in their entirety:—

> "Such is a sermon, the whole confusedly dark,
> Join Hoadly, Sharp, South, Sherlock, Wake, and Clarke.
> So eggs of different parishes will run
> To batter, when you beat six yolks to one;
> So six bright chymic liquors, if you mix,
> In one dark shadow vanish all the six."

* Methodist Quarterly Review, 1852, p. 65.

† "Shakspeare was in a certain sense a plagiarist. He borrowed the witches' incantation bodily from Middleton; the description of Cleopatra's barge, and many other passages, from Plutarch. Sheridan was in a similar sense a plagiarist, and borrowed with an unsparing hand, as Molière declares he also did, whenever he found any thing which could be useful."—*Anon.*, (*N. Y. Sun*, Sept. 2, 1878.) The writer of the above gives Boucicault, a living dramatist, credit for having written eight out of the four hundred plays he has published; "the remaining three hundred and ninety-two are borrowed (?) more or less, generally more." Though he does not create—only reflect—the public condone the offense. "What the critics and the public object to is not the snatching of a bright skein of silk thread and weaving it into the piece, but stealing the piece and calling it your own when you contribute only the skein."

Holmes, when charged with stealing the idea of his "Two Streams," says: "I found the image running loose in my mind without a halter. It suggested itself as an image of the will, and I worked out the poem by the aid of Mitchell's School Atlas." He gives it as his opinion that "the spores of a great many ideas are floating about in the atmosphere," and that "we no more know where all the

It has been shown most conclusively that Sydney Smith, so far as his sermons are concerned, was an unblushing plagiarist. With him theology was an uncongenial study. The author of the brilliant articles in the Edinburgh Review and the pungent Plymley Letters cannot be suspected of lacking the intellectual qualifications for sermon-writing. It was sheer distaste and laziness. The sermons of Dr. Barrow, which he drew upon more largely than upon any others, he most shamefully mutilated. He gave, according to an acute writer in the Christian Observer, who has carefully collated and compared the stolen passages, "not the full feast of that magnificent purveyor, but a few scraps of his dainties, and the washing of his dishes." It is some slight mitigation of the offense, which in his case "smells so rank," that the sermons from which the plagiarized extracts are taken are posthumous. It is to be presumed that, though he preached stolen sermons, he never designed to have them published.

In an exhaustive sketch of the "Life of Professor George Lawson," Professor Edward A. Park, of Andover, after acknowledging with most refreshing *naïvete* that he had borrowed from Dr. Mac Farlane "a large part of his biographical essay, makes, on the authority of the author to whom he is so largely indebted, the following terrible charge: "A living (in 1842) and distinguished American commentator has, in his exposition of the Book of Genesis, made a most unwarrantable use of Dr. Lawson's 'Lectures on Joseph.' From the thirty-seventh chapter to the end of Genesis a large portion is plagiarized from the Scotch expositor—we should say to the extent of two thirds of the whole. Dr. Lawson's Lectures are published in two volumes, and matter to the extent of one of these is thus appropriated. . . . There has been a similar robbery committed lately by one of our best *English* divines in a recent publication on the Book of Proverbs. Page upon page is taken from Lawson, with only the most meager acknowledgment."

Now, "distinguished American commentators" are not so common that there need be much difficulty in determining to whom this terrific charge applies. We are sure that we are

growths of our mind come from, than where the lichens which eat the names off the gravestones borrowed the germs that gave them birth."—*Soundings from the Atlantic*, p. 73.

justified in putting in a disclaimer for the commentators of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We defend no other.

It is somewhat remarkable, to say the least, that on the subject of quotations we have not as yet any universally acknowledged code—no law enunciated by a writer of acknowledged established reputation—to direct and guide us, and setting forth the penalties that ought to be inflicted for infractions of the law. On subjects near akin to the one we discuss, there is, perhaps, no safer authority than Bautain. He says: "When you have to speak upon a subject already treated by several authors, you must carefully cull their justest and most striking thoughts, analyze and sift these with critical discernment and penetration, then fusé them in your own alembic by a powerful synthetic operation, which, rejecting whatever is heterogeneous, collects and kneads whatever is homogeneous or amalgamable, and fashions forth a complex idea that shall assume consistency, unity, and color in the understanding by the very heat of the mind's labor."

In the absence of an authoritative code we venture to suggest some things which we think it should embrace.

Quotations are usually either *Direct* or *Indirect.* Direct are those purporting to be transcribed from the author. They should be—

1. *Ad verbum et ad literam.* In every case they should be indicated by the established typographical marks known as inverted commas (" ".) These marks should be repeated or continued through every new paragraph.

2. *The source of the quotation should always be acknowledged so plainly that there can be no mistake as to its author.* How far it is allowable to say, "As a distinguished writer has said," "To use the language of one whose authority cannot be disputed," "We agree with one whose eloquence is only surpassed by his astuteness," etc., etc., is no open question. If an author is worthy of such allusions he is deserving of having his name given, instead of being ceremoniously dismissed with a few scraps of circumlocutory compliment. If neglect in this particular is going to rob the author of any fame to which he is justly entitled, the neglect does him a great wrong, and for that wrong no fulsomeness of impersonal allusion can ever atone.

The relation of master and disciple is no justification for the

neglect of this rule. It cannot even be used as a plea in extenuation. If we have been led by the hand of a master, be he professor, author, or public teacher of any kind, into any hitherto unexplained or imperfectly explored realm of doctrine or thought, we should not be ashamed to mention his name with becoming deference and honor. If we find laurels in this newly explored land, our first duty is to weave a chaplet out of the freshest, brightest leaves, and place them with suitable ceremony on our master's brow. Not to do this is not only to act ungracefully, but to involve ourselves in the guilt of ingratitude.

In Chambers' "Papers for the People" a writer entitles his paper, "Heyne: A Biography;" and, after fourteen pages of closely printed matter, he says in a foot-note: "The facts of the preceding narrative are derived from Professor Heeren's 'Life of Heyne;' and some of the translated passages have been taken from an article on Heyne in 'Carlyle's Miscellanies,' which has also in other respects been serviceable to the writer." This is the most heroic and consistent form of acknowledging indebtedness we have met with in our reading.

3. *The quotation must be accurate.* The omission of a word, a letter, or pointing, even, may pervert or destroy the sense.

As we were writing this article we paused to attend a meeting for prayer. At this meeting a brother dared to tell the Almighty that he had said in his "blessed word," that "praying breath was never spent in vain." As a sentiment the quotation was good, but as a quotation it was impossible to verify it.* Only a few days ago the writer was asked, by one who claimed great familiarity with the Scriptures, "in which part of Paul's Epistles could be found the verse, 'Cleanliness is next to godliness?'" Aside from the Bible—a book more often misquoted, perhaps, than any other—there are literary apothegms, which have been so cruelly treated that they cease to have "form or comeliness."

Historians tell us that at Waterloo the Imperial Guard when called upon to surrender declared, "*La garde meurt et on est rend pas;*" and after this fashion the reply will be quoted

* The writer heard a colored brother at the South quote as from the Bible the title of a novel: "As the good Master says, Love me little, love me long."

through all literature, despite Victor Hugo's terser, and, without doubt, more truthful version. There was nothing so melodramatic uttered as the historian affirms; Victor Hugo says that "Cambronne answered, '*Merde.*'" And it is not unlikely that he did.

This is out of our province, however. It is more germane to our purpose to recall a quotation persistently attributed to Buffon: "*Le style c'est l'homme.*" He never uttered any such absurdity. In his "*Discours de reception a l'Academie,*" he did say, "*Le style est de l'homme,*" in which he teaches that all a man has of personal property in literature is his style. To say style is *of* the man is a very different thing from what the careless copyist affirms.

The verification of a quotation is the only way to guard against errors. It involves no small labor at times, but in no other way can correctness be guaranteed. Memory fails. Popular current quotations are often wrong. Pages might be filled with suitable examples. Shakspeare is not even safe in careless hands. A professional writer quotes him thus:—

> "There is a tide in the affairs of men
> Which, taken at the *rise*, leads on to fortune."

A usually well edited journal gives this as the last verse of Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner:"—

> "He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the *great* God, who loveth us,
> He made and *loved them all.*"

This is not the *last* verse, but the last but two; and Coleridge really said:—

> "For the *dear* God, who loveth us,
> He made and *loveth all.*"

4. *In making quotations for controversial purposes for proof or confirmation, it is not enough that isolated passages are taken. Care must be taken to insure a fair presentation of the author's views.* Literary morality forbids our building arguments on detached passages—isolated lines. If that were allowable, it is well known that even the devout theist might be quoted as affirming the boldest atheism. No quotation must be made that does, by its separation, violence to the context. An author is only fairly quoted when the selected passage is in accordance

with the general tenor of the work quoted from. Of course, when quotations are made for the purpose of demonstrating a writer's inconsistency or contradictions, a fragment may be placed alongside of another fragment.

5. *It is not trivial to say that the author's punctuation must be honored.* The omission or transposition of a comma may alter or destroy the sense.

6. Nor is it trifling to say that *no italicization should be employed which has not the authority of the author.* We question the right to do this even when it is only intended to indicate the passage to be subjected to subsequent review. It is giving emphasis where the author intended none. Passages desired for special investigation can be requoted—then to italicize or capitalize them would be a matter of taste, within the domain of the quoter's rights.

INDIRECT quotations are made often by a mere exercise of the memory. They should, 1, *In every case be announced as such.*

An indirect quotation is often a re-quotation, or a quotation that has been made by another. Then, 2, *The name of the original quoter should be honored.* It must be said, "Cicero, as quoted by Martial, says." This rule, of course, does not apply to those multitudinous proverbial quotations which have become the common currency of the race, and whose image and superscription is so patent that it is pedantry to proclaim their source. To be sure, there must be exceptions. Men have been met with who have been disappointed in the plays of Shakspeare. "I was told," said one, "that Shakspeare was a man of original genius; whereas, the play consisted to a great extent of *the most hackneyed quotations.*" If we write for the instruction of such men—men who know nothing at all, either of literature or any thing else—then we must do as does the school-boy artist. We must put labels upon our handiwork, never forgetting to say where it can be appropriately said, "This a cow."

Quotations from the classics, or from standard poets, need no label. Scholars recognize and admire them by a kind of literary instinct. Kennedy in his "Life of Wirt" says: "In the company of men of letters there is no higher accomplishment than that of readily making an apt quotation from the classics;

and before such a body as the Supreme Court these quotations are not only appropriate, but constitute a beautiful aid to argument."—Vol. ii, p. 382.

To use with skill any exhumed "fossils of thought," so that they shall be ornamental to the literary edifice we may be building, requires genius of no inferior grade. We have quailed before quotations as ill-suited to the work they were employed to embellish as the obelisks and sphinxes of Egypt would be in ornamenting a shanty in Mackerelville or a cabin in the Congaree bottom. An elegant quotation in an ill-penned essay has been likened to "the dolphins that are said to have brought to the shore the dead body of Hesiod. They saved from the deep what, after all, was but lifeless clay."

Lamen Blanchard says of a quotation: "It should be introduced with something like the pomp due to a foreign embassador." Addison when he quotes, he tells us, is very felicitous. "The bank should slope gently down to the water, and the water break with a regular music on the bank." He forbears to dwell upon the sin of omitting the inverted commas, "because to adduce our instances would be to reprint one half of the books that have ever been written." There is what is called "taking possession in the finder's name." An idea, the source of which we may have forgotten, but which we are sure has been quickened by the life of our own mind, is to us as a "treasure trove," which we may pass from hand to hand without label or superscription of any kind. Molière when he imitated Plautus and Terence, Lafontaine when he borrowed from Æsop and Phædrus, were not ashamed of the practice.*

It was a maxim with Goethe that, "It is the *what* rather than the *how* which usually interests people in a work of art; for, while able to grasp the former in its parts, they cannot apprehend the latter as a whole. Hence comes the love of extracting passages, in the course of which, however, if we are careful observers, we shall see that the total effect is again reproduced, only, in this case, unconsciously to every body." For perfection in this art we must turn to old Burton. In his mosaic we have an almost superhuman nicety and minuteness of jointure.

It is in vain to ask, "How much longer we are to live by

* Bautain.

quotations alone—quotations a thousand times used, a thousand times abused;" for as long as there is any art in literature, and letters remains a profession, draughts will be made upon every "well of English undefiled." There is not a line of Shakspeare but has been used, with immeasurable iteration, and even his characteristic epithets will continue to be cited until the great volume of human nature is written up and closed forever. "It is only the Divine who never quotes." Even Shakspeare himself is said to have had on his desk scraps of English folk lore and notes of Greek names out of which he made his plays. "We value in Coleridge," says Emerson, "his quotations more than his original suggestions;" and a critic of the critic reminds Mr. Emerson that when he fails to extinguish from his definition of genius the word "create," he forgets that "spontaneous generation of ideas is just as impossible a thing as endeavoring to form live creatures by sending electric shocks through water."

The advantage which modern learning has over ancient has been compared to a dwarf mounted on the shoulders of a giant. It is very difficult, however, to determine when and where this now threadbare figure originated. It is alluded to by Sir William Temple, ridiculed by Butler in his "Hudibras," quoted in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" as from Didacus Stella, and appears in a poem of the twelfth century. It were useless to attempt to trace it any further, for, with Johnson, we would suggest that perhaps "the same images, with very little variation, have served all the authors that have ever written."

It has been sought, if not to defend, at least to palliate the offense of piracy in literature. Thus a writer in "Fraser's Magazine" has said: "Parallel passages we consider of no importance. They simply prove that intellectual architects have occasionally stolen a brick from a neighbor's house. Literary informers may discover that beautiful ideas have been transplanted wholesale from one book to another; they may marshal their witnesses in formidable array, and come before the tribunal of the country; but the author, while pleading guilty, maintains that he has done no wrong. He has merely discovered that another has expressed what he desired to say as well as he could have done, and in the same spirit, and has taken advantage of the circumstances."

In his Autobiography Leigh Hunt admonishes his colaborators of the literary guild not to care for original compositions, inventions, theories of their own, which the many would be slow to apprehend. "Stick," says he, "to the works of others. Write only in magazines and reviews; or, if you must write things of your own, compile, tell anecdotes, reproduce memoirs and topographies. Repeat in as many words of your own as you can other men's criticisms. Do any thing but write to the few—and grow rich." If this be irony—and to suspect that it is not would only argue our own intellectual opacity—it is an irony that we very much admire. We fear, however, that it has been taken by some for honest advice, to be taken in its most literal sense. If in the common walks of literature such a practice as the one thus satirized is provocative of indignant dissent, surely we may enter a protest against its being accepted as in accordance with the canons of homiletic literature. The need of such a protest meets us in quarters in which we have not been accustomed to confront charlatanry of any kind.

An influential paper, representing one of the oldest and wealthiest denominations in the United States, in discussing the "degree and manner in which young ministers may profit from other men's labors," enters into a labored argument to prove "that it is lawful to avail ourselves of other men's labors in the discharge of our office; and that it is a duty incumbent especially on young and inexperienced ministers to do so." Unless they do so, they are told that "their ministry, after having attained, perhaps, a temporary popularity, will become dull, monotonous, and wearisome." The conscience of this ecclesiastical mentor does not seem to have been entirely dead, for he does say, before sending off them inisterial novitiate on his hunt for whole or broken meat, "In quoting passages, it may be well to intimate that you are quoting, though it may not be necessary to mention in the pulpit the name of the author from whom the quotation is taken." It were impossible, in our opinion, to have given more vicious advice.

The enormity of offenses against literary fair dealing is, of course, affected by the *status* of the criminal convicted. If the President of the United States was detected in pilfering from the pocket of a poor, dependent, and defenseless negro, even though it were but his corn-cob pipe, it would excite an aver-

sion which we could never feel for the negro, though he should be caught in the act of filching the President's purse. So when a man apparently endowed with all intellectual gifts, stoops to plunder, it may be from some poor unknown, he puts himself below ordinary contempt. When Macaulay criticises the author of "Satan, a Poem," and shakes the dusty Turkey carpet about his ears, and then convicts him of the grossest plagiarism, we do not feel that pang of revulsion which we should have felt had the charge been brought against some one of our enshrined gods of gold. Montgomery being only very common clay, we can bear to see him splashed, and even remorselessly shoved into the gutter, by the critic's dashing chariot, without being either enraged or shocked out of measure.

Disraeli attributes to one of his characters, Vivian Grey, the marvelous faculty of securing attention to his own utterances by a kind of inversion of plagiary; instead of stealing the thoughts of others, he invented thoughts for them—a form of literary misdemeanor as difficult as it is rare. "It was a rule of Vivian Grey never to advance any opinion *as his own.* He had been too deep a student of human nature not to be aware that the opinions of a boy of twenty, however sound and however correct, stand but a poor chance of being adopted by his elder, though feebler, fellow-creatures. In attaining any end it was, therefore, his system always to advance his opinion as that of some eminent and considered personage; and when, under the sanction of this name, the opinion or advice was entertained and listened to, Vivian Grey had no fear that he could prove its correctness and its expediency. He possessed, also, the singular faculty of being able to *improvise* quotations; that is, he could unpremeditatedly clothe his conceptions in language characteristic of the style of any particular author; and Vivian Grey was reputed in the world as having the most astonishing memory that ever existed, for there was scarcely a subject of discussion in which he did not gain the victory by the great names he enlisted on his side of the argument. His father was aware of the existence of this dangerous faculty, and had often remonstrated with his son on the use of it." *

We might almost wish that this inverted plagiarism was one of the vices of our day. It is not, however; so far from it are

* In this instance Vivian was Disraeli himself.

we that we have to reiterate the advice of Johnson, and say, "Learn the art of forgetting." Bailey supplies the reason:—

> "It is the thought wrote down we want,
> Not its effects—nor likenesses of likenesses;
> And such descriptions are not more than gloves
> Instead of hands to shake. . . .
> . . . Some steal a thought,
> And clip it round the edge, and challenge him
> Whose 't was to swear to it. To serve things thus
> Is as foul witches to cut up old moons
> Into new stars."—FESTUS.

ART. V.—THE PARISH OF WESLEY.

"THE field is the world," said the Master to his disciples. "I look upon all the world as my parish," said Mr. Wesley to his friends, when the churches were closed against him, and his right to preach in the open air in the parish of another was questioned. He wrote, "I look upon all the world as my parish—thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I am I judge it right and my bounden duty to declare unto all who are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation." He little dreamed of the prophetic character of his claim to a world-wide parish. He only intended to assert that the neglected population of his country, those practically without the Gospel in England, afforded an ample field for his ministry, not thinking that the movement which he was setting on foot would so soon spread to many nations, with the promise of salvation to all people. Already the field of the Messiah and the parish of Wesley are becoming identical in extent. Will the revival which began under the labors of Mr. Wesley spread over the whole earth? The answer is with his followers. Has this movement power to bring the tribes of men, now destitute of the Gospel, under the influence of the Christian religion? Without doubt, and within a few generations. The Wesleyan Churches have sufficient numbers, wealth, intelligence, position, ecclesiastical appliances and moral force, aided by divine grace, to evangelize the world in less time than has elapsed since Mr. Wesley uttered this gospel slogan. The Methodist Episcopal Church, which is pre-eminently the embodiment of the Wesleyan spirit and ideas, as

well as the strongest in numbers and influence of the Wesleyan branches, is able to carry the glad tidings of peace to all men within one hundred years from this time.

The growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church affords encouragement and instruction to Christian workers, and impressive warnings against schism. Beginning at zero in New York, under the labors of Philip Embury and Captain Webb, and in Maryland under Robert Strawbridge, in 1766, ten years before the declaration of American independence, it soon developed into a vigorous ecclesiastical body. This work in America was first named in the Minutes of Mr. Wesley in 1770, and in the following year it was reported as having 316 members, most of whom were in New York and Philadelphia, Captain Webb having been careful to organize societies and provide churches, while Mr. Strawbridge was neglectful of these matters. In 1773 the number of members and probationers was 1,160; 1774, 2,073; 1775, 3,148; and at the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, 4,921 members and probationers, and 24 preachers; total, 4,945. There was an increase every year during the Revolutionary War, notwithstanding the condition of the country, the sufferings of the people, and the loss of those preachers who returned to England; so that during this decade, from 1776 to 1786, including the seven years of war, the increase was more than fourfold, reaching in that year 20,681, and in 1787, 25,842; 1788, 37,354; 1789, 43,262; 1790, 57,631, the increase that year being 14,369. In these early days the Church openly and strongly opposed slavery.

Then followed the O'Kelly excitement and schism, in 1792. This organization, though small, and coming to naught in a few years, did serious damage to the cause by the agitation and bitterness indulged, and through unjust attacks upon the denomination and its leading men, Bishop Asbury in particular. The increase in 1792, the year in which the secession took place, was only 2,711; and in 1793 still less, 1,663; and in 1794 there was a loss of 1,035; in 1795, 6,317; and in 1796, 3,627. It is impossible to measure the harm done by this schism. Here is a loss of 10,979 to be attributed directly to it, in addition to the fact that the increase would, no doubt, have averaged eight or ten thousand annually more than it did for several years, but

for this blighting influence. In spite of this unfortunate occurrence, however, the membership more than doubled in this decade, advancing from 20,681, in 1786, to 56,664, in 1796. The next decade was peaceful and prosperous, the membership more than doubling in numbers, reaching 130,570 in 1806. Rapid growth continued to follow in each successive year till 1814, the increase the year preceding being 18,950, the largest of any one year up to this date; but in 1814 there was a decrease of 3,178, and in 1815 a decrease of 36.

This decrease was owing to several causes. The first of these, no doubt, was the war with Great Britain, the influence of which upon the morals as well as the finances of the country was felt for a considerable time. Besides this, two serious errors in the administration of the affairs of the Church occurred during this decade. First, in point of time, was the rejection of Jacob Albright, as missionary to the Germans who had settled in this country. He was converted and licensed as a local preacher in 1790, and in 1796 began to itinerate among his people, believing that he was called of God to labor in their interest, and to preach in the German language. The most happy results followed. Many were converted and joined the Church. The Discipline was published in German, and the foundation laid for lasting work among that people. Mr. Albright begged to be appointed missionary by the authorities of the Church, but the objection was made, as to Dr. Nast in later years, that our preaching must be in English, in order to Americanize the German population. Had Mr. Albright been appointed to this field and encouraged, as he should have been, it is easy to see that an ample harvest would have been prepared for the reaping of Dr. Nast and others. Not being recognized by the Church in the capacity to which he felt divinely called, he and his German converts were constrained to withdraw in 1807, and organize an independent conference. This was not followed by an actual decrease of members, but by a sadly diminished increase, especially in 1808. This German conference has grown into an excellent and prosperous Church, the Evangelical Association, numbering 100,000 members. A similar mistake occurred with the colored people. Denied some of the rights which in the nature of things belonged to them, many withdrew and formed the African Methodist

Episcopal Church in 1816. Both of these peoples have long since been granted more than they then asked, but their just demands were not allowed till it was too late to prevent schism. The advantages which might have attended the Church by a more wise and liberal policy on these points at that early day cannot be estimated. During this decade the membership failed to double, though it advanced from 130,570 to 214,235 in 1816.

After this, regular and rapid growth occurred, though from 1816 to 1826 the ratio was about the same as in the preceding decade, the membership being 360,884 at the latter date. In 1820 the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized, drawing its members both from the Methodist Episcopal and the African Churches, and its resources mainly from the former. This schism might also have been prevented by the policy and spirit of the present day. From 1826 to 1836 the membership fell below a hundred per cent. increase, though it grew rapidly, and reached at the close of the decade 650,678, there being a decrease of 1,840 that year. In 1828 the mistake of setting off the Canada Conference was made, and the greater one of the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church. The latter, not being demanded by national boundaries, as was the case with Canada, was manifestly unfortunate, if we may judge from the suggestions of the statistics. At that time the Church was enjoying great prosperity, the increase in 1828 being 39,150, the largest for any year in the history of American Methodism thus far, and fully one fourth as many as that denomination now numbers after the labors of half a century. Revivals were then so marked and constant that, though many joined the new organization for several successive years, there was no decrease of numbers in the parent body, but the increase was again sadly diminished, particularly in 1829 and 1830.

A marked decline took place in 1835–37, which may be accounted for by the pro-slavery position of the Church at that time—or, if not pro-slavery, (which is perhaps too emphatic a term to use in this connection,) the strong opposition to antislavery aggression, the Church at that date having fallen to the lowest point ever reached in its opposition to slavery, (it should be remembered that its most rapid advancement was always asso-

ciated with corresponding progress of antislavery sentiment in the Church and among the people)—and the financial condition of the country and the political excitement of those times. In 1840 another secession occurred, unfortunate like the others. Owing to a change in the time of making up the reports for the year, ten conferences were left out of the statistics, thus indicating great losses. These were, however, mostly, if not wholly, merely apparent, not real. Probably there was considerable gain that year, notwithstanding the organization of the Wesleyan Church. The antislavery excitement was intense, and the Church, moving forward with the tide, enjoyed remarkable prosperity, the annual increase averaging over 100,000 from 1840 to 1844. At the height of this success the South seceded, taking away thirteen conferences, with 439,233 members and 1,251 preachers, total 440,484. The "border war," which, without exception, affords the most disgraceful chapter in Methodist history, carried away many others; so that, in addition to all who may have united during that time, the loss to the Methodist Episcopal Church was, in 1845, 31,769; 1846, 495,288; 1847, 12,741 members, and 4,153 preachers; making in all 543,951 loss, instead of a gain of 100,000 a year.

In 1848 losses from this cause were arrested, and a gain of 7,508 effected, the General Conference that year having assumed tenable ground touching this calamity. From that date till 1858 the annual increase was encouraging, though comparatively small, with the exception of 1854, in which there was a gain of 50,721. The increase in 1858 was 136,036. This was soon followed by great political excitement and civil war, during which the Church declined, suffering a loss of 1,924 in 1861, 45,617 in 1862, 19,512 in 1863, 1,608 in 1864; total, 68,661. This was owing to the secession in the Baltimore Conference and the persecutions inflicted upon the Methodist Episcopal Church in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas in those years because of its loyalty to the Government. In the North the membership slowly increased during that eventful period. Nor is there compensation for these losses in the supposition that the decline in the Methodist Episcopal Church was balanced by corresponding gains in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. On this theory that body ought to have had in 1847 not only the

543,951 lost to the Methodist Episcopal Church, but also enough to cover the additions in the North and South for three years, at the lowest possible estimate from 600,000 to 700,000 members; but it did not have that number. At the time of its *maximum* of strength, in 1860, it claimed 454,203 white members and 82,933 probationers; 175,252 colored members and 36,680 probationers, and 2,884 preachers; making a total of 751,954. During the war the white membership was considerably reduced, and soon after the colored members seceded, leaving at the close of the war, not including the colored, only about 450,000 members, less than the aggregate membership at the time of its organization. At the same time, 1864, the Methodist Episcopal Church numbered 928,320, the two Churches combined having not over 1,378,320. Before the separation the Methodist Episcopal Church had, in 1844, 1,171,356, the two Churches having increased scarcely, if any, over 200,000 in *twenty* years, while the undivided Church gained 257,455 in the *two* years preceding the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the midst of the abolition excitement. Will either Church learn wisdom by this experience? If any lessons are to be gathered from such dispensations of Providence, is it not apparent that divine displeasure attended that rupture? To repeat, in another form of words, the Methodist Episcopal Church gained over 50,000 more in the two years before the separation than both Churches did in the twenty years of strife and turmoil after, including the gain of 50,721 in 1854, and 136,036 in 1858, by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Let those who claim that this division was wise and providential ponder, and then explain these facts.

After the war, when the Methodist Episcopal Church practically reasserted its old-time ground in behalf of the poor and the oppressed by re-entering the South with Wesleyan spirit, zeal, and thoughts, large ingatherings again attended the ministry of the Word, and 102,925 were added in the Centennial year, 1866; 113,897 in 1867; and 109,034 in 1868. These rates would have more than doubled the membership in ten years, and at the same time the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was making the most rapid growth of its entire history. But through the influence of designing politicians and others in the

interest of Southern sectionalism, and persistent perversion of facts and misrepresentations of our work, the zeal of the Church declined, and in consequence this field did not receive the encouragement and support which should have been bestowed upon it, and the annual increase greatly diminished, being in 1869, 43,823; 1870, 68,196; 1871, 51,189; 1872, 37,118; 1873, 5,586; 1874, 99,494; 1875, 17,038; 1876, 33,001. Increase in ten years, from 1866 to 1876, 581,376. There is no room for doubt that, had the work in the South been provided for as its importance and necessities demanded, and the good of the country required, other hundreds of thousands, mostly from the world, would have been gathered in, and the Church have doubled its numbers in the past decade. Impeded as its progress has been by strife and war, it increased in twenty-nine years a fraction less than 1,000,000, that is, from 631,558 in 1847, to 1,613,560 in 1876. Including 1877, making thirty years, the increase in the Methodist Episcopal Church was over 1,000,000, while that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the same time was but little, if any, over 200,000. Had these Churches remained together in one body, and worked in harmony for the good of all people, white and colored alike, immeasurably greater results might have been achieved.

It is at least doubtful whether any schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church, or separation from it, has been justified by subsequent years. If there is one such case it is that of the Canada Conference, but even here there is room for doubt. The O'Kelly faction, after causing great harm, utterly perished. The Albrights have become a valuable Christian body, but had its founder been aided by merited sympathy and support from the Church, Methodism among the Germans would have begun twenty-five years earlier than it did under Dr. Nast, and have moved in solid columns in this and in the Fatherland, as was manifestly intended by the Head of the Church. The secession of the Africans was a calamity, the magnitude of which appears more and more forcibly as time advances, and the Zion Church originated in trifles. The Protestants could have secured all that was important to their proposed reforms within the Church, without having distracted the public mind, or led it away from the gospel vocation of

saving souls, and, by continuing in peace and love with their brethren, have been jointly the means of converting more persons from sin than they have been in a separate organization. Plainly, the Wesleyans ought to have remained in the old hive, and aided in the antislavery warfare within the parent body; and had the Africans, the Canadians, and the Wesleyans stood firmly by their brethren in the Methodist Episcopal Church in this struggle for the right, the separation of 1844 had never occurred, and slavery would have been abolished by moral forces. Some hotheads would, no doubt, have seceded, but ten years after they had gone the Methodist Episcopal Church would have been stronger in the South than before, and thoroughly antislavery in spirit and sentiment, and Calhounism, which ripened into secession, would have perished with its author. The schism of 1844 has no parallel in ecclesiastical history in the method of its accomplishment, and but few, if any, in the magnitude of resultant evils.

If 4,921 members and 24 preachers have increased to 1,613,560 members and 23,840 preachers in a hundred years, what may this vast multitude accomplish by similar faithfulness and effort in the century following? In spite of all of the difficulties which have been encountered, and the schisms that have occurred, the increase of members in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the century has been about sixty per cent. on the average for each decade. Taking present numbers as a basis for calculation, an increase of fifty per cent. for each decade for the coming century will give 97,500,000, or nearly one sixth of the adult population of the globe, in 1976. But, as may be seen in the facts given, the law of growth in the Church has been greater than this, and more than the actual increase of sixty per cent., not less than an average of one hundred per cent. for each decade in the hundred years. For the first seventy the increase was even greater than this, there being an excess of 11,339 over that ratio in 1846, after the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had broken off. But, as all branches of Methodism in the United States and Canada have sprung from these less than 5,000 in 1776, all of them should be considered in determining this law of growth, for, though not now in the same communion, they are parts of the common product. These form an

aggregate of 3,374,440. Taking these into account, this ratio of increase holds good fourteen years longer, that is, to 1860, the beginning of the civil war, after the close of the eighth decade, and also during a part of the tenth. In those portions of the ninth and tenth decades when it failed, the failure was caused by schism, proslaveryism, political commotion, civil war, and manifest unfaithfulness to duty.

That this has been the law of the growth of the Church in the past, when obedient to God and devoted to soul saving, is beyond question. It has held good for some years with the largest numbers that have been attained, apparently providentially conditioned upon faithfulness to the rights of men, as from 1840 to 1845, and from 1865 to 1868. Growth and decline have been owing to causes which are apparent; have been governed by law, and were not fortuitous nor accidental. The Lord purposes the conversion of the world, and the great lessons of liberty and right are as important to the welfare of men in the Old World as in the New; and as not less than three fourths of mankind are dark-skinned these points may afford significant suggestions. Taking the numbers in the Methodist Episcopal Church as a basis for calculation, according to the law of growth which has prevailed in the past century, one hundred per cent. in each decade, and supposing a corresponding increase for a hundred years to come, we have as a result, in 1976, the incomprehensible number of 1,676,697,600, or more than the present population of the earth. These estimates have only included communicants in the Church. To these may be added twice their number for children and friends, making for these three and a third millions of Methodists a population of 10,000,000, thus changing the problem to the following, namely: If 5,000 have evangelized a population of 10,000,000 in 100 years, what may, or rather what may not, 1,637,400 accomplish in the same length of time under as favorable circumstances? The answer must indicate a number largely in excess of the population of the world. But who supposes that in any decade the members of the Church did their best in evangelical work, or their whole duty to their fellow-men, or even the half of what they might have done? Is it not apparent, from what has been gained, that if the Methodist Episcopal Church is united, holy, active, and in the en-

joyment of divine favor, it can carry the Gospel to all men within a hundred years? Is not the question simply one of piety and work?

During the past century providential preparations for evangelizing the world have rapidly advanced. The growth of mind and activity of thought among civilized nations have been extraordinary. While, perhaps, no nation has kept pace with our own in this respect, all Europe has awakened to new life. It is claimed that one hundred years ago not one in a hundred adults in Russia or Turkey, or one in ten in Papal Europe, or three in ten in Protestant Europe, could read and write. Now, eighty-five per cent. in Teutonic, and fifty per cent. in Latin nations can read and write, while Russia has made great advances toward the enlightenment of the masses and more liberal ideas generally, and in Turkey fires have been kindled which neither civil commotions, foreign wars, nor the overthrow of dynasties can quench. It is also asserted that ten times as many books are printed by civilized nations now as there were a hundred years since, aside from papers and periodicals, which have increased still more rapidly, and that there is at least a hundred times more reading done now than then. While much of this matter is pernicious, more of it is of a wholesome character. As to the number who read the Bible with useful explanatory notes, the comparison is still more favorable.

The first steamboat was launched in 1807, seventy-one years ago; now steamers plow every sea and thread almost every river on the globe. It is only forty-nine years since Stephenson built the "Rocket," the first successful steam-engine for railroads; now there are over two hundred thousand miles of railway in operation, not only binding together the several States of this Union, and uniting the seaboard and interior of our country in interest and intimate business and social relations, but also bringing the diverse nations of Europe into one neighborhood, and diffusing Western civilization throughout the vast domains of Asia, and penetrating Australia, Africa, and South America. The first line of telegraph was put into operation in 1844, thirty-four years ago; now more than seven hundred thousand miles are in constant use, enough to girdle the earth twenty-eight times, including over two hundred sub-

marine cables, with an aggregate length of more than fifty thousand miles, bringing continents and islands separated by the broadest seas within speaking distance of each other. How much these tend to unify the race, awaken activity, and diffuse knowledge, no finite mind can determine. Corresponding improvement for another century will bring every tribe of man and every portion of the earth into the fellowship of enlightened nations.

The spread of the English language is another important factor in the solution of this problem. This tongue may not, and probably will not, become the common language of all nations; but that it will be spoken more or less in all is evident, and that the Gospel may be preached in English to most of the earth's millions before another hundred years shall pass is highly probable. That this is better adapted than other tongues for such purpose is not affirmed, but that much time and expense could be saved to missionaries by its use is clear; and when it is remembered that the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and other ancient languages were so intimately related to pagan philosophy, so pervaded and burdened with it, that the inspired apostles are often found using figures from heathen rites to illustrate and enforce Christian truth, the thought is suggested that a language which is much more free from such associations may better serve the purpose of Christian instruction. One raised among idolaters could hardly study Christian doctrines in ancient tongues without more or less of heathen philosophy obtruding itself in the way of revealed truth, and obscuring it in some measure. If revelation was not thereby perverted, this false philosophy dimmed its brightness, lessened its perspicuity, and marred its beauty, at least to the common mind. The English is pre-eminently a Christian language. It has taken form and finish under Christian influence, philosophy, and thought. Whatever view may be taken of these points, it cannot be doubted that the rapid spread of the English language is helpful in disseminating Christian thought, and that it may serve as an important instrumentality in the universal diffusion of the knowledge of God.

For fifteen centuries Christian nations have occupied the front rank among the powers of the world under the Papal and Greek Churches. More recently Protestantism has taken the

lead, and advanced more rapidly than either of the other forms of Christianity. The three combined have acquired possession or gained control of most of the governments of the world. Over three fourths of the territory of the earth is under Christian government, and the result of the late war in the East practically increases the ratio to a large extent. The Turkish empire lives in name, but its territory is open to evangelical efforts, and the British protectorate will sooner or later amount to the control of the government. That would make an aggregate of 34,000,000 of square miles under Christian government to 7,000,000 under non-Christian, not counting the interior of Africa. Mohammedanism, as an aggressive power, is broken forever, and countries under Mohammedan rule are thus reduced to less than 2,000,000 of square miles in extent, but a fraction over one half as much territory as that of the United States. Countries under pagan governments, outside of the Chinese Empire, cover less than 1,000,000 of square miles, and if Russia should strike heavily against the tottering institutions of China, and England seek to consolidate her Eastern possessions by assuming control of Persia, it would be impossible to forecast the results which might follow. Those who live under Christian government are not all nominally Christian, millions of them as yet being of Mohammedan, Buddhist, or Pagan belief, but they are open to the missionaries under favorable conditions. The population of the world is divided, religiously, as follows, namely: Protestant, 98,000,000; Roman Catholic, 195,000,000; Greek Church, 76,000,000; Jews, 6,000,000; Mohammedans, 160,000,000; Buddhists, 600,000,000; Pagans, 200,000,000, all of whom may be reached by evangelical influences. Among all of these there is scarcely a nation which is not either under a Christian government or has Protestant missions established within its bounds.

The agencies used in spreading the knowledge and influence of the Gospel have materially improved during the last century. One hundred years ago the Bible was comparatively a rare volume. Since that time Bible Societies, Church organizations, and private enterprise have multiplied copies of the sacred book, in various tongues, beyond calculation. The apocalyptic angel, flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to every nation, may be made to symbolize

Bishop Coke, traversing sea and land as the founder of modern missionary movements. The Sunday-school idea is as old as the world, but the application of that idea in the Sunday-school is new, and affords the best method of teaching the Word of life to the masses that has ever been devised, while Christian education, as an element of evangelical force, belongs to the modern Church. The Papal propaganda and Jesuit schools originated in this idea, but they were soon perverted to serve the ends of ecclesiastical aggrandizement rather than the purpose of saving men from sin. The Methodists in America in 1776 had none of these adjuncts at their command. They were poor and unlearned, without a school, or press, or Sunday-school, or Missionary, Church Extension, Tract, Freedmen's Aid, or other benevolent society. The Methodist Episcopal Church at this time has all of these, and every help known to Christian enterprise, with men and means to use them to good advantage.

A glance at the several fields of labor will tend to strengthen faith in the possibilities of the Church in the near future. In the United States Methodism has 10,000,000 in 40,000,000 under its united ministry, and for all time to come ought, at least, to keep pace with the growth of population. On the South the work is opened in Mexico with as good prospect of success as Webb and Embury had in New York. Should it be thought desirable to extend the Methodist Episcopal Church northward, perhaps the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada would join hands with it in the Dominion. In Europe the Methodist Episcopal Church has a Conference in the center, from which all of the German States can be reached; two conferences in the north, besides the Danish Mission; and a work of extraordinary promise in Italy; and the cause is spreading in many places as it did in America in our early history; while in the East, Turkey in Europe is open to western civilization and evangelism as never before since Mohammedanism crossed the Bosphorus. In these missions there are 22,722 communicants, and permanent foundations laid in all of these sections, unless it be in Bulgaria, and there better opportunities are likely to open than heretofore. What may a hundred years of earnest work by Episcopal Methodism in Europe bring forth?

Should it be said that these are enlightened countries, cultivated peoples, and that it cannot be expected that the Gospel should spread as rapidly among the heathen as evangelism has in America, or may in Europe, attention is called to the Protestant missions in India, where for the past seventy years they have not only kept pace with American Methodism, but perhaps outrun that and the primitive Church, in the rapidity of their growth.* The vast multitudes of the various peoples crowded together in that land promise a harvest of numbers to the Church much greater than the sparse settlements of the American colonies have given to Methodism. It is well to remember, also, in this connection, that while many have been added to American Methodism by immigration, still larger numbers who were converted at its altars have united with other denominations. China is also beginning to heed the invitation to the gospel feast, and if the Church continues to grow according to present promise, the hope of Bishop Kingsley may be realized, and more than a hundred Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church be formed there in less than a hundred years from the time he wrote. Japan has opened its doors, and is, perhaps, the most promising field in pagan countries. With the advantages that have been gained, by making proper use of the schools and membership among the colored people, the Methodist Episcopal Church can evangelize Africa in a hundred years; and if schools in Liberia and the interior are kept up and multiplied, as they should be, the Gospel may be preached to all the tribes on that continent, in

* Rev. J. T. Gracey, in the Quarterly Review of April, 1877, says: "In seventy years after the first preaching of the apostles it has been estimated that there were 100,000 converts. In India, seventy years after Carey's first baptism of a native convert, there were 73,000 native Christian converts, and a nominal Christian population among the natives of over 300,000. Between 1862 and 1872 there was an advance from 148,731 to 224,161—sixty-one per cent. Within this decade the number of Telugu Christians advanced from 23 to 6,418. In Chota Nagpore the growth was from 2,531 to 20,000. Our Methodist Episcopal Mission advanced five hundred per cent. Protestant Christianity has spread more rapidly in India than did Brahminism, Moslemism, or Romanism in the East. A uniform increase equal to the last decade would afford 130,000,000 of Christians in India in the year A. D. 2001." Rev. William Taylor, the evangelist, says that "the combinations of opposing forces in India probably exceed those of any other part of the globe," but even here great success has attended missionary labor.

the English language, within the time named. The fact that the Church has grown side by side with, and by cherishing correct ideas of, liberty and emancipation, and of man's duty to his fellows, may indicate the divine purpose with Methodism in behalf of Africa. Work is begun in South America; the missions on the Atlantic coast are prosperous and reaching out toward the interior, and self-supporting ones have been opened among the English-speaking classes on the Pacific coast. Australia, Russia, all of the islands of the sea and the corners of the earth, may soon be reached, if the requisite efforts are made.

Is the Methodist Episcopal Church adapted to this work? It is. The characteristics which have given it success in this country are as well suited to other lands. The chiefest of these is its spiritual life. Methodism is a revival of earnest and primitive Christianity, and this is as much needed in one place as another, where all are spiritually dead. People from all nations seemed to be impressed very much alike on the day of Pentecost; and as human nature is the same and needs the same moral restoratives every-where, and as this is the remedy divinely provided for the spiritual renovation of fallen men, it must be adapted to mankind, to meet the wants of all. Is divine grace suited to all? So the spirituality of Methodism will meet the common need elsewhere as it does here. The doctrines of Methodism are drawn directly from the Bible; that is its real and not merely theoretical standard of faith. There has been no schism among Methodists in Europe or America on questions of doctrine. Other denominations have had creeds and preformed opinions, in the light of which they have interpreted the Scriptures. The Bible has many times been forced to sustain doctrines already accepted. Not so with Methodism. That, without a creed formed in advance, without a system of theology which the Bible must be tortured to support, took, first of all, the sacred record, made it explain itself by itself, and out of the Word, not warped by interpretations, spring the creed and theology of Methodism. Thus it has formed the most scriptural, philosophical, and popular system of religious belief ever taught. If revealed truth is adapted to all nations, the doctrines of Methodism must be equally so. These doctrines are popular because they approve themselves to the common sense of mankind in America, Eu-

rope, Asia, every-where that they are presented. Free grace, universal atonement, individual responsibility, salvation by faith, purity of life, and the witness of the Spirit to the fact of conversion, are, in the nature of things, and always will be, popular Scripture doctrines, because they are manifestly true, easily understood, and clearly taught in the Bible.

The economy of Methodism is not a human invention, but a providential outgrowth of Christian effort under the direction of the New Testament, from a great variety of circumstances in real life; it is concreted experience, crystallized into an efficient, practical ecclesiasticism strong enough to resist opposition, and sufficiently pliable to meet exigencies as they arise. Its itinerancy and lay preaching sprung naturally from the work to be done, in the doing of it, and are calculated to meet the ends sought by scriptural evangelism and a continued pastorate, in the city and country, whether thickly or sparsely settled. Its episcopacy is not a hierarchy nor an ecclesiastical aristocracy, but merely a ministerial office for the superintendence of the Church, to which any minister may be elevated, always under authority, and deriving its power from those over whom it presides, an evangelical supervision of the flock of God, happily devised to direct its forces to the best advantage. Personal religious activity among preachers and members is promoted and utilized by the various means of grace in use and methods of operation. Its class-meetings, prayer-meetings, camp-meetings, revival meetings, Sunday-schools, and multiplied missionary movements, are calculated to keep all employed. "At it, all at it, and always at it," is its rule of personal effort. The position it has given to woman, and the work allowed her, well-nigh double its aggressive force or working power. The Methodist Episcopal Church has also been characterized by liberal views and broad charity toward others. It has not sought so much denominational position, strength, or aggrandizement, as the general good of the people by right doing. Its recognized mission is to spread scriptural holiness, to make society better and happier in all places and phases of life. For such reasons it is found on the side of the poor and oppressed, laboring in the cause of temperance, for universal education, in behalf of humanity, and in favor of all efforts designed to do good. It is the Church of the people. It has

also ought to maintain a high standard of morality among its followers, and thus wield a strong moral influence in its own behalf, in favor of righteousness, and therefore against wrong. Such principles and such policy must ever be popular among those who desire the welfare of the race, or who seek the greatest good for themselves.

The spiritual life, the doctrines, the economy, the liberality, the moral tone and the active benevolence of the Methodist Episcopal Church are suited alike to all climes and to all classes of men. If these are so fully preserved as to meet the approval of God and man, and vigorously applied to the ends proposed in the Gospel, accompanied by the pentecostal anointing, so that the coming century shall be a hundred years of earnest revival work by the Church throughout all lands, the dawn of millennial peace and glory will have come. The way in which to evangelize the world is to evangelize it; while waiting for the coming of Christ, to have the lamps trimmed and burning, as faithful stewards to be employed in the Master's service, using the means which he has provided, living holy, and working hard. Ministers should preach and members labor with this end in view, each giving time, thought, toil, money, for this sublime purpose. If this is done the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, with divine help, can convert the world in a hundred years. Nor is the task so great as might be supposed. If each member will be the means of one conversion in every ten years throughout the century, in addition to those who pass to the Church triumphant, so as to double in numbers each decade, the end is accomplished. Should there be failure, whose will be the fault? May the question which passed around the table at the supper, "Is it I? Is it I?" be heard in all our ranks, and repeated from generation to generation, till the harvest is gathered.

If one denomination can do this, how much more easily all combined? There are other Churches as pious, earnest, and as precious in the sight of God, as the one which has been named. Can there be a doubt that the divine plan is that they should unite in love and labor to bring in the glad day when the earth is the Lord's? Is it not evident that if drunkenness, ignorance, and paganism continue to curse mankind after a hundred years from to-day, sin will lie at the doors of

the Churches? The Methodist Episcopal Church does not bear this responsibility alone, nor does it seek to monopolize any field, nor crave universal dominion, but will most cheerfully share the toil and the glory with all who labor in the vineyard. Its ranks will, undoubtedly, be divided by continents and national lines. Its one great desire is that the world may submit to the cross, and the reign of Jesus be universal and everlasting; that scriptural holiness may spread over all of the parish of Wesley.

In order to accomplish this end the example of the Saviour must be followed. His first public discourse was on the rights of man, against slavery and oppression, his theme being, "Liberty to the captives, deliverance to the oppressed, the jubilee of the nations." Mr. Wesley and the Methodists took up these thoughts of Jesus, and proclaimed them anew to the world. That which has been most successful with the fathers is full of promise in the future. The reform which the Church now needs is simply more spirituality, more Christ-like zeal for right, more Pauline fortitude in maintaining truth, more Wesleyan vigor against sin, more work for the conversion of souls and the sanctification of believers—all united in wise, evangelical propagandism. By these it conquers. The harvest is ready. Why tarry the reapers?

Art. VI.—PRESENT ASPECTS OF SCOTCH THEOLOGY.

If to be true and constant to a system of theology is a commendable thing in the history of a Church, the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland are worthy of all praise. If the doctrines of the Westminster Standards, commonly known as Calvinistic, have not been faithfully held and preached in Scotland by the vast ministerial army stretching from John Knox to James Begg, they have never been faithfully held and preached outside Scotland. Scottish Presbyterianism has wrought a history marvelous in the testimony it gives of unity —complete unity—in doctrine. It might be divided by questions of policy, such as patronage and control by the State, but in matters of faith as well as of government there have been

no divergences of importance from Knox's day to a recent one. In their warm attachment to their doctrinal system the Presbyterians of Scotland have neither been greatly disturbed by the dangerous phases of religious thought south of the Tweed, nor infected with the malady that has almost destroyed the Reformed Churches of the Continent. Perfectly satisfied with their symbols, they have neither felt inclined to criticise them nor to tolerate attacks on them, at least from their own ranks. They ought to have been a happy family. Commonly, doctrinal controversies are the most bitter and divisive that are known to Churches, and to have almost entirely escaped these would seem a piece of exceptional good fortune for Scotch Presbyterians. They have not, however, been free from strife. On the contrary, there is no body of Christians that have been more disturbed by internal dissensions than they. It is true that the differences which divided them have been often more metaphysical than actual; nevertheless, the disputes were not the less sharp and heated.

While these unimportant struggles are passing from sight, other and more serious troubles are beginning to appear. It is not the disestablishment question nor the establishment of a papal hierarchy in their midst that is to engage the most earnest attention of the Churches, but a movement which threatens the complete overthrow of their standards of religion and (in one of its more destructive aspects) to undermine their faith in the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures. The recoil from what must, with all the deference due to an able and consistent body of doctrine, be regarded as a horrible theology in its most characteristic features, has been long in coming to Scotland, but coming it surely is at last. Why the Continental Churches, which had the same basis of doctrine, so soon departed from it it is not our purpose now to inquire. Their history forms a remarkable contrast to that of the Scottish Reformation. While in the case of the latter unwavering attachment to its confessional theology has been a distinguishing feature, the former have held their symbols in such light esteem that their ministers might without rebuke deny openly every doctrine taught by these standards. Nothing of this kind could at any time have been permitted to a Presbyterian minister in Scotland. With what surprise and

horror Scotch theologians regarded the speculations of the Oxford "Essays and Reviews" on the subject of the Bible is well known; but it might be said, without denial, of one of the Continental Churches, that Strauss had more friends than enemies among its theological teachers.*

We ought not, perhaps, in speaking of the long and strong attachment of Scotch Presbyterianism to the traditional theology of Westminster, to fail to notice the fact of the existence in the Established Church of what is known as a Broad Church party. This party might be charged with being in close sympathy with the Broad Church party of England, and with loose ideas, indeed, about the canon of Scripture and what is known in Scotland as evangelicism, but it professes to hold to the Westminster Standards. It is said that it was the Edinburgh organ of this party which first urged upon the Free Church the duty of vindicating its attachment to its doctrinal standards in the arraignment and trial of Professor Smith for his daring biblical criticisms; and its leader, Principal Tulloch, who was moderator of the General Assembly last year, in his closing address said the schemes for revising the Standards were founded on ignorance of their true character, and, from the nature of the case, must be unsuccessful. The Westminster theology, in all its purity, has been preached from Scottish pulpits, and preached faithfully. It was not considered necessary or proper to soften any of its harsher and more repellant features. Not only was the *decretum horribile*, as Calvin called it, the central point in sermonizing, but the inferential doctrine of infant damnation was taught from the pulpit, even within the memory of the late George Gilfillan of Dundee.† The Rev. Dr. John Eadie used to tell how once when he delivered an address to a congregation which was served by a pastor whose rigid theology hindered "perfect freedom of utterance" concerning the offer of salvation, an elder rose and expressed his thanks for the freeness with which the Gospel had been proclaimed, "a freeness," he added, "to which this congregation is not accustomed." ‡

* Von Oosterzee, in a paper read at the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, 1873.

† The Rev. David Macrae, in the New York "Independent," Sept. 12, 1878.

‡ "Life of John Eadie, D.D.," pp. 113, 114. Macmillan & Co. 1878.

It is not singular that the Old Testament should have been more commonly used than the New,* when the awful sovereignty of God, and not his universal love, was to be set forth. The Churches were rooted and grounded in Calvinism, and nourished with it. The people were thoroughly instructed in it, ready and delighted at all times to "gang ower the fundamentals." If the Churches were careful and faithful in inculcating what was to be accepted, they deemed it of no less importance to declare what should be rejected. If a warm attachment was professed on the one hand, a cordial aversion was manifested on the other. Other Churches of the Reformation might, with more or less emphasis, reject in their symbols obnoxious doctrines; but the Scottish Churches have developed a negative theology to a pre-eminent degree, and have never ceased to regard it as a necessary defense of the purity of their faith. The "National Covenant" of 1850 is a purely "negative confession," describing only the doctrines to be rejected.† The form of subscription used by the Kirk requires candidates to "disown all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Bourignian, and other doctrines, tenets, and opinions whatever, contrary to and inconsistent with the Confession of Faith." An old Cameronian left, as a legacy to his followers, on his death-bed, a "protest against all sectarian errors, heresies, and blasphemies, particularly against Arianism, Erastianism, Socinianism, Quakerism, Deism, Bourignianism, Familism, Skepticism, Arminianism, Lutheranism, Brownism, Baxterianism, Anabaptism, Millenarianism, Pelagianism, Campbellianism, Whitefieldianism, Latitudinarianism, and Independency," etc.‡ Whitefield's experience in Scotland is well known. His fame as an evangelist had, of course, preceded him, and the Cameronians, anxious to make terms with him, brought him the Solemn League and Covenant to sign, and insisted that he should restrict his ministrations to the pulpits of the "most straitest sect" in Scotland. Whitefield was not the sort of man to enter into any such engagement. He told them in his blunt way that he was ignorant of, and utterly indifferent to, the Solemn League and Covenant, and would preach Christ

* Stanley's "Lectures on the Church of Scotland," p. 95. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

anywhere, even in the Pope's pulpit if it were offered him. Of course, nothing the evangelist did after that was good. In their eyes the revival at Cambuslang was an "awful work on the bodies and spirits of men"—awful enough to justify the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer.

One who has read the history of Catholicism in Scotland—what it did for the people, and what great struggles were necessary to break its power—can scarcely wonder at the deep-seated hatred evinced toward it in the dominant religion of the country. This fact enters into and colors the whole history of the Scottish Churches. It would seem as though their aim was, even in matters of minor importance, to go to the opposite extreme from Catholicism. As Catholics had a daily communion, they decided that they would commune but once a year; as Catholics knelt in prayer, they resolved to stand; as Catholics stood in praise, they would sit; as Catholics had saints' and feast days, they rejected all, including Christmas. Next to "popery," in their catalogue of rejected things, was "prelacy." Their strong sense of independence was wounded by the persistent attempts to force upon them the English system, and they were roused to a fury with the first words of the Anglican ritual in St. Giles' Cathedral, that was feebly expressed by the discharge of stools at the dean's head. They could not and would not tolerate what they called the "popish mass," and in rejecting what was to them a hateful thing, and in accepting in the following year (1638) the National Confession, they showed how deep and intense were their religious convictions. There is no question that the attempts to crush the Reformation, and to supersede the plan of government which it adopted, only strengthened the attachment of the people to the Presbyterial system, and deepened and settled their religious convictions.

There is another feature of Scottish Presbyterianism which must be noticed before we can proceed to consider intelligently the evidence that its doctrinal system is undergoing important changes. Edinburgh has been a great literary center. It has produced, perhaps, the ablest magazine in the English language, and given to the world its share of books of all kinds. But if we allow that the clergy have in books of sermons, in biographies, and in devotional and doctrinal works,

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shown a fair degree of literary activity, we must observe that they have done scarcely any thing in periodical literature. There is in Scotland no distinctively religious newspaper, or theological quarterly, or religious monthly for the discussion of doctrinal matters, unless the monthly magazine of the United Presbyterian Church will pass for one. In America the religious weeklies and quarterlies are very numerous. No denomination is too small and weak to have one or both. The power wielded by our religious press is a tremendous one. It educates both pulpit and pew, and discusses boldly and intelligently every question of interest to the Christian. The Scotch depend upon their daily press for ecclesiastical news. We are bound to say that these dailies show great intelligence, both in their reports of religious events and in their comments upon them; but it is scarcely possible that, having the news of the world to serve and discuss, they can allow their columns to be used to such an extent as ministers and laymen might desire to use them to write of matters concerning the Churches. It has been about ten years since the last number of "The Witness," which in the hands of Hugh Miller was a very able religious weekly, was published at Edinburgh, and there has been nothing to take its place. There are monthly publications of mission reports, there are one or two evangelical weeklies, the Evangelical Union has an organ at Glasgow, and Dr. Candlish is editor of the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," which might be called a Scotch publication, though it is published at London. Besides these we know of nothing resembling a religious newspaper or a theological review in Scotland. Perhaps the failure to provide at home for what are recognized in America as definite and imperative wants, has led Scotch Presbyterians to patronize English and foreign periodicals not in entire sympathy with their symbols.

Having now prepared the way to the consideration of the development of new phases of religious thought in Scotland, we may undertake to trace and describe some of the influences which have been and are now operating to produce them. It will be a great mistake to suppose that these influences have been sufficiently powerful to effect the changes in theology which are now so apparent in a few years. Somewhat suddenly has the fact that changes have taken place been made known in

Scotland, but it is no longer doubted that there is a difference between the doctrine preached from the pulpit and that of the Westminster Standards. Every body knows this now, because one of the Scottish Churches has formulated those differences. The influences which we are able to trace in the religious thought of Scotland are in two lines: one proceeding from within the Churches, and softening the harsher features of Calvinism; the other proceeding from the Continental and English schools of Rationalism, and destined, doubtless, to weaken faith in both dogmatic theology and biblical infallibility. The older line of influence runs back some fifty years, to Thomas Erskine and John M'Leod Campbell. Both were remarkable men, whose published works were destined to have a greater power over the succeeding generation than either of the men could personally command over his contemporaries, though Dr. Campbell seems to have exercised a powerful influence over Norman M'Leod. Erskine was a layman of a distinguished name. Though qualified for the bar, religious thought was more to his taste, and he gave most of his life to it. He is said to have inclined to atheism in his youth, but a searching and impartial examination of the Gospels led him to accept them. He did not, however, fix himself upon the basis of the Westminster theology, for his first book, on "The Internal Evidence of Revealed Religion," rejected the orthodox view of the atonement, and represented that the formation of Christian character was the object of Christian belief and the end of "Christ's unspeakable work." His second book, (1828,) on "The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel," was received in a different manner from the first, and marked the rise of the agitation which resulted in the deposition of the Rev. John M'Leod Campbell from the ministry of the Church of Scotland. The two men met about the time this book appeared, and, discovering that they held similar views, became fast friends. Mr. Campbell was parish minister of Row, and it soon became known that he was preaching the universal love of God and an unlimited atonement. Very sound doctrines they seem to us, but they were not so considered in Scotland, and the year 1831 saw him and a friend, a licentiate, put outside the Kirk. The Presbytery found that he had "entertained and promulgated the doctrine of universal atone-

ment and pardon through the death of Christ, and also the doctrine that assurance is the essence of faith, and necessary to salvation." After his deposition he preached as an evangelist, and had charge of a separate Church in Glasgow ten years, retiring from the active ministry in 1843, on account of ill health. Of his several books, the one which has exerted the most influence on religious thought, both in Scotland and England, is that on the atonement. His friend, Erskine, was drawn into the Irvingite excitement, which was at its height near the time of Mr. Campbell's deposition, but the latter kept clear of it and all its excesses, though he was a friend of Edward Irving. A very curious movement, indeed, was this which Irving headed, to spring from the Presbyterian Church. Here was a reaction from Presbyterianism which has gone beyond, if possible, Catholicism in the splendor and copiousness of its ritual. Irving, too, proclaimed a Gospel free to all, and added his influence to that of the "Rowites" in exciting thought on the subject. Soon after the agitation which we have been describing subsided, another case similar to that of Mr. Campbell rose in one of the smaller Churches. It is known as the Morisonian Atonement Controversy.* James Morison was a young minister of the United Secession Church, devout and zealous, and yearning to tell men that any or all might be saved if they would. A tract of Finney's aroused, and the teachings of Erskine and Campbell probably settled, his convictions, and, with the Rev. John Guthrie and some others of the same mind, he began to proclaim with courage and fervor the universality of God's love and of the atonement. A minister had remarked in the case of Mr. Campbell that these doctrines could not be preached in the Kirk; neither were they permissible in the pulpits of the United Secession Church. Morison and his followers were compelled either to renounce their opinions or their pulpits. They relinquished their pulpits (1841) and formed an independent body, known as the Evangelical Union, which occupies the same doctrinal position as the Cumberland Presbyterian Church of the United States. The Union is not a large body, but it has had its share of influence in effecting a change in the type of Calvinism prevalent thirty years ago.

* Dr. Brown's "Life of Dr. John Eadie, pp. 112, 113." Macmillan & Co. 1878.

Other and very powerful agents in modifying the Westminster theology have been the agitations for a revision of the Confession of Faith. While these agitations have served to indicate stages of progress toward a milder and more scriptural type of theology, they have given new light to many an honest Calvinist, who, upon careful examination with its aid, has found himself at variance with the creed to which he subscribed. The growth of opinion favorable to revision has been marvelously rapid in the last few years. It required vastly more courage than it does now, for the Rev. George Gilfillan, of Dundee, lately deceased, to charge the Standards with containing "many blunders—blunders of scriptural interpretation, blunders of natural and mental philosophy, and blunders of theological doctrine." That was a very bold utterance, even by a man of Mr. Gilfillan's large reputation, and it horrified all Presbyterian Scotland. The brethren of Mr. Gilfillan's presbytery summoned him before them, and gravely remonstrated with him, hoping that nothing more would be needed to induce him to treat the venerable and venerated symbols of the Church more respectfully in future. It was, doubtless, a surprise to every body that such a bold criticism should have been dealt with so mildly. Mr. Gilfillan was not a man who could be silenced when he had firm and settled convictions. He continued his criticisms of the Confession on fitting occasions, and lent his advice and support to others who more recently espoused the cause. The United Presbyterian Church could not well refuse to listen to the voices that urged that the Westminster Standards did not represent its living faith. It could not plead the inviolability of the Confession, because its formulary of subscription contained a reservation as to what (referring to the chapter on the civil magistracy) "teaches or is supposed to teach compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion." It was easy to argue that if the Confession was fallible and erroneous on one point it might be so on others.

Following Mr. Gilfillan as a critic of the Confession of Faith came the Rev. David Macrae, of Gourock, and the Rev. Fergus Ferguson, of Glasgow. Any thing that had come from Dundee was mild compared with the criticisms of these two ministers. Mr. Macrae, in asking his presbytery to send up to

the synod an overture for revision, made bold to say that the theology of the Standards was not the theology of the Bible; that the God of the Confession was not the God of the Bible. He declared that his brethren did not preach the theology of the Confession, and challenged them to deny it. Going on to describe the theology of the Confession, he said:—

> The Confession teaches that God for his own glory has predestinated some men to be saved, but that all the rest of mankind he has predestinated to damnation and everlasting torment in hell. It teaches that while there is no fear of the elect, there is no hope for the non-elect. . . . It teaches that by reason of the sin of Adam, apart from any fault of their own, men come into the world wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body, utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. It teaches that because of this sin, which they could not and cannot help, they are bound helplessly over to the wrath of God, and the curse of the law, and so made subject to spiritual, temporal, and eternal death. It teaches that even in heathen lands, where they have never heard, and therefore have had no opportunity of accepting, the Gospel, they cannot be saved, no matter how earnestly they frame their lives according to the light of nature, or the laws of that religion which they profess. . . . It teaches that of the countless myriads of babes who have died and are dying in infancy, only the elect are saved. For the non-elect, young or old, it has no fate but the unending and unspeakable torments of hell.

The presbytery thought he was using rather severe language. It was severe language, but it was severe theology that was described. Mr. Macrae was, probably, not much disappointed at the defeat of his overture, and at receiving himself the admonition of the presbytery. But Mr. Macrae's session sent up a similar overture to the synod, and there were others also from the presbyteries of Perth and Glasgow. The manner of the synod in receiving them was very amusing. On the principle of not letting the right hand know what the left was about to do, it first censured those who had criticised the Standards, and then proceeded to appoint a special committee to consider the subject, still declaring its steadfast adherence to the ancient symbols. It would not do to lean too much toward innovations, nor yet to be too stiffly conservative. In the same year (1877) the Rev. Fergus Ferguson, who had been accused of various heresies, to which we shall refer further on, refused to

square his views by the Confession of Faith. He characterized the position of the Church in requiring acceptance of doctrines which were neither believed nor preached as dishonest, and, like Mr. Macrae, he charged the Confession with misrepresenting the Word of God. The committee appointed by the synod to ascertain if the Standards were in full accord with the Scriptures might not sympathize with Mr. Ferguson's doctrine of the atonement and other errors, but it could not be unmindful of the deep impression which his criticisms, as well as those of Mr. Macrae, had made upon the Church. It was composed of able men representing all shades of opinion, who did their work conscientiously and faithfully. They agreed at the outset that it was not expedient or desirable to revise the Standards, and set themselves to work to embody, in the form of a "Declaratory Statement," the convictions of the Church. The adoption by the synod of this document by a large majority marks an epoch in the history of Calvinism in Scotland. The "Statement," as defining the sense in which the Church holds the Westminster Standards, consists of seven articles or paragraphs. The first article declares that free offer of salvation is made to every man, without distinction, on the ground of Christ's perfect sacrifice; the second, that the doctrine of the divine decrees is to be held in harmony with the truth that "God will have all men to be saved," and with the "responsibility of men in dealing with the free and unrestricted offer of eternal life;" the third, that man's inability is not of such a nature as to affect his responsibility, and that his depravity is not of such a nature as to prevent him from performing actions in any sense good; the fourth, that those who accept the standards are not required to hold that any infants are lost or that all the heathen must perish; the fifth, that Christ is the only head and king of the Church; the sixth, that the Church is under obligation to maintain missions among the heathen; and the seventh, that liberty is permissible on points which do not affect the substance of faith, such as interpretation of the "six days of creation."

The few who are staunch supporters of the traditional theology of Westminster will find little to their liking in the "Declaratory Statement." The two are widely apart. Good men may say and actually believe that the only effect of the

Statement is to bring out more clearly the doctrines of the Confession, but it is not in reason or language to reconcile the two. Compared even with the "Auburn Declaration" of the New School Presbyterians of this country, it is a liberal document. At the time the famous "Declaration" was issued it was regarded as a momentous event, as showing a very marked deviation from the type of Calvinistic theology then prevalent. One knowing what sort of doctrine New School men preached is surprised now in examining this manifesto to find it so conservative, but not at all astonished that the Old School Assembly of 1868 should be able to approve it as containing "all the fundamentals of the Calvinistic creed." Its conservative character is attributable to the controlling desire of the New School theologians to concede as much to the Westminster theology as conscience would permit. Thus, in respect to the central doctrine of Calvinism, the "Auburn Declaration," in almost the language of the Confession, declares that "election to eternal life is not founded on a foresight of faith and obedience, but is a sovereign act of God's mercy," etc. Man's salvation, then, is independent of his desire to obey the call of the Holy Spirit and to exercise saving faith; and the reason God does not save all is because "in his wisdom he does not see fit to exert that power further than he does." It is a different doctrine which the Scottish "Declaratory Statement" sets forth. When it explicitly declares that the Gospel is offered freely to all mankind, that it is sufficient for all, and adapted to all, it teaches the Arminian doctrine of a universal atonement; in asserting that man is responsible for dealing with the offer, it implies that he may either accept or reject it, and thus the Arminian doctrines of conditional salvation and free agency are set forth. Christ did *not* die for the elect alone, but for every man; some men and angels are *not* "foreordained unto everlasting death" for the manifestation of God's glory, but because they reject the free and unrestricted offer of salvation; the strivings of the Holy Spirit are *not* alone with those whom He has "predestinated unto life," but with every man, and man alone is responsible for the way he deals with them.

Some of the members of the synod questioned whether there was not some inconsistency between the "Statement" and the

Standards; and one, a minister, inquired whether the confessional doctrine of a limited atonement had not been swept away; but he expressed satisfaction when informed that such was not the case. Dr. Cairns, of the committee, made the principal speech in explanation and support of the "Statement," and we find him expressing the hope that some day the Church would be in possession of shorter and simpler standards, and the conviction that Presbyterians and Methodists were nearer each other in doctrine than many supposed. It is rather singular to listen to his assertion, near the beginning of his speech, that the "Statement" is simply an attempt to "bring out the supposed sense of the Standards," and hear him further on admit that "wings of faith" are necessary to cross the river separating the two. Upon this the "Scotsman" made the not inapt suggestion that a pair of "colossal legs to bestride the difficulty" would suit Dr. Cairns' purpose better. We suspect that when the new territory is fully occupied no one will care to return to the old. The light and beauty of Canaan are better than the darkness and terror of Egypt.

The severe attacks the Confession has lately received have induced an Aberdeen professor to undertake a vindication and explanation* of that venerable standard. He confesses at the outset that he entered upon the task with serious misgivings as to the possibility of holding God's boundless and impartial love to every human creature consistently with the doctrine of the Confession. He states the objections to the Confession so ingenuously and strongly that the ingenuity of his answers and explanations, though great, is entirely inadequate. Predestination, as he defines it, "means that God included in his plan of the world every act of every creature, good or bad." He "knew what each in the exercise of his free-will would choose," and included it in his plan, "and to this extent foreordained it." At the end of such a line of argument we should look for just what we find in this case, an admission that the defense is not in accordance with the historical interpretation of the Confession, and a plea for interpreting the latter as an act of Parliament is interprete —that it "enjoins nothing further than it distinctly states."

* "Predestination and Free-will and the Westminster Confession of Faith." By John Forbes, D.D. Edinburgh: J. & J. Clark. 1878.

We have referred to the trial of the Rev. Fergus Ferguson. The most important heresy of which he was found guilty was in reference to the atonement. He was charged with denial of the substitutionary aspect of Christ's atonement, and his admissions before the synod and to a special committee bear out the charge. What he did say clearly, amidst much that was obscure, uncertain, and mystifying, was that the main element in the satisfaction of divine justice was Christ's obedience to God. Another element of it was Christ's priesthood in heaven. In the synod's action in this case the fact that is most evident is a desire to avoid bringing Mr. Ferguson under discipline. The finding of the presbytery could not with any sort of justice be reversed; so we find the synod approving a decision to the effect that heresy which "cannot be tolerated in this Church" had been proved, and at the same time declaring that there was toleration for it. This toleration is the most significant feature of the case. No doubt the complications occasioned by the adoption of the "Declaratory Statement" furnished the chief reason for leniency toward Mr. Ferguson.

We now pass to the consideration of some of the other influences which are affecting religious thought in Scotland, and of which the heresy case of Professor Robertson Smith is the earliest and most startling result. The sources of these influences, which have been educating the youthful Scottish mind* in the last twenty years, were German theological and biblical literature, the writings of the older English liberal school of Coleridge and the Hares, and of the newer school of Maurice and Kingsley, and the books of the Scottish philosopher, Thomas Carlyle.† In later years Scottish students have been finishing their theological course in the German universities, returning to their country to propagate the liberal opinions they accepted. Two, at least, of the young gentlemen who have made themselves acquainted with the results obtained by both the Dutch and German schools of criticism, have been settled in university chairs, and have in charge the education of the future ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. It is singular that Continental opinion should first manifest itself in the stiffest and most dogmatic of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Had such a case as that of Professor Smith appeared

* Principal Tulloch in "Contemporary Review," March, 1878. † *Ibid.*

in the Kirk, which is rather noted for its moderation, or in the United Presbyterian Church, which has been gradually withdrawing its allegiance to the traditional theology of Westminster, it would not have been so strange. It is only about thirty-five years since the Free Church was founded on the strictest dogmatic platform, taking, according to the common boast, nearly all that were sound out of the old Kirk with it. Such preachers and theologians as Chalmers and Guthrie and Candlish and Cunningham have been its standard-bearers, and never were they accused of betraying their trust. If there has been one Church which has marched closer than the others to the Westminster Standards, it has been the Free Church, and yet its dogmatism has not protected it from the invasion of Rationalism. In the opinion of one who is certainly not an alarmist,* "many signs of the times indicate that the disintegrating influences which have so long been working with startling results upon Continental Protestantism have at length fastened themselves upon our own ecclesiastical communities," and their legitimate effects may be looked for in due time.

The last Free Church Assembly dealt with two cases of heresy respecting the Scriptures, those of Dr. Dods and Prof. Smith. The former attracted much less attention than the latter, because it was settled before it came to trial. In a sermon which was printed and circulated, Dr. Dods had said that the historical books of the Bible were not free from inaccuracies. Those who contributed to the Scriptures had erroneous impressions regarding ordinary matters; their style was crude and their grammar bad. It was, however, "no concern of the Bible's to teach history or science, or to correct all the erroneous impressions and popular fallacies which existed in the minds" of those who wrote it. Dr. Dods has evidently been a reader of Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, in which that prelate selects certain passages from the five books, and declares them to be the production of "error, infirmity, passion, and ignorance." Perhaps Dr. Dods does not, however, go with the author so far as to decline to receive the Pentateuch as historically true. His presbytery found "objectionable" views in the sermon, but as the accused had agreed to withdraw it from publication, it decided that it was unneces-

* Edinburgh "Scotsman," 1878.

sary to institute further proceedings. There was some dissatisfaction with the action of the presbytery, but both synod and assembly approved it.

The case of Professor Smith is not yet concluded; but it has been before all the judicatories which have a right to consider it, and it is perfectly easy to gather from the proceedings thus far what the mind of the Church is in respect to it. The college committee, the presbytery, the synod, the commission, and the assembly, have all passed judgment upon it. The man who has attracted so much attention in Scotland for the past two years by his advanced opinions on biblical matters is a young man only thirty-one years of age. The Rev. William Robertson Smith is son of the Rev. W. P. Smith, D.D., a minister of the Free Church. He graduated at the University of Aberdeen, and spent some time abroad in study at the universities of Bonn, Göttingen, and Berlin. Upon his return to Scotland he became assistant to Professor Tait, in the University of Edinburgh. Soon after he was called to the chair of Oriental Languages and Old Testament Exegesis in the Aberdeen Free College. He has some reputation as a mathematician, but is more distinguished for his biblical learning. He is of low stature, is youthful in appearance, possesses a clear, penetrating eye, is said to be very pleasant in manner, winning the love and respect of his students, and is, withal, very devout. On account of his excellence as a biblical scholar he was selected as a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee, and also to write certain articles for the theological department of the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Among these articles was one on the "Bible," which was treated with undeniable ability, and gave evidence of a thorough knowledge of the opinions and writings of all schools of thought on the subject. It was soon discovered that in this article Professor Smith had taken great liberty with some of the books of the Bible, and that he discovered a decided leaning toward the latest results of critical research. At first only vague rumors of heresy were in circulation, and anxiety was manifested; but when more definite information was received signs of alarm began to be seen. The Church was startled. Here was a blow struck at the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures by a man whom the Church

had commissioned to instruct young men for its ministry. There was an outcry from pulpit and press. The fountain of ministerial supply was being poisoned. It was a case calling for prompt action. This was in the summer of 1876. Urged by public opinion, the board of college visitors, or college committee of the assembly, undertook to make an examination into the truth of the allegations of general report. The pressure on the committee from without was great; but in the circle of the college influence there was a different feeling prevailing, a feeling which had its effect on the committee, whose decision was a compromise. It found dangerous tendencies in the writings of the young professor, but no "ground sufficient to support a process of heresy." That such a conclusion of a six months' investigation would be a disappointment to the Church could have been foretold by any one knowing its temper. If there was surprise at the thought that German opinion could find a lodgment in the Church, there must have been astonishment and dismay at the discovery that a responsible committee of the assembly had calmly proposed toleration for it. The assembly of the spring of 1877 reassured those who had begun to tremble for the soundness of the Church in promptly rejecting the report of the college committee, and suspending Professor Smith from his professorial functions until his case could be examined and passed upon by his presbytery, the Presbytery of Aberdeen.

The process entered upon by the presbytery was a long, tedious, and difficult one. The libel had first to be drawn by a committee and reported to presbytery; then to be sent to the legal adviser of the Church for revision, whose suggestions and proposed alterations must be discussed and acted upon; next, the relevancy of the amended libel was to be considered, and, finally, its charges must be established. The libel in this case was a very long document, differing greatly in form from the process which was used by the Presbyterians in this country in the trial of Professor Swing. The major proposition, containing three counts, was in the form of a preamble, declaring that *whereas* such and such opinions are opposed to the Confession of Faith and to the Scriptures, (the particular opinions being designated in specifications numbered from *primo* to *octavo*,) *therefore* (introducing the minor proposition) you, etc.,

are guilty, etc., the publications being mentioned in which the offenses were committed, and the quotations given on which the charges rest. Then follows the conclusion, to the effect that, the accused being guilty, sentence should be pronounced "for the glory of God, for the edification of the Church, and the deterring of others holding the same sacred office from committing the like offense in all time." It is to be feared that this stage of the case will never be reached.

It is not surprising that the libel, in hands unused to such work, was unskillfully drawn; nor that the process of trying its relevancy was one which some members of the court did not understand, and which led to some confusion. Some supposed that, instead of deciding whether the libel was logically consistent, whether it charged actual offenses, they were voting "guilty" or "not guilty." The process was of such a nature as to draw out the defense of the accused, and there is good excuse, we should think, for the confusion which existed.

The three charges of the libel were: 1. The publishing of opinions which contradict or are opposed to the inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority of the Scriptures; 2. The publishing of opinions which are in themselves of a dangerous and unsettling tendency in their bearings on inspiration, etc.; 3. The publishing of opinions which, by their neutrality of statement and rashness of critical construction, tend to disparage the divine authority and inspired character of the Bible. The first charge was found relevant, but the eight specifications under it were decided to be irrelevant. The second charge was voted relevant, (21 to 20,) but on appeal to synod this decision was reversed. The third charge was declared to be irrelevant by a vote of 27 to 29. This was tantamount to an acquittal of the accused. There was nothing left before the presbytery to proceed to trial upon. The case came before the assembly in excellent shape for Professor Smith, where we may follow it at once, without reference to the intermediate action of synod or commission. The assembly, too, appeared to be in a mood more friendly to Professor Smith. The fact that committee, (college,) and presbytery, and synod had found no ground of condemnation could not fail to have some influence on its temper. There was a strong current of sympathy running through the assembly in favor of the accused. When he or Dr. Dods

appeared they were greeted by the students and spectators with cheers, while the appellants were received frequently with hisses. There is no doubt that Professor Smith's bearing and brilliancy in the debates which followed won him many admirers, if not friends. He presented his defense not only with ability, but with a spirit of candor. His readiness of speech, his brilliant sallies, his wealth of resources in debate, his supreme confidence of being able to meet any questions that might be raised by his opponents, were apparently appreciated, and were effective in his behalf. His rather neat retort to Dr. Begg, who had said that some were trembling for the safety of the Church, was greatly relished, for the doctor, albeit of the soundest orthodoxy, is not considered the loveliest character in the Church. "I would warn him," said Professor Smith, "of the fate of Eli, who, trembling for the safety of the ark, fell and perished."

The vital question before the assembly—we may pass over the other points—was Professor Smith's view of Deuteronomy, stated in the second particular as follows :—

> That the book of inspired Scripture called Deuteronomy, which is professedly an historical record, does not possess that character; but was made to assume it by a writer of a much later age, who therein, in the name of God, presented in dramatic form instructions and laws as proceeding from the mouth of Moses, though these never were, and never could have been, uttered by him.

The position of the defense was, that this was not opposed to the Confession, which, indeed, says nothing as to how the books of the Bible were collected, or handed down, or as to who wrote them. It does not even attribute the books of the Pentateuch to Moses, nor the Psalms to David. Therefore, it was argued, the charge assumes what the Confession does not declare, and ought to fall. Sir Henry Moncreiff, who was the chief speaker in opposition to the accused, while admitting that the Confession lays down no theory of inspiration, contended that there might be theories of inspiration which the Church could not safely sanction. The Confession declares that the Bible is infallibly true: there is testimony in Deuteronomy and in other parts of the Bible that the book is historical, and even that it is of Mosaic authorship—therefore Professor Smith, in denying that it is "historical," denies the doctrine of the

Confession. His theory amounted to Kuenen's assertion, that Deuteronomy was a "pious fraud." How is it conceivable that God could inspire a man to write the book seven centuries after Moses' death, and impute it to Moses? It was a "literary impossibility." Destroy its historical character, and you destroy its inspiration. Furthermore, if such criticism can be made of Deuteronomy, why may it not be made of other books of the Bible? Who could then say what is authoritative? It was curious that the Jews should have preserved a book which was not what it assumed to be, and that Christ and his apostles should have quoted passages from it as coming from Moses.

It was not denied on the part of Professor Smith that his views differed from those held by the Church. But the views of the Church were not the standard by which he was to be condemned, but the Confession. It was true that the Confession required that the "inspiration, infallible truth, and divine authority" of the Scriptures should be accepted, but the accused did accept them, and of Deuteronomy, too. "The charge against me," he contended, "must fall to the ground if I can show that the traditional views which I have surrendered are really encumbered with difficulties so grave that it cannot be safe for the Church to forbid her members to aim at the construction of some more consistent account of the biblical facts." He did not hold that a "pious fraud" had been committed, but that the confusion arose from the meagerness of the Hebrew language at the time Deuteronomy was written. "Had the Deuteronomist lived in the nineteenth century he would very likely have prefaced the book with a preamble to the effect that it was a development of what had gone before;" but the Professor confessed if he were asked to translate such a preamble as that into Hebrew he should find himself nonplused. The language had not then developed its abstract form of expression.

The arguments of Professor Smith, and speeches from such men as Dr. Rainy, Professor Salmond, and Dr. Candlish, to the effect that there had been no direct contradiction of the Confession, very nearly brought the assembly out from under the influence of Sir Henry Moncreiff. It was only by a majority of 23 votes in a total vote of 579, that the assembly passed a resolution declaring that, "according to the teaching of the

Westminster Confession, Deuteronomy is a thoroughly inspired record." It also amended the libel, and sent it back to the Aberdeen Presbytery for re-trial. The new trial, begun in September, will doubtless end as did the former; the final issue must be fought in the assembly.

The "progressionists" claim a substantial victory in the fact that the assembly has virtually declared that liberty of speculation on biblical subjects may be enjoyed so long as the letter of the Confession is not violated; and one of them, Professor Lindsay, attempts* the rather difficult task of showing that the Church has declared that "critical freedom" and "dogmatical orthodoxy" are not "antagonistic," but may "co-exist." To most observers it seems rather that the Free Church is letting go its hold on "dogmatic orthodoxy," and beginning to drift on the same sea on which the Reformed Churches of the Continent wrecked their faith.†

ART. VII.—THE ZENDAVESTA.‡

Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis. By MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D., late Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Munich. Second Edition. Edited by E. W. WEST, Ph.D. London: Trübner. 1878.

CERTAIN forms of Paganism which were once powerful and widely spread have passed away forever. "Cloud-compelling Zeus" no longer holds his throne on the snowy top of Olympus; and although the Parthenon still stands forth in the bright air of Attica a most majestic ruin, yet the name of the goddess whose image once guarded the stately fabric is a sound known in Athens itself only to a portion of the inhabitants. So have disappeared many other systems of belief: Druidism, the

* "Contemporary Review," August, 1878.

† Besides the publications already named, the following give information on matters treated in this article: Professor Smith's "Answer to Libel, and Additional Answer," etc., in pamphlets. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1878. "Report of Proceedings of Aberdeen Presbytery, with Form of Libel, and Report of Proceedings of Free Church Assembly of 1878." Edinburgh: J. Maclaren. "Speech on the Subordinate Standards," by Dr. Cairns. Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant & Co.

‡ We employ the usual designation. *The Avesta* would be more correct.

religion of the Celts; the faith of the Teutonic races, the broken relics of which are found in the Scandinavian Edda; the brute-worship of Egypt, so strangely combined with ideas of considerable elevation; the Syrian deities, Moloch, Chemosh, and the rest, whose character and worship Milton describes in four words, "lust hard by hate;" the Assyrian and Babylonian systems, which were noted chiefly for divination and magic; and the Phrygian and other religions of Asia Minor, which were enthusiastic, that is, wild and frantic, to an incredible degree —these, and many other forms of faith, have fallen, and cannot rise again. Recent investigations have been bringing to light a creed which was probably more ancient than any of those we have yet mentioned—that of the Akkadians; which was still more of a magical character than even those Babylonian and Assyrian systems which it powerfully affected.

But in the farther East there are forms of religion possessed of greater vitality than any of those we have enumerated. When we try to discover their origin, we have to search for it amid the darkness of a very remote past; and although all of them are wasted and worn, yet the day of their final dissolution may be still far off. One of these ancient Oriental systems is Zoroastrianism. Professor C. de Harlez, of Louvain, speaks in the following terms of this religion :—

> The religion which bears the name of Zoroaster, and of which the Avesta was the code, is certainly the most remarkable which profane antiquity produced. More than any other it approaches natural religion; it distinguishes itself among them all by conceptions more sober, more healthy, (*saines*,) and more moral. . . . We cannot, then, be surprised that the learned world takes a lively interest in investigating its date and its cradle.

Apart from its being the most ethical form of heathenism, it claims attentive regard as having been the faith of the ancient Persians, whose history touches so remarkably that of the Jews, the Babylonians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Moreover, none of the religions of pagan antiquity exercised a wider influence, or more largely attracted the attention of reflecting men, than that which was said to have been promulgated by the illustrious Zoroaster.

Very great obscurity still rests on the origin, the history, and the doctrines of Zoroastrianism. We regret that our lim-

its will not allow us to state with much fullness the process of investigation as it has been carried on by modern scholars. When the inquiry was commenced, nearly every thing was uncertain. Even before the Christian era all distinct traces of the age, the character, and the doings of Zoroaster had been lost. Pliny believed that there must have been more than one personage of the name; and Stanley, the author of a well-known "History of Philosophy," laboring to reduce to order the chaos of conflicting statements, was disposed to maintain that there must have been no fewer than six. Herodotus is the earliest Greek writer that refers to the Persian religion. Hermippus (B.C. 250) is said to have diligently examined the Zoroastrian books, and to have written a work on the Magi. It was probably from him that Plutarch drew the views of the Persian faith which are given in his treatise regarding Isis and Osiris. Agathias (A.D. 500) has a brief but valuable notice of the difference between the creed as it existed in his day and what he holds to have been its older form. After the conversion of Armenia to Christianity it had to maintain its faith against the fierce attacks of Zoroastrian Persia; and from some of the Armenian writers, particularly Eznik and Eliseus, we receive important statements regarding the Persian religion of the fourth and fifth centuries. After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in the middle of the eighth century, Mohammedan writers not unfrequently mention the ancient faith of the country and its followers.

But when all the information that could be gleaned from the source we have mentioned was collected together, the result was far from satisfactory. The views of the various authors were often vague, and sometimes irreconcilable. Previous to the year 1700 no work of standard excellence had been published on the subject of the Zoroastrian faith. In that year, however, appeared a work entitled, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, by Dr. Thomas Hyde, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford. A second edition came out in 1760, in a volume of 580 pages. Hyde was a man of much learning, well acquainted with Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. He carried on his researches with praiseworthy zeal and perseverance, and amassed a large amount of information regarding the Persian faith; but his attempts to expound it were unsuc-

cessful, simply because he could not command the materials on which alone a correct judgment could be based. He had in his possession two Zend manuscripts, and apparently he had succeeded in deciphering the characters; but to the language in which they were written he could procure no key. Still, he rendered great service by earnestly calling on Europeans residing in the East to aid in throwing light on the faith of Zoroaster. A considerable body of Zoroastrians resided in the west of India; and some of our countrymen in that land now began to exert themselves in the good work to which Hyde had summoned them. No one was more diligent than Mr. James Fraser, of Surat, whose magnificent collection of MSS. was handed over to the Radcliffe Library, at Oxford, about the middle of last century. This consisted chiefly of Persian and Sanscrit works. Mr. Fraser found the Parsis exceedingly suspicious and reserved, and with all his energy he could procure no more than two manuscripts in the ancient tongue of Persia. But before this (1723) another manuscript had been forwarded to Oxford, which had a somewhat remarkable influence. Hyde was now gone; and no scholar in England or in Europe was equal to the work of translating it. For thirty years it lay an unanswered challenge from the East to all the boasted learning of the West. In 1754 Anquetil du Perron, then about twenty-two years old, saw in Paris a copy of some pages of this mysterious document. "On the instant," says he, "I determined to enrich my country with that singular work. I resolved to translate it, and with that view to go and learn the ancient Persian language in Guzerat [in western India] or Kirman [in Persia]." The whole story, indeed, reads like a romance. Of late years Anquetil has been rather severely handled, and his reputation as an accurate scholar has been pulled to pieces. But let us not forget his great merits. His zeal and energy were indomitable. He enlisted as a soldier in the service of the French East India Company, literally running away from his relatives, who deemed his scheme almost insane. He was quite ready to meet any hardships. His "petit equipage" comprised "two shirts, two handkerchiefs, and a pair of stockings." A case of mathematical instruments, a few books, (a Hebrew Bible among them,) were added; and the young adventurer stood equipped for his great undertaking!

Anquetil spent five years in India. It was at Surat that he came in contact with the Parsis. He had the greatest difficulty both in obtaining a copy of their sacred books, and in inducing them to give the interpretation. Such, however, as they gave he wrote down, the medium of communication between him and the Parsis being modern Persian. He arrived in Portsmouth in November, 1761; visited Oxford, compared his own MSS. with those he saw there, and found little or no disagreement between them; proceeded to Paris, and deposited in the Bibliothèque du Roi his splendid collection of one hundred and eighty-eight MSS. in various Oriental languages. In 1771 appeared his great work, with the title, *Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les idées Theologiques, Physiques, et Morales, de ce Legislateur traduit en François, sur l' original Zend*, par M. Anquetil du Perron. Tomes 2; Paris, 1771.

Anquetil had written several papers in the literary journals of France by way of preparing the world for his great work. Expectation stood on tiptoe. For ages Zoroaster had been a great and venerable name. The long-silent oracle was to become vocal at last; what would its message prove? On the whole, the disappointment was general and profound. Some of Anquetil's countrymen, such as the Abbé de Foucher, expressed almost contempt for the book; Englishmen like Jones and Richardson maintained it could only be a forgery; as did also the German critics, Meiners and Tychsen, while Kant complained that he had read the whole book without finding in it the slightest trace of philosophic thought. On the other hand, Kleuker translated Anquetil's work into German, in six volumes folio, enriching it with copious notes and dissertations, and with answers to objections. This was between 1776 and 1783.

The critical investigation of the Zendavesta then slumbered until it was taken up afresh by the great French scholar, Burnouf. In 1829–33 he published a lithographed edition of one of Anquetil's MSS. In 1833–35 appeared his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, which contains a very elaborate and minute investigation of the first of the seventy-two chapters of the Zend liturgy. In 1844–46 he printed in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris an equally careful examination of the ninth chapter. Burnouf deserves the highest commendation for his painstak-

ing accuracy. Although an excellent Sanscrit scholar, yet he was not familiar with the language in the form in which it most closely approaches Zend, that is, in the archaic dialect used in the Vedas; and this renders the success he attained the more remarkable. Anquetil had made wild work of cases and terminations, as well as tenses; but Burnouf, by careful comparison with Sanscrit, was able to discover the inflections, and thus to lay a solid basis for Zend grammar. It now became manifest that Anquetil's so-called translation of the Zendavesta was loose and inaccurate throughout. For this we need not blame him over much. As we have indicated, he had simply received what the Parsi priests had told him, without having time, even if he had possessed the skill, to correct their inexact renderings.

While the examination of the ancient Persian books was thus steadily advancing, the cuneiform inscriptions, of which Grotefend had with marvelous acuteness commenced the analysis, were beginning to disclose their secrets under the persevering zeal of Rawlinson, Hincks, and others. One language proved to be a sister tongue of the Zend, or, as it was generally regarded, Zend itself in a somewhat later form. The result of this interesting discovery was, that it all but silenced the voice of those who had maintained that the Zend books, and the Zend language itself, were nothing but forgeries. This opinion, which was held by men of no mean scholarship, such as Vans Kennedy, of Bombay, appears now no less amazing than the hypothesis advanced by Dugald Stewart, and others, that Sanscrit itself was fabricated, in imitation of Greek, by artful Brahmans after Alexander's invasion of India.

A very excellent paper on the sacred books of the Parsis, by Mr. William Erskine, had appeared in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay; but, on the whole, not very much had been done in India itself to throw light on the ancient Persian faith. In 1839, however, the baptism of two Parsi youths, pupils in the Scottish Missionary Institution, threw the Parsi community into great excitement; and much was said on the necessity of studying and defending the Zoroastrian books. The missionaries, on their part, were not idle. Early in 1843 the Rev. Dr. Wilson published a work on the Parsi religion, of which Dr. Haug thus writes: "The first

work written in English which shows any acquaintance with the original Avesta texts was the Rev. Dr. Wilson's book, which, although it relies chiefly on the results of Burnouf's researches, also contains frequent indications of independent investigation." Dr. Haug was not given to excessive laudation; and it is greatly to Dr. Wilson's credit that, in the midst of multifarious duties, he should have accomplished so much in the study of a language of exceeding difficulty.

Professor Westergaard, of Copenhagen, who had visited both Western India and Persia in quest of ancient manuscripts, published in 1851 a lithographed edition of *Bundahish*—a work written, not in Zend, but in Pahlavi, a language of which more will be said by and by. In 1852 he commenced to print an edition of the Zendavesta itself, promising also a translation, dictionary, and grammar. As yet, however, only the Zend text has appeared. Westergaard is a most accurate scholar. He doubtless finds his way beset with all but insuperable difficulties, and hesitates to print what does not satisfy his own severely critical mind. But more than twenty years of labor ought to produce something of enduring value.

Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, has long been a very diligent student of Parsi archæology, and since 1851 has published many valuable works. His German version of the Vendidad appeared in 1852, and was followed in 1853–58 by two volumes containing the Zend text accompanied by the Pahlavi translation. By 1863 Spiegel had completed his translation of the Zendavesta in three volumes. It has been rendered into English by Bleeck.

We come now to speak of the researches of Dr. Martin Haug. He commenced the study of Zend in 1852, and turned his attention to the five Gāthas—a portion of the Zendavesta which Westergaard had shown to be metrical. Anquetil's translation of these he found to be entirely erroneous; it afforded "no assistance." With immense energy he worked his way for more than six years, trusting to the aid of comparative philology in his effort to interpret the enigmatical Zend. Vedic Sanscrit, Pahlavi, modern Persian, Armenian, and occasionally Latin and Greek, were all laid under contribution. The result was the publication in 1858–60 of a work in German, entitled "The Five Gāthas, a collection of Songs and Sayings of Zoroaster,

(Zarathustra,) his Disciples and Successors," edited, translated, and explained. It was evident at a glance that Haug had in this work advanced the investigation far beyond the limit reached even by Burnouf; but at the same time it was difficult to follow him in his bold renderings, the sense being often extorted, rather than extracted. Haug was a pupil of Ewald's, and, like his teacher, was possessed of immense enthusiasm, but, at the same time, was somewhat rash, dogmatical, and pugnacious. His attacks on his countryman, Spiegel, a most diligent explorer of Persian antiquity, were harsh even to bitterness; although undoubtedly Haug was the profounder scholar in Zend and Sanscrit, and more frequently in the right than Spiegel. He proceeded to India, having been appointed Professor of Sanscrit in the Government College at Poona, and carried on his investigations, both in Zend and Sanscrit, with unflagging zeal. In 1862 he published in English a volume entitled, "Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis." The second essay contained an outline of Zend grammar, and was a new and very important aid to the acquisition of the language. It is a second and enlarged edition of this work which now lies before us, as it has been published by Dr. West. Haug himself has passed away, worn out, we fear, by too persistent toil; but his friend, Dr. West, himself a very careful student of Parsi antiquity, has done full justice to the work. Our only regret is that it is not possible for any one who does not possess the first edition to discover the extent of Dr. West's enlargement and emendation of the original work. The essay on Zend grammar is omitted; but compensation is made by the insertion of the results of many of Dr. Haug's later researches.

The investigation of the Zendavesta is still diligently prosecuted. In the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and in the transactions of various societies on the Continent, papers on Zoroastrianism of no small value appear from time to time. Among the writers who have of late become prominent in this branch of study we may mention Professor C. de Harlez, of Louvain, and Professor Darmesteter, of Paris. The former has published (1875–77) a French translation of the Avesta in three volumes, with valuable notes. Professor Darmesteter has written several papers, the most important being a very

full and acute essay on "Ormazd and Ahriman," which appeared last year. (In these two names the reader will easily recognize the celebrated Oromasdes and Arimanes, the principles, respectively, of light and darkness, good and evil.) Controversy still rages among scholars regarding the ancient faith of Persia, and even on fundamental points. We have just been reading in the *Journal Asiatique* an elaborate refutation by Professor de Harlez, of Professor Darmesteter's views of the original form of Zoroastrianism. While we can now trace the great religion of India without interruption almost up to its fountain-head, the mode of its historical development for nearly four thousand years being fairly well understood, it is far otherwise with the ancient religion of Persia.

We purposely abstain from entering on questions which are still earnestly contested among scholars; we shall content ourselves with mentioning some particulars regarding which there is pretty general agreement.

The term Zendavesta, by which Europeans usually designate the ancient Persian Scripture, is not used by the Parsis, and is really not correct. *Avastā va Zand*, that is, text and version, would be more exact. Avesta (in Pahlavi *Avistak*) is understood by the Parsis to denote the text, and Zend (*Zand*) the translation into Pahlavi, with comments frequently appended, which was made probably about the middle of the third century after Christ, or, according to some, at a considerably earlier date. *Avistak* is rendered by Haug *knowledge*, so that it would correspond in meaning with *Veda*, the name of the most ancient Hindu writings. The derivation, however, is doubtful. Professor de Harlez elaborately examines the meaning of the terms Avesta and Zend, and comes to the conclusion that they mean *law* and *commentary*. The Zendavesta, as we find it, is not a large book. It is much smaller than the Shastras of the Hindus, and is nearly the size of the Old and New Testaments taken together. Hymns, prayers, laws, legends, all thrown together in a state which we may call chaotic, compose the Zendavesta. Hermippus informs us that Zoroaster composed two millions of verses; but the small extent and the confused character of the Zendavesta may probably be accounted for by the convulsions which occurred in Persian history in connection with the invasion of the country by Alex-

ander the Great. To Alexander the Parsi traditions uniformly ascribed the destruction of nearly all the ancient books. They say that of twenty-one *nasks* (the meaning of the word is uncertain; call it *divisions*) only one survives in a complete form. The Zendavesta, as it now stands, consists of the following books: Yasna, Visparad, Vendidad, and the Yashts, with a few additional short prayers and fragments, and the Sirozah, or Calendar. This, at least, is the order followed by Westergaard in his careful edition of the text; but two modes of arranging their sacred books have long existed among the Parsis.

The Yasna (literally *sacrifice*) is a liturgical work, which contains chiefly prayers addressed to various objects of worship. It consists of two parts, which differ considerably. The second part contains the Gāthas or hymns, which are very different in character from the rest of the Zoroastrian books. They may be compared, though the difference is not small, with the hymns of the Rig Veda.

The Visparad (*vispe ratavo—all the chiefs**) is similar to the Yasna. It contains twenty-three chapters.

The Vendidad (*vī daevo dātem*, that is, *given against the demons*) contains twenty-two chapters. It presents the judicial code, containing the religious, civil, and criminal laws of the ancient Persians. The ceremonial observances prescribed are exceedingly minute; Haug compares them to the injunctions of the Talmud. The first three chapters of the Vendidad contains historical or legendary matter, apparently respecting the early settlements of the Aryan race. The last three chapters chiefly consist of charms for the cure of diseases.

The Yashts (*yeshti—worship through prayer and sacrifice*) are twenty in number; each being directed to the glorification of a single being, or a single class of beings, mostly angels. Offerings are made and blessings are supplicated in language which sometimes rises into a metrical cadence. The Yashts contain legends regarding prehistoric times, and probably formed one main source of the heroic tales embodied in the great epic poem of Persia—the "Book of Kings," the Shāhhāma of Firdansi.

The text of the Zendavesta in all the MSS. is essentially the

* That is, both of the visible and invisible worlds—prayers being addressed to them.

same, and only the spelling varies. Yet the book, as it comes before us, appears in a very disjointed state. Mutilations, uncouth expressions, unintelligible phrases, occur on every page. When we compare the Pahlavi version with the original, great discrepancies are seen. Nor have we any MSS. of great antiquity to aid us in our efforts to secure accurate readings. The two oldest MSS. bear the date of 1323 A.D., though the dates of 1258 and 1186 are given for copies now lost. Scholars who labor on the Zendavesta are often driven to that most undesirable resource, conjectural emendation. "The MSS. of the Yashta," says Westergaard, "present a mass of corrupt readings," and forthwith he proceeds to change them. The alternative seems either to do this, or let the Zendavesta speak stark nonsense. Let us, however, exercise a little patience, especially considering how limited as yet is our knowledge of the Zend tongue.*

The Zendavesta can be traced with no small confidence up to the third century after Christ. The character in which it is written is of Shemitic origin; it is not very different from the Syriac alphabet used in the first century, and it is still more closely allied to the writing used on the monuments and coins of the Sasanian kings of Persia. The present form of writing, then, we cannot carry farther back than the third century after Christ. If the Zendavesta was committed to writing before that date, it probably was in a different character. Between the Sasanian inscriptions and those of Darius in the cuneiform character there was an interval of more than five hundred years. No inscriptions dating from any portion of this long period have come down to us; so that we cannot determine in what character the Zendavesta may have been then written, if, indeed, it was written at all.

The five centuries that succeeded the invasion of Persia by Alexander were a trying time for the Zoroastrians. Persia soon fell under the power of the Parthians, probably a Turanian race, who, although their religion was largely the worship of the elements, certainly neglected the ancient Persian faith. Zoroastrianism seems to have greatly declined. But early in the third century after Christ there arose a remarkable man,

*One of the Yashts Spiegel entirely omits in his translation. He regards the text as hopelessly corrupt.

Ardasher Babegan, (called Artaxerxes by the Greeks and Romans,) who annihilated the Parthian power, and won for himself a kingdom not unworthy of succeeding the empire of the "great kings" of ancient days. He strove to revive the spirit of patriotism. He called religion to his aid; and, summoning the priests from every part of his dominions, found the call responded to by eighty thousand holy men. So runs the Parsi legend, which we need not follow into its minute and foolish details, but which implies that the king was most anxious to restore the knowledge and the practice of the old religion.

It is only up to this date, then, that we trace the Zendavesta with any confidence. If written books of the ancient faith then existed, they doubtless were eagerly gathered together; and what had been handed down by oral tradition would certainly be committed to writing. The result was the Zendavesta as it stands, issued by royal authority as the sacred book of the revived Persian Empire.

Although we do not know that the Zendavesta had been previously committed to writing, it is exceedingly probable that it had been at least composed before the invasion of Persia by Alexander. The modern Parsis maintain that Zoroaster flourished in the reign of Gushtasp, whom they identify with Hystaspes, the father of Darius. But the whole current of investigation tends to throw him back to a far more ancient time. "Under no circumstances," says Haug, "can we assign him a later date than B.C. 1000; and we may even find reasons for placing his date much earlier, and making him a contemporary of Moses." If, as Haug contends, the greater part of the verses in the first two Gāthas can be traced to Zoroaster himself, he cannot well be assigned to a later date than B.C. 1000. But that the Gāthas were composed by him or his first followers is not by any means proved. The whole subject, indeed, is infinitely perplexing. We are not certain, even, of the meaning of the name Zoroaster, (in Zend, *Zarathustra.*) Haug may be correct in understanding the term as a designation nearly equivalent to the modern word *dastur*, or priest; so that a succession of Zoroasters is by no means improbable, of whom the most distinguished was the one celebrated in the Zendavesta, Spitama Zarathustra. His home probably was in Bactria, as has been generally held.

Haug ascribes to Zarathustra a noble personality and much mental enlightenment.* He does so on the ground of the comparatively pure and elevated teaching of the Gāthas, which he ascribes largely to him. Unhappily, even if we could prove the Gāthas to be the composition of Zoroaster, we are far from certain as to their signification. When we compare the version of Spiegel with that of Haug, it is often difficult to believe that they had the same text before them. Spiegel has mentioned that there are two different directions (*richtungen*) in which the translation of the Avesta may proceed, the one being that which follows the traditional rendering of the Parsis, while the other is guided by comparative etymology. He adopts the former road; Haug decidedly prefers the latter. Surely, however, it ought to be possible to correct the aberrations of tradition by comparative etymology, and to throw light on dubious points in etymology by the aid of tradition. Meanwhile, it is not satisfactory to see our two greatest authorities on Zend engaged in such serious conflict.

In whatever age they were composed, the Gāthas are of a truly remarkable character. Perplexing as the language often is, yet we may thus state their general import. They describe the splendor of the fire; they declare the great words made known to Zarathustra by Ahura-mazda, (Oromasdes;) they enjoin the cultivation of the soil; and they inculcate the necessity of purity in thought, word, and deed. Of ceremonial rites little is said; the "true rites" are declared to be the reverence of the fire, and the cultivation of the ground.

Haug earnestly contends that the fundamental idea of Zoroaster's theology was monotheism. His predecessors seem to have worshiped a plurality of good spirits. He reduced this plurality to unity. The new name by which he called the Supreme Being was *Ahura-mazdao—ahura* meaning "living" or "lord," and *mazdao* "wise" or "creator." At the same time Haug admits that "the principle of his speculative philosophy was dualism—that is, the supposition of two primeval causes, which, though different, are united." But even if we accept Haug's renderings, it is not easy to agree with his view

* "A great and deep thinker, who stood far above his contemporaries, and even above the most enlightened men of many subsequent centuries."—*Haug's Essays*, p. 300.

of theology. According to him, two spirits, a white and black—a good and a bad—"are supposed to be united in Ahura-mazda," and "inherent in his nature."* This would be in itself a tremendous dogma, inconsistent with the strong denunciations of evil that perpetually occur. Far more probable is the old belief that Zoroaster believed in two original independent principles. Professor Darmesteter powerfully supports this view. The faith, according to him, was essentially dualism, the history of the world being considered a struggle for supremacy between two independent beings—the evil and the good. Professor Darmesteter holds that Ahura-mazda, the good principle, originally was simply heaven, and that out of the conception of a material heaven was gradually developed that of a being possessed of pure moral attributes. To that view we do not commit ourselves.

Even Haug admits that, although the Magi clung to the doctrine of the divine unity, yet gradually an influential sect arose that strongly held the belief of dualism. The Magi sought to refute the heresy by new interpretations of certain texts. Hence arose the belief that the Supreme Being of the Parsis was *Zarvna Akarana*, (generally rendered, *Time without bounds.*) The belief was grounded on mistranslation; but during the revived Persian monarchy it was extensively accepted.

Taking the Zendavesta as a whole, the creed must be called polytheistic. Although on the rock-inscriptions of Darius, *Auramazda* (the name being so written) is still called "the greatest of the objects of worship," yet in various passages he is put on a level with angels, and is even represented as worshiping the angel Anahit. A luxuriant mythology is also embodied in the Zendavesta, in what probably is its later part, almost as wild as that of the Hindus; and the conceptions of an unbridled fancy came to be understood in a badly literal sense. Thus Mithra, the angel of the sun, "has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, and sleeplessly watches over living beings." The planet Mercury is said to have the body of a bull, with hoofs of gold.

Herodotus remarked that the Persians worshiped the sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds. They worshiped also the

* "Essays," p. 304.

stars, trees, mountains, their own souls, departed souls, and so on. The words of adoration are much the same whatever the objects they are addressed to.

While, according to Haug, the original Zoroastrian belief was in "two creative spirits, who form only two parts of the divine Being," yet these soon came to be attended by other spirits, each having his own council, so to speak. The number of assistant spirits or councilors, in either case, was six. The good spirits were called *Amesha spentas*, or "immortal benefactors." Sometimes the good supreme Spirit is included along with his councilors, and the number of *Amesha spentas* thus becomes seven. But in the Gāthas there is no mention of these as councilors: the several names denoting apparently qualities, and not personal beings. Haug earnestly maintains that the only superhuman beings mentioned by Zoroaster are Ahuramazda and his two spirits. This would imply that primary Zoroastrianism made no reference to angels.

One of the most remarkable doctrines of the Parsi faith is that of the resurrection. We may call Parsiism the only form of paganism that held the belief; for the doctrine of the ancient Egyptians, which has sometimes been identified with it, was that of transmigration. It is not easy to say when and how the Persians adopted the belief. A phrase in the Avesta, which Anquetil had translated, "till the resurrection," was conclusively shown by Burnouf to convey no such meaning; and that great scholar asserted that the older Zend writings did not contain the doctrine. Haug, however, sees in the Gāthas "the germs of the doctrine." He finds a phrase by which, in the later Zend books, is understood a final *palingenesia*, of which the resurrection is a part. The phrase literally means "lasting life." Even if, in the later books, the expression *frasho-kereti*, or *perpetuation* of life, denotes the time of the palingenesia, we cannot throw back that newer sense into the earlier hymns, so that Burnouf's dictum regarding the resurrection is untouched. How far even the later books contain it is a question as yet undetermined. The passage mainly relied on by the modern Parsis as expressing the doctrine is in the Vendidad, (Fargard xix, 86.) Spiegel, much as he is inclined to follow Parsi tradition, here renders the Zend term *hakhsānē* by *Soll ich auffordern*, and in a note states distinctly that when

the Vendidad was written the doctrine of the resurrection was not yet known among the Parsis, (*noch nicht bei den Parsen bekannt war.*) The doctrine does come forward in certain passages, (particularly in Yasht 19th,) provided the text and the usual rendering be correct. Spiegel recognizes the resurrection in several passages. In a book written not in Zend, but Pahlavi, the Bundahish, the doctrine is clear enough. But although this work may present old traditions, yet, as it stands, it contains, in the words of Mr. W. Erskine, "much that is evidently Chaldean, and later than the Musalmans." This whole subject deserves the fullest investigation. Meantime, enough has been said to show that the opinion* that the Jews borrowed the belief from the Persians is wholly unproved, and the reverse of probable. Speaking of this doctrine and that regarding the devil, Haug uses the following words: "It is not ascertained whether these doctrines were borrowed by the Parsis from the Jews, or, by the Jews from the Parsis. Very likely neither is the case; and in both these religions they seem to have sprung up independently."

We would at present simply throw out the following as an important question, What was the influence of the Jews in developing Persian thought? The people who powerfully affected the Arab mind, and of whose influence over even the Roman mind Seneca could say *victoribus victi leges dederunt*, can hardly have been an inoperative factor among the sympathetic Persians, while the belief of the latter was still growing. Moreover, the Persians were a receptive people. Herodotus tells us that they adopted new deities from the Assyrians and Arabs. The goddess Anâhita, (Anaitis,) whose worship spread widely from the days of Artaxerxes Mnemon, was certainly of Shemitic origin. The relation of Zoroastrianism to both the Talmud and the Kabbala is also deserving of careful study.

The influence of the Persian faith on other systems was far from inconsiderable. When Persia became the leading kingdom of the world the religious conceptions which the State patronized necessarily affected those of the nations around. It

* "Die Juden dieses dogma aus der Zoroastrischen theologie aufnahmen." Such is the assumption of Gesenius in his "Commentary on Isaiah xxvi, 9." So said many others.

is F. Schlegel, we think, who affirms that the wars of Darius and Xerxes with Greece might be called sacred wars, having had a religious, as much as a political, end in view. The name Zoroaster soon became famous, and he was referred to a fabulously remote antiquity. Even when the Persian kingdom had been overthrown by Alexander, the influence of its faith did not wholly pass away. The worship of Mithras, the regent of the sun, gained ground in the time of the Roman emperors. The strong dualism of the Persian creed reappeared in several of the forms of Gnosticism. Zoroastrian oracles were appealed to. Then in Manes we have a truly remarkable phenomenon. He blended the teachings of Zoroaster with those of Christ, and, to some extent, those of the Indian Buddha. But of the wide extension and long endurance of the Manichean system we have no time to speak.

The growth of the Persian religion was very unlike that of Hinduism. Originally the two systems were closely allied, the Ahura-mazda of the former being the same with the "divine Varuna" (asura Varuna) of the latter. But whereas in India Varuna, with his strictly moral attributes, was superseded by Indra, the tumultuous god of the nearer sky, the conception of Ahura-mazda became still purer and more exalted. Thereafter the two streams of thought flowed more and more apart. The Persians turned the gods (*devas*) of the Hindus into demons, helpers of the evil principle; and Indra, the chief deity of the Veda, became the head of the diabolic council. The Hindus, ere long, became idolaters; and a portentous mythology, in which the distinction between god and devil was lost, was steadily developed. Further, the Hindu gradually subsided into a kind of apathy, a passive acquiescence with the world as it is. Strong in speculation, he was ever weak in action. Regarding the Persian system, on the other hand, the following points are deserving of special notice:—

It continued to be marked by that abhorrence of image-worship which Herodotus describes.

The great object of worship, Ahura-mazda, was held to be possessed only of pure moral attributes. Other objects, indeed, shared in the worship; but these were all portions of the good creation.

The true worshiper of Ahura-mazda must contend with all

earnestness against the productions of the evil principle. Weak in speculation, the Persian was in action strong.

The Persian system earnestly dwells on the necessity of a threefold morality—*humata*, *hūkhta*, and *huvarshta*, that is, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. No corresponding formula appears in the Hindu books.

We could almost wish that the great Macedonian ("the accursed Alexander," as the Parsis call him) had never conquered Persia, that so we might have seen how the Zoroastrian faith would have unfolded itself. As revived in the third century, it was a sternly intolerant system—a State religion, maintained chiefly for State purposes. When the victorious Arabs crushed the restored Persian monarchy, after it had existed little more than four hundred years, Zoroastrianism rapidly melted away. In Persia itself the followers of the ancient faith were described thirty-five years ago by Westergaard as a miserable remnant, "steadily sinking deeper and deeper in wretchedness and poverty." Latterly things have not at all improved. It is probable that the religion of Zoroaster may be extinguished in Persia within a generation or two. The Parsis in India do not seem to increase; but they are enterprising, and on the whole enlightened. One inquires with anxiety what their religious future is to be. On some fundamental points their ideas have been powerfully affected both by Mohammedanism and Christianity. They now speak of God and of the devil (Shaitan, Satan, as they generally call him) in language borrowed, to a much larger extent than they are at all aware of, from the Bible and the Koran. Still they cling to the honored name of Zoroaster and to those old scriptures of theirs, which even their priests cannot interpret, with a pathetic fondness. Yet we believe the thoughtful among them are persuaded that in the nineteenth century the religion of races truly civilized must be Christianity. Of many of the ritual observances which their books inculcate they have become ashamed. Let us hope and pray that the day may be drawing nigh when this interesting remnant of a once mighty people will take upon them the easy yoke of Christ. Even as the Magi from the East, who probably were Zoroastrians, were the first of Gentiles to bow at the feet of the new-born Redeemer of the world, so now shall not the Parsis be the first of Oriental races to yield,

as a race, the homage due to that true Sun of righteousness whose symbol only they now adore? Thus might the Parsis, as a small, compact, conspicuous band, like the "immortals" of their ancient kings, become the leaders of the regenerated East. It is high time for them to awake. If they do not, the priceless honor now within their grasp will, to the Parsis as a community, ere long be lost forever.

NOTE.—We have spoken of books composed in the dialect usually called Zend. Some reference ought also to be made to that known by the name of Phalavi. The language of Persia during the Sasanian dynasty may be included under the name. It is remarkable for the large admixture which it contains of Shemitic vocables. The Persian kings used it in their rock-inscriptions and on coins. The language thus bridges over the interval between Zend and modern Persian, the latter commencing, to speak somewhat vaguely, in the eighth century after Christ. Persian, as generally written, contains a great amount of Arabic; but the Shemitic words in Pahlavi very seldom coincide with the Shemitic words in Persian. Pahlavi is altogether a peculiar tongue. A translation of the Avesta exists in Pahlavi. The first chapter of the Vendidad has just been published, with a translation and notes, by Geiger. The Pahlavi version is valuable as exhibiting the traditional interpretation of the Avesta as it existed among the Parsis under the Sasanian kings; but Zend by that time was a dead language, and the Pahlavi version is far from a safe guide.

Several other works exist in Pahlavi, among which the Ardā Virāf Nāmah, Bundahish, Dinkard, Vajar-kard, and Minok-i-khard, are the most remarkable. They shed much light on religious thought and life as these existed among the Zoroastrians under the revived Persian empire. They are marked generally by a fairly pure morality and an excessive and often childish ritualism.

We may still briefly point out the references to the Parsi religion that are found in the Christian Scriptures. In Ezekiel viii, 16, 17, we read of men worshiping the sun toward the east, and "putting the branch to their nose," that is, bringing a twig toward their face. We know, both from the testimony of Strabo and from coins, that the Magi did so in prayer. The

Parsi priests still employ a bundle of twigs (called Barsom) in the same manner.

In the designation (Isa. xlvi, 11) given to Cyrus, עַיִט, (which may be rendered ἀετός, "eagle," instead of "ravenous bird,") there is an allusion to the eagle as the ensign of the ancient Persians. In the address to Cyrus in Isa. xlv, 7, occurs the very striking verse, "Forming light and creating darkness; making peace and creating evil; I, Jehovah, am doing all these." It seems highly probable that here we have an allusion to the Parsi doctrine, which referred the creation of light and good to Ahura-mazda, and that of darkness and evil to Anro-mainyus, (Ahriman,) the constant opponent of the good power. He who says to Cyrus, "I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me," proclaims to the great conqueror that he is Jehovah, doing, and doing alone, the whole creative work.

In the Zendavesta itself we find only two words which are probably Shemitic—*hara*, a mountain, a *tanūra*, an oven.

In the Hebrew Scriptures there are several words of Persian origin, and of course many proper names. The most notable term is the word for *Paradise*. The Hebrew *pardes* (פַּרְדֵּס) is found in the later books, as Sol. Song iv, 13, where it is rendered in our version *orchard;* Neh. ii, 8, rendered *forest;* and Eccles. ii, 5, in the plural, rendered *orchards*. The word has often been traced to the Sanscrit *paradesha;* but that term properly means *foreign country*. Haug derives it from the Zend *pairi-daēza*, which simply means *circumvallation, inclosure*.

The terms מָג (*Māg*) (Jer. xxxix, 3) and μάγοι (Matt. ii, 1) are derived from the Zend *magava*, which in the cuneiform inscriptions is given as *magush*.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Catholic University Question in Ireland and England. 2. The Position of the Blessed Virgin in Catholic Theology. 3. Sir Thomas More. 4. The Total Solar Eclipse of July 29th, 1878. 5. Ritualism in its Relation to Catholicity on the One Hand, and to Protestantism on the Other. 6. The Jewish Element in the Church a Proof of its Apostolic Origin. 7. Meteorological Aspects of the Pacific Coast. 8. Cathedral Chapters as Adapted to the United States. 9. The Labor Question.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, October, 1878. (Andover.)—1. Isocrates. 2. The Concept of God as the Ground of Progress. 3. Christian Perfection. 4. Doctrine of the Epistle of James. 5. On Assyriology—A Criticism. 6. Symmetry and Rhythm. 7. The Controversy among the Protestant Missionaries on the Proper Translation of the Words God and Spirit into Chinese.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, October, 1878. (Gettysburg.)—1. How shall we Train the Ministry for the Times. 2. Ansgar. 3. Ascensio Isaiæ. 4. Studies in Gospel Harmony. 5. The Power of Darkness. 6. The Fullness of Christ. 7. Hartwick Seminary.

NEW ENGLANDER, November, 1878. (New Haven.)—1. A Scholar of the Twelfth Century. 2. Reconstruction of the History of the Early Roman Catholic Legislation in Maryland with Regard to Religious Freedom. 3. Spinoza. 4. The Proper Attitude of Religious Teachers toward Scientific Experts. 5. Reaction of New England on English Puritanism in the Seventeenth Century. 6. Shall we Adhere to the English Method of Pronouncing Latin? 7. Latin Pronunciation.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, November–December, 1878. (New York.)—1. The Government of the United States. 2. Systems of Offense and Defense in Naval Warfare. 3. The Congress of Berlin and its Consequences. 4. Japan and the Western Powers. 5. The Financial Resources of New York. 6. The Public Health. 7. Pessimism in the Nineteenth Century. 8. Antipathy to the Negro. 9. The Emperor Hadrian and Christianity.

Mr. Parton's article on the "negro" is interesting as coming from a "democrat" of the old Jeffersonian school. Its three positions are: 1. That there is no natural antipathy to the negro, all our repugnance being artificial; 2. The negro is inferior intellectually to the Caucasian, no pure negroes having attained even a tenth place in literature, or any other intellectuality; and, 3. It was a fearful misfortune for the negro to have been enfranchised and brought into politics. On each of these three points we agree and disagree with Mr. Parton.

First, There is, if not an "antipathy," a self-preference in each race. The standard of sexual beauty is different in each from the other. Hence, while we condemn all laws prohibiting intermarriage as an unnecessary intermeddling, we believe that without any disturbing influence amalgamation would grow increasingly rare. Slavery was such a disturbing in-

fluence, producing lawless amalgamation. Freedom has, as we are well informed, diminished mulattoism.

Second, That the negro is inferior to the Caucasian we suppose is shown both by history and physiology, but not to the extent affirmed. Professor Blyden, whose article in Fraser's Magazine we quoted in our last Quarterly, is a pure negro; and his standing is far above tenth rate, and not much inferior to Mr. Parton's own. We prefer as an intellectual production Blyden's in Fraser to Parton's in the North American.

Third, It is a misfortune for the negro, not that he is admitted into politics, but that the politics into which he is admitted are so hostile and repressive. As a voter he votes more wisely than the Northern imported Irishman. But he comes as an inferior in collision with not only a cerebrally superior, but a wealthier, more cultured, and a hostile race. And the difficulty of the problem is that his political predominance in any State would depreciate the standard of its civilization. We should feel no little sympathy with Charleston struggling against a half-civilized majority, were it not that Charleston rejoices apparently in seeing New York governed by incivilization, and sustains its predominance. General Grant, in his last message, advocated an educational test of suffrage for both North and South, and the subject underwent a brief discussion. We advocated it in an editorial in our Quarterly. It is interesting to note how the proposition was treated by our Southern brethren. They professed surprise that such a proposal should come from the special patrons of the negro, and pleasantly intimated that the time seemed to be coming when themselves would be found the true advocates of the negroes' rights! Another fact is that soon after the close of our civil war the administration and Congress offered to the South an amendment of the Constitution leaving the question of enfranchisement to each State Government, but providing that the representation of each State in the National Government should be proportioned to the number of its voters. That was, we think, a fair arrangement. It left negro enfranchisement in the hands of the white South, but furnished motive for the enfranchisement of a qualified minority of colored men. It left civilization, as it should be, in the ascendant. It was right, for certainly it is the legal voters who are to be represented in the

representative body. But the Southern States refused that proposal. What was their reason? We will not assign the reason; but we will guess the reason which the Northern people are very likely to assign. They will say that the Southern leaders mean to maintain the legal rights of the negroes to vote, and then suppress the negro's attempt to exercise his right. They maintain the legal right in order to retain thirty-five votes in the national representation, and then they annul the negro vote, to concentrate the whole in their own hands. The old oligarchy is then restored, not over chattel slaves, but over disfranchised serfs. And this renders their State elections a national concern. They cannot say that "the North has no business with the matter." Congressmen and Presidents are by them to be elected on that basis to rule over us of the North. It was by that process, most of our North believes, that Mr. Tilden secured a fraudulent majority of the actual votes in 1876, when he was not the choice of a majority of the actual legal voters. We would if we could urge upon our Southern contemporaries the danger of any such attempt to found their sectional supremacy on a permanent violation of the Constitution. That danger is increased by the fact that the census of 1880 is likely to give the North an electoral vote twice as large as that of the South. The Southern leaders cannot safely base a power on suppressing by wholesale a million of legal votes, whose legal rights they claim shall be retained. We believe the true remedies are: 1. An educational test of suffrage, supplemented by an educational system. 2. An energetic system of immigration southward of a white industrial population, with a much larger attention to industrial interests, and diminished zeal in politics. 3. An earnest endeavor to maintain the spirit of conciliation and union, and a dismissal on both sides of aiming at sectional supremacy. The solid South and solid North should become fluid, with an easy and genial interchanging current southward and northward.

Since the above views were put in type we have noted a remark made by Mr. Lamar in the Senate, in reply to an eminent Northern Senator, which points out the true and saving policy: "Sir, had the Senator come forward with some well-devised scheme of public education to fit this newly enfranchised race, every one would have recognized the propriety

and the patriotism of such a movement, for he would have given to the people what they most need, which would protect them from every evil which he now alleges that they labor under."

We are profoundly convinced that the placing an ignorant negro majority in supremacy over any of these American States is a policy which must be a failure, moral and political. The negro should not govern the South, nor the Irish papist the North.

PRINCETON REVIEW, November, 1878. (New York.)—1. National Morality. 2. The Rights and Duties of Science. 3. Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum. 4. The European Equilibrium. 5. Copyrights and Patents. 6. Man's Place in Nature. 7. Duties of Higher toward Lower Races. 8. Eclipses of the Sun. 9. The Recent Solar Eclipse. 10. A Criticism of the Critical Philosophy, in Reply to Professor Mahaffy. 11. Physiological Metaphysics.

In Dr. Rawlinson's interesting article (Article Seventh) we find an argument from Scripture in favor of the unity of the human race. It is able and candid, but fails, perhaps, to be conclusive as it might from his not apprehending fairly the position of those who believe the plural origins of the race to be consistent with Scripture. They hold that Eden was one creative center, and that the terms of universality simply cover that center. Dr. Rawlinson's argument would, perhaps, prove the absolute universality of the deluge.

Dr. Rawlinson very fully demonstrates that "progress" of races is often downward; but we might, perhaps, nevertheless, maintain that the progress of the race, as a whole, is upward. The grades of intellect are indicated physiologically thus: "According to the most recent measurement, the average capacity of the ordinary European skull is 1,500; of the Japanese, 1,486; of the ancient Egyptians, 1,464; of the Polynesians, 1,454; of the Chinese, 1,424; of the negro races, 1,377; of the Hindus, 1,306; of the native Australians, 1,283; and of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, 1,220."—P. 820. It will be seen that, low as this ranks the negro, the Hindu stands lower. And yet the Hindu is of our own race, a brother Aryan! What does this indicate but the great improvability of races?

Dr. Rawlinson endeavors to show that a mixture of races improves the breed, and at great length advises us American Caucasians to amalgamate, by marriage, with the negroes. We

may sneer at this, he thinks, or suspect that he means us mischief, but he means it for our good. We think his proposal would be received with neither sneer nor suspicion, but with a very decided excess of good humor. North and South would be "solid" with a genial risibility. By what process he would establish his amalgamation on such a scale as to affect the national character he does not say. So far as mulattoism has hitherto existed it seems not to have produced any elevation of the Caucasian level. Nor is the amalgamation of races in South America an encouraging example. No intermarrying on a theory, or by system, can take place; and left, as it must be, to individual inclination, each race prefers its own. The greater the freedom and equality of the two races the more permanent the distinction. We believe that Christian good sense and kindness are the true alleviators of the ills of race distinction.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. The Christian Idea of God. 2. On Missions to Islam. 3. Why did the Reformers reject Episcopacy? 4. George Combe. 5. The Late Dr. Hodge. 6. The Christian Doctrine of Creation. 7. The Zendavesta. 8. An Eccentric Apologist. 9. Translated Article: Luther's Treatise, De Servo Arbitrio.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. The Universities and the Renaissance. 2. Lessing as Philosopher and Theologian. 3. Joubert. 4. Butter and Cream. 5. Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Austria. 6. Tent Work in Palestine. 7. Mr. Hughes on the Establishment. 8. The Three Treaties.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1878.—1. The Copyright Commission. 2. Low's History of the Indian Navy. 3. Gardiner's Government of Charles I. 4. Recent Explorations in Palestine. 5. Who wrote the Annals of Tacitus? 6. The Jesuit Martyrs: Campion and Walpole. 7. Sir Henry Taylor's Collected Works. 8. The Correspondence of M. de Balzac. 9. England in the Levant.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1878. (Bombay.)—1. Jesus the Saviour and Jesus the Spirit-giver. 2. Indian Village Sunday-schools. 3. The Second Ten Years of Dr. Duff's Indian Career. 4. Street-preaching. 5. Missionary Education.

October.—1. The Roman Catholics in South India. 2. Self-support among the Bassein Karen Christians. 3. Oudh. 4. Life in Christ. 5. The Last Seven Years of Dr. Duff's Indian Career.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. The Brothers Chambers. 2. Zululand and the Zulus. 3. The Book of Job. 4. History of the English Church. 5. Dr. Arnold's Sermons. 6. China and the Chinese. 7. Dr. Graetz on Jesus Christ and Christianity.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878.—1. John Dryden. 2. Rise of the Modern British Empire. 3. Elephant-catching. 4. Petrarch. 5. Ancient Cyprus. 6. M. Thiers: His Life and Character. 7. The Lancashire Cotton-strike. 8. Is the Church of England Protestant? 9. The Revival of Turkey.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1878.—1. The Australian Colonies. 2. Later Novels of Berthold Auerbach. 3. Bulgarian Literature. 4. The Troubadours. 5. Lord Melbourne. 6. The Situation in the East and the Future of Russia.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. London: Strahan & Co. November, 1878.

A writer in "The Contemporary Review," in an article entitled, "What is Going On at the Vatican—A Voice from Rome," gives some graphic, and, perhaps, accurate pictures of the old and new. We give a few specimens:—

DEATH OF A KING AND OF A POPE.

In entering on this task prominence must first be given to a fact which has exercised great influence on the events to be afterward recorded. That fact was the death, at the commencement of the present year, of King Victor Emmanuel. The decease of the monarch occasioned such universal mourning, and provoked such demonstrations of affection and loyalty, on the part of the entire Italian population, that the Vatican itself was startled by the spectacle. The event had not only given fresh vigor to the faith in nationality; it had also, to a certain extent, revealed the deeper traditions and instincts of the national religion. The great Liberal party, imposing silence on the materialists and freethinkers, hung all the churches with tricolor flags, and the foremost actors in the great national revolution thronged all the cathedrals, and there paid the tribute of religious rites to the departed sovereign, already invested with an almost legendary halo. The impression created by the monarch's death had sunk deep into the minds of the people, when the death of Pius IX., so long expected, and more than once even prematurely announced, at last took place. The contrast between the national mourning exhibited for King Victor Emmanuel and the general indifference shown on the decease of Pius IX. was too clear and unmistakable not to suggest very awkward conclusions. It is scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that the contrast thus presented served as a crucial test to the great body of Italian Catholics. From that day illusions were more rapidly dispelled, and, just as if a mist had cleared away, the political relations between the Vatican and the Italian State stood forth in their real and sharp outlines.

Whatever views might have been previously entertained by the foreign members of the Sacred College, it is quite certain that on entering the Vatican they found a strong current of opinion for which they were totally unprepared. Cardinal Manning may, among his own English partisans and admirers, affirm and reaffirm that he never urged upon his brethren of the Sacred College the expediency of holding the Conclave beyond the bounds of Italy. Such declarations will not cancel the fact that the representations made by him to his brother Cardinals during the Conclave could only at the time lead to the inference that, in the attempt to transfer the sittings of the Conclave to Malta, or some other place

not subject to the Italian Crown, he was putting forth a zeal not inferior to that displayed by him in the cause of Papal Infallibility. No sooner, however, had the majority of the Cardinals reached Rome than it became evident that on one most important point their decision might clearly be foreseen. They were quite resolved not to elect a foreigner to the Papal throne, and equally determined not to elect an Ultramontane backed notoriously by foreign influence. Of the previous existence of this moderate and Italian party in the Sacred College no doubt had been entertained. But the precise strength of its convictions, the character of its organization, the nature of its leadership, if it possessed a regular and recognized leader, were all points which were involved in great obscurity. Through the mist, however, it was not difficult to discern how strongly and in what direction the current ran, and from what quarter the wind blew. A thousand little facts, each in itself insignificant, but collectively all-important, served to make known the true state of matters. From many a mouth proceeded the remark that the demonstrations of affection and reverence offered, not only by the Italian people, but by all civilized States, to the memory of King Victor Emmanuel, ought to have the effect of at last opening men's eyes. In other quarters it was observed that the principles of free government and national unity had evidently struck such deep root that it was quite idle to continue any longer dreaming about a restoration of the Pope's temporal power. Italy, it was affirmed, had recorded a second and more impressive plebiscite in favor of the House of Savoy. And then profound regret was expressed at the fact that so important a figure in the annals of the Papacy as that of Pius IX. should have passed away without exciting in the minds of the deceased Pontiff's fellow-countrymen similar feelings of affection and grief. When the causes of this contrast were brought to light and freely canvassed, there were found not a few highly honored and influential prelates who deplored the eccentricities and follies of Pius IX., as having been the occasion of so much mischief. The general indifference manifested on Pius IX.'s death found, it was said, its simple and natural explanation in those eccentricities, which had alienated from the Holy See the great mass of the Italian people. At the very moment when the crowd, drawn by curiosity, was thronging St. Peter's for the purpose of beholding the Pontiff's corpse, many a sharp censure was to be heard in the halls of the Vatican, where from this or from the other high ecclesiastic the words proceeded, "There must be a change of system, otherwise who can tell how it will all end!" In many well-known clerical houses a frank tribute of admiration was paid to the conduct of the Government and to the bearing of the troops, as shown in the admirable order maintained at such a critical moment throughout the whole city. Not that there were wanting furious fanatics who at once took the alarm on hearing such language as the above, and determined to band themselves more closely together to prevent the great danger of a moderate Pope.

THE NEW POPE.

In the very first meetings of the Conclave, I repeat, it was quite evident that the Ultramontane Cardinals had no chance of success. Cardinal Joachin Pecci, one of the most learned members of the Sacred College, who was an object of profound aversion to Cardinal Antonelli, and was systematically kept for many years at a distance from Rome, had shortly before been appointed Cardinal Camarlengo. It is just possible that Pius IX., in conferring on him that office, took it for granted that, in accordance with the usual custom of the Sacred College, the Cardinal Camarlengo would be virtually excluded from the list of candidates for the tiara. But the first consequence of the nomination was that Cardinal Pecci, during his brief tenure of office as Camarlengo, had the opportunity of bringing into prominence his character and opinions. There was formed at once without as well as within the walls of the Vatican a current of opinion favorable to Cardinal Pecci, who was pronounced to be averse to flattery, and to the feminine gossip and jealousies by which Pius IX. was unhappily too much characterized. Cardinal Pecci was considered hostile to the Jesuits, and it was reported to be his intention to make a clean sweep of the manifold abuses and corruptions of the Vatican. Future historical critics will doubtless display much acumen in bringing to light the alleged tangled web of native intrigues or foreign influence resulting in the election of Joachin Pecci to the Papal chair. I unhesitatingly affirm, on the contrary, that his election was brought about by the force of public opinion, which it is not too much to say had never previously in the annals of the Papacy been exerted so freely and so fully, not in Rome alone, but throughout the whole of Italy. Not an hour passed in which there were not transmitted by telegraph to all parts of the world the most minute details respecting this great event in the history of the Church, so far as they could possibly be known; and on all these details the press lavished its comments. It was utterly impossible for the Cardinals themselves to keep aloof from, or remain indifferent to, these manifestations of public opinion. The current in favor of moderate courses was strong and undeniable. As it flowed into the Sacred College it found itself encountered and arrested by several groups of schemers, bent on objects which it would be difficult to regard as compatible either with the welfare of civilized States or the good of the Catholic Church. There was wanting, however, for this current of opinions favorable to a moderate policy a clear and definite expression. On the first division a considerable number of votes were given in favor of Cardinal Pecci. Then all doubts and hesitations vanished. Even Cardinal Franchi, who wielded so much influence in the Sacred College, bowed down before the clear expression of public opinion. What followed with such rapidity must be ascribed to the good sense and tact of the Cardinals, who perceived that a prolonged opposition would only result either in the defeat of Cardinal Pecci's reactionary opponents, or in

the humiliating and perilous spectacle of an open division among the rulers of the Catholic Church. The triumph of Cardinal Pecci was hailed every-where throughout Italy as a national triumph, and this for the special reason that his election had been imposed on his brother Cardinals by Italian public opinion. For Cardinal Manning, who, if he had not actually put forward direct pretensions to the vacant chair of St. Peter, certainly did nothing to discourage the efforts made by his devoted partisans and admirers to represent him as the member of the Sacred College best fitted to fill so high an office—for a Cardinal of this stamp it must have been no slight humiliation to find himself compelled to bow down with all apparent reverence before a Pope the known enemy of those very Jesuits whom His Eminence of Westminster holds in such honor. It is to be hoped that the severe lesson thus received will have the effect of opening, however late, Cardinal Manning's eyes to the existence of a fact which he has hitherto seemed resolved most obstinately to ignore. The fact is this, that the Roman Curia is essentially Italian.—Pp. 665–668.

If the following statements are true, as we trust from their very tone that they are not, we believe they are not justly applicable to our own mission:—

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

The statement has frequently been made that the Vatican feels great alarm at the multiplication of the various religious sects now going on in Rome, and more especially at the increase of Protestant Churches. Pope Leo XIII. has very recently renewed, in the letter addressed by him to Cardinal Nina, the protests, the complaints, and the warnings on the same subject so often heard from the lips of Pius IX. By both Popes this state of matters has been denounced as an outrage on the Church. That the Vatican really feels the degree of alarm which it exhibits may perhaps be doubted. Any one possessing a thorough acquaintance with the character of Italy and of the Italians will very soon be led to form the opinion that, of the vast sums expended by philanthropic and religious Englishmen to bring over the natives of foreign countries to sounder views of religious truth, scarcely any are so irrationally and recklessly misspent as those lavished in Italy. If the word Protestant could be accepted as the synonym of anti-Papal, the people of Italy are at the present moment the most Protestant nation in the world. This, however, is a subject the proper treatment of which would require, not the limits of an article, but of a volume. But, while making the assertion, it must at once be added that the revival of a deep and true religious faith in Italy is not likely to be produced by the spectacle of rival sects, each claiming to be the sole legitimate representative of Protestantism, and bickering and wrangling among themselves with far greater pertinacity and energy than they ever manifest against those whom it must be presumed they regard as the common foe.—Pp. 679, 680.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KOSTLIN.) First Number. 1879. *Essays*: 1. ZELLER, The Religious Views of Staupitz and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrines. 2. TRÜMPELMANN, Socialism and Local Reform, (Second Article.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. TOLLIN, A Contribution to the Theology of Servetus. 2. SPREER, On Eph. ii, 19–22.

The second article on Socialism and Social Reform by Trümplemann (see Methodist Quarterly Review, October, 1878) is devoted to the views of the Socialists concerning *private* property, and its transformation into *society* property, (*Gesellschaftseigenthum.*) The socialistic theories are examined, first, from an economical, and, secondly, from a religious point of view. The author insists that the question of private property is not only an economical, but a religious question. "The most animated controversies," the author says, "are now carried on concerning this question, and communistic and socialistic theories have made some progress in circles from which formerly they had been entirely excluded. From the spirit of Christianity a new theory of property is to be evolved, and the ancient Roman pagan right of property is to be overcome. The laurels which Pastor Todt (one of the champions of the Christian socialistic party in Germany, see Methodist Quarterly Review, 1878, p. 731) has won are eagerly sought after by others. Dr. Wangeman (the head of one of the foreign missionary seminaries in Germany, and a distinguished writer on foreign missions) infers from the prophecy of the dying Jacob that the dangers connected with trade and industry did not escape the prophetic eye of the dying patriarch. Dr. H. Stoll supports his demand for a 'Christian property law' by 1 Cor. i, 30: 'Christ Jesus is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness,' applying the word 'righteousness' to a revision of property relations. Pastor Todt connects the word 'Germanic' with his 'Christian property law,' and then eulogizes a 'Germanic Christian property law' in opposition to the Roman pagan, but fails to see that with his 'Germanic' he stumbles back into paganism. The old Germanic law is not a whit more Christian than the Roman. It has its noble, humane features, but so has the Roman. If the Roman law is, or can be made, subservient to the egotism of the individual, the old Germanic serves the egotism of the corporation, an egotism which has

shown itself in history much tougher and more lasting than the egotism of the individual." The author quotes the views of Rothe, Hundeshagen, and other distinguished German writers, as to the baneful effects which the abolition of private property must have upon the moral character of man. As regards the relation between the social right of private property and the Christian faith, the author argues at length that Christianity at its foundation found the right of private property in legal existence; that the New Testament nowhere objects to or condemns this institution; but, on the contrary, refers to the rich and the poor in such a manner as to make us believe that this division of society is presupposed in the New Testament as something permanent. In conclusion, the author speaks of the relation of Socialism to the institution of marriage. The majority of the Socialists of the present day deny the charge of being free-lovers. Nevertheless, the author insists that the socialistic principles tend toward weakening the bond of marriage. He refers to the fact that one party of Socialists, who recognize the late Russian agitator, Bakunin, as their leader, expressly demanded the abolition of marriage, that many leading Socialists have joined in its demand, and that even the more moderate Socialists quite generally favor a greater facility of divorce.

John Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustinian order of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and best known as the teacher and friend of Luther, has of late been made the subject of special study by several German theologians. (See Methodist Quarterly Review, 1878, p. 729.) The above article by Zeller chiefly discusses the religious view of Staupitz, giving a complete list of his works and a full statement of their contents. In a brief sketch of his life, which precedes the main part of the essay, extracts are given from the last letter of Staupitz to Luther, dated April 1, 1524, only a few months before his death. This letter, which was not known to any of the biographers of Staupitz and Luther, and which was for the first time published in the *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation*, by Carl and Wilhelm Kraft, clearly proves that, although Staupitz externally submitted to Rome, and remained until his death abbot of a monastery, he never ceased to be an admirer of Luther's doctrine,

and to entertain the most friendly sentiments toward him. "We are greatly indebted to you, Martin," he writes, "as you have brought us back to the pastures of life, to the words of salvation." He calls himself Luther's *frater et discipulus*, recommends the carrier of the letter to Luther, and asks that he may be received among Luther's pupils. It is not known whether Luther ever answered this letter. Luther was vexed that the timid old man refused to come out openly and boldly for the cause of the Reformation, and in the last letter to Staupitz which is extant had indicated an intention to waste no more words, ("*Nolim plura verba perdere.*")

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Edited by Hilgenfeld.) Fourth Number, 1878. 1. TOLLIN, Correction of Some Mistakes in Regard to Servet. 2. HILGENFELD, On Immer's Theology of the New Testament. 3. GÖRRES, Christianity and the Roman State at the Time of the Emperor Vespasian. 4. RÖNSCH, Remarks on the Itala. 5. OTTO, On the Age of Archbishop Arethas.

First Number, 1879. 1. HILGENFELD, Papias on Mark and Matthew. 2. THOMA, The Old Testament in the Gospel of John. 3. GÖRRES, Critical Remarks on the Confessor Achatius. 4. HILGENFELD, Th. Keim and the Council of Apostles. 5. KÖHLER, Controversy of Rabanus with Paschasius Radbertus on the Lord's Supper.

Henri Tollin, *lic. theol.* and pastor at Magdeburg, has for years made the life and works of the antitrinitarian Servetus the subject of special studies. He is not only the author of the most comprehensive work that has ever been written on the subject, but has for years discussed particular points of his subject in numerous articles in German periodicals. While the value of Tollin's researches is generally recognized, some of his statements have met with objections on the part of men like Nippold, Benrath, Rauwenhoff, Sepp, and many others. Tollin announces his intention of answering all these objections in course of time, and begins in the above article to refer to three points, the name, the birthplace, and the birth-year of Servetus. With regard to the name, he argues that the original Spanish name was Servet, not Servede, Serveto, or Reves, which several names have recently found defenders in Goschen, (*Deutsche Klinik*, 1875,) Gordon, (Theological Review, April, 1878,) and Ceradini, (*Difesa della mia memoria contro l'assalto dei Signori H. Tollin, e W. Preyer*, 1876.) Tollin thinks that Reves was the name of the mother, and that Servet, according to the fashion of Spanish noble families, sometimes called himself Servet-y-Reves. With regard to his birthplace, Servetus

calls himself a native, sometimes of Tudela, sometimes of Villanova. Tollin shows that these statements do not involve a contradiction, since Spaniards frequently called themselves natives of their father's, or even their grandfather's, birthplace, and he reaches the conclusion that Servet's family came from a village Villanova, in the diocese of Lerida, in Aragon, while he himself was a native of Tudela, in Navarre. The name of the village in which the ancestors of Servet resided must have been Villanova, not, as is found in most works, Villanueva, because in the diocese of Lerida there was at that time no Villanueva, but three Villanovas. In which of these three was the residence of the Servet family can at present not be ascertained. There were at that time in Spain thirty-nine Villanovas and two hundred and eleven Villanuevas. The opinions concerning the birth-year of Servetus vary still more widely than about his birthplace. Tollin regards the year 1511 as the most probable.

Dr. F. Görres, in his article on Christianity under the Emperor Vespasian, maintains that during the reign of this emperor there was no persecution of Christians: neither in general, as is assumed by Ruinart and Schlosser, nor of a few individual Christians, as is the opinion of Baronius, Tillemont, and other Church historians, who place the martyrdom of the Roman presbyter, Linus, the first bishop of Ravenna, Apollinaris, as well as of the Phœnician martyrs, Leontius, Hypatius, and Theodulus, in the reign of this emperor. Görres agrees with those historians who believe that during the first century of our era Christianity was regarded in the Roman empire, if not formally, at least actually, as a Jewish sect, that the Christians conjointly with the Jews enjoyed at first the right of a corporation recognized by the State, and that the illegality of Christianity dates from the well-known rescript of the Emperor Trajan to the younger Pliny, governor of Bithynia. This question of the views of the Roman Government concerning the legal relations existing between Jews and Christians, and the legality or illegality of Christianity, has recently been again discussed in a number of works. The view that Christians throughout the first century were looked upon in Rome as a Jewish sect, and that they consequently enjoyed the rights of a lawful society, (*collegium licitum*,) is especially disputed by the well-known exegetical writer Karl

Wieseler, in his recent work on the persecution of Christians by the Roman emperors until the third century. (*Die Christenverfolgungen der Cæsaren, Gütersloh*, 1878.) According to Wieseler, the Christians were distinctly distinguished by the Roman Government from the Jews as early as the time of Nero, they were not persecuted as a Jewish sect by Domitian, and their condition became more favorable, not unfavorable, by the rescript of Trajan.

Aretas, or Arethas, an archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and author of a noted commentary on the Revelation, is supposed by some (see M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopedia, art., Aretas) to have lived in the second half of the sixth century. Most of the recent German theologians (Lucke, De Wette, Bleek) place him toward the close of the fifth century; Papebroch, in the beginning of the eighth century. According to F. Görres (*Zeitschrift fur wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1878, p. 260) the age of Arethas cannot be definitely determined, but he must at all events have lived later than Andrew, bishop of Cæsarea, who, he thinks, cannot have lived earlier than the close of the fourth century. Dr. Otto, professor of the faculty of Protestant Theology, at Vienna, regards the question of the age of Aretas as fully settled by two Greek codices, the one in Paris, the other in Moscow, both of which were written at the request of Aretas, the one in the year of the world 6,422, the other in 1640. This proves conclusively, according to Dr. Otto, that Aretas was archbishop of Cæsarea in the years A. D. 914 and 932. Dr. Otto promises to speak more fully of Aretas in the forthcoming third edition of Vol. III of his *Corpus Apologetarum*.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) September, 1878.—1. G. Mayer, The Evangelization of France. 2. J. Cadène, The Youth of E. Quinet, and the First Years of his Reputation. 3. P. De Witt, On Charity in Paganism. 4. De Richemond, Jean Guiton.

October.—1. E. de Pressensé, The Royalty of Man. 2. G. Rohr, Addresses made to Theological Students by Professor Ed. Reuss. 3. Godet, Theological and Philosophical Miscellanies by Astié. 4. F. Dumas, A Trial for Heresy.

November.—1. E. W., An English Essayist. 2. J. Bianquis, Victor Hugo's New Work, "Le Pape." 3. E. Baumgartner, The Evangelization of the Workingmen. 4. G. Monod, The Fine Arts at the Exposition Ouvrière, (1867–1878.)

The *Revue Chretienne*, like all the prominent Protestant journals of France, continues to pay a special attention to the hopes

which begin to be entertained in wide circles in regard to a further progress of French Protestantism. G. Mayer, a frequent contributor to the *Revue*, discusses in the article above mentioned the question, what the Protestant Churches might do for this purpose, and what difficulties they will have to surmount. In his opinion it is absolutely indispensable for the work of evangelization to unite all the live forces of French Protestantism against the common adversaries. The Evangelical Alliance is in France a necessity. None of the Protestant denominations would, by itself alone, feel itself strong enough to undertake the work of evangelizing France, and will any of them be so narrow-minded as to refuse the concurrence of the Protestant Christians of other denominations? An alliance of evangelical denominations for the common work of evangelization would by no means involve on the part of any of the denominations an abandonment of its distinctive principles and ideas. It would be at the present time all the easier to bring about an alliance, as the denominations themselves are casting off many points of divergence which have separated them in the past. In order to carry through the work of evangelization, the author of the article thinks that French Protestantism needs a powerful organization, which would unite all its strength, and give to it one concentrated direction. He proposes the creation of a central council of the Protestant Churches of France, or of a society of Protestant interests. It would be sufficient, he thinks, to come to an understanding with regard to the number of representatives which each Church should have in this new society. They would be designated by the proper authorities of the several Churches; they might associate with themselves lawyers and men of experience, and agents of the foreign religious societies might take part in the deliberations. This council might induce the Protestant Churches to act conjointly in many important questions, as with regard to French translations of the Bible; and it would be able more efficiently than any particular Protestant Church to defend, if necessary, the common interests of Protestantism against the State Government. He closes his article by giving expression to the sanguine hope that the creation of such a council might inaugurate a new era for the Protestant Church.

In the monthly summary of the September number the *Revue* calls attention to the approach of a desperate conflict between State and Church concerning the management of the public school. In France the ultramontane party is outspoken in demanding that the State recognize the exclusive right of the Church of Rome to the education of the entire youth of the country. In opposition to the Church, the French university represents the principle of State education. Many cabinets during the last thirty years have tried to conclude compromises with the Church, and, more or less, conceded her demands. The recognized ascendency of the Republican party involves resistance to the influence of the Roman Church upon State education, and the restoration of the supreme influence of the university, as the representative of the State in the domain of education. The feeling between the two parties is extremely bitter. One of the members of the present Republican cabinet, M. de Marcère, expressed in a recent public address the fear that from the two organized school systems which now exist in France, the Catholic schools on the one hand and the national schools on the other, two hostile nations would proceed, which would mutually hate themselves without knowing each other, and by their desparate war might endanger the unity of the country. The present minister of public instruction, M. Bardoux, is a Protestant and a jealous partisan of the university. He has recently published a general statistical report on the secondary schools of France, both the State and the free institutions of this class, during the time from 1865 to 1876. This is the third report of the kind published in France, the first having been published in 1843 by M. Villemain, and the second in 1865 by M. Durny. It appears from the ministerial report that secondary instruction has made considerable progress during this time. The number of State lyceums has risen from seventy-seven in 1865 to eighty-six, notwithstanding the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and the number of pupils has increased by thirteen thousand. But the Church institutions have increased more rapidly than those of the State. While the increase of pupils in the Church schools is about equal to that of the State lyceums, (twelve thousand,) the increase in the number of Church institutions is thirty-one against nine in the number of the State schools. In proportion

as university and Church schools increase, there is a steady decrease in the number of private schools. From 1854 to 1865 one hundred and sixty-eight institutions of this kind disappeared, from 1865 to 1876 one hundred and sixty-three, and at present no more than four hundred and ninety-four are left. If the increase of the Church and State institutions goes on as before, it may be expected that in twenty years hardly any private schools will remain in France, and that then the great battle between Catholic and university education will be fought. The *Revue* greatly regrets the disappearance of the private institutions, which, in its opinion, represent the principle of a direct and active concurrence of the family in education. It regrets this difference all the more because it cannot fully sympathize with either of the two extensive systems which remain, the Catholic education and the university education. The former represents a fanaticism with which no one but an ultramontane Catholic can be in sympathy; but the latter is too destitute of that religious and moral influence without which no education can be successful.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

OLD CATHOLICS.

The Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland held its fourth annual synod at Aargau on May 25. The work of the synod was this year finished up within a few hours, in one day. The most important decision of the synod referred to the reception of the communion in both kinds. On this subject the French-speaking and German-speaking congregations have been for two years divided. The French have contended that a eucharist in one kind is, if not invalid, at least imperfect. The Germans, whose chosen speaker this year was Pfarrer Geschwind, stoutly contend for the validity of the administration in one kind, and fear that the reform would raise doubtful questionings with a population very much mixed among Protestants. The synod agreed upon a compromise worded as follows: 1. Communion in both kinds is likewise Catholic and permissible; 2. The right of introducing the same is reserved to the cantonal and district synods, and to the congregational boards of the Church, particularly in those cantons in which no superior authority exists. With regard to holy days, the synod determined that only Christmas, New Year's, Ascension, and All Saints' days should be regarded as high festivals when they fall on week days, and that other holy days should be either discontinued or else transferred to the next Sunday;

but, on the other hand, that Good Friday should be "kept holy in a way corresponding to its high importance." The delegates to the synod numbered one hundred and twenty. From the statistical report, submitted by Bishop Herzog, it appears that there were 61 organized parishes, in which 75 clergymen labored. A net gain of 5 priests had been made during the year, notwithstanding 11 secessions. Nine students of the theological faculty at Berne had been ordained, and 11 students were still preparing for the ministry. The total number of adherents in all Switzerland was computed by the bishop at 80,000 to 95,000. In comparison with the statistics of the preceding year there was an increase of 624 in the number of children under religious instruction, (8,606,) of 133 in the number of young persons admitted to the holy communion, (1,018,) of 71 in the number of persons buried by the priests of the Church, (718;) there was, on the other hand, a decrease of 82 in the number of baptisms, (1,100,) and of 48 in the number of marriages, (283.) The number of parishes was not reported in 1877; in 1876 it was 55; so that from 1876 to 1878 the increase of organized parishes was 6. The majority of the congregations speak French; but the German congregations exhibit a larger aggregate membership and a more rapid progress. German Switzerland, as the bishop states, exceeds the 32 parishes of French Switzerland, from which reports were received, of 1,200 in the number of children under religious instruction, of 618 in the number of young persons admitted to holy communion, of 404 in the number of baptisms, of 166 in the number of marriages, and of 128 in the number of burials.

Shortly after the synod a parish was fully organized in St. Gall, the capital of the canton of the same name. Adding this new parish to those mentioned in Bishop Herzog's report, the Christian Catholic Church was, about the middle of 1878, fully constituted in eight of the twenty-two cantons of Switzerland. The following statistical table—which exhibits the total and the Roman Catholic population of these cantons, the number of Roman Catholic parishes in 1865, and of Christian Catholic parishes in 1878—will give a clear statistical view of the present condition of the Christian Catholic Church:—

Cantons.	Population in 1870. Total.	Population in 1870. Catholic.	Cath. Parishes. 1865.	Christian Cath. Par. 1878.
Aargau	198,874	89,180	78	10
Basel, city	47,760	12,803	11	1
" country	54,185	10,249		1
Bern	506,561	66,207	70	30
Geneva	94,116	48,340	23	12
Neuchatel	97,286	11,329	7	1
St. Gall	191,096	116,130	104	1
Solothurn	74,718	62,078	69	5
Zurich	284,867	17,944	8	1
Total	1,549,413	440,762	360	62

The Catholic population of these eight cantons constitutes more than two fifths of the entire Catholic population of Switzerland. The governments of all these cantons protect and favor the Christian Catholic Church. In all of them, especially in the German cantons of Aargau,

St. Gall, and Solothurn, a number of further accessions are expected. Among the fourteen cantons which have as yet no Christian Catholic congregation there are five and a half in which the Protestant Churches predominate, and in which the cantonal governments may be supposed to sympathize more or less with the reformatory movement. These cantons are Appenzell, (Outer Rhodes,) Glarus, Graubünden, Schaffhausen, Thurgau, Vaud. They had, according to the census of 1870, a total population of 538,213, and a Catholic population of 82,249, and, in 1865, 162 Catholic parishes. As there are no obstacles in any of these cantons to the establishment of Christian Catholic congregations, adding the Catholic population of these cantons to that of the first group, we find that more than one half of the Catholic population of Switzerland lives under cantonal governments which may be expected to protect and favor the reformatory Church. In the other eight and a half cantons, which have as yet no Christian Catholic congregation, the immense majority of the population belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, the cantonal authorities are wholly under ultramontane influence, and, although the constitution of Switzerland guarantees the freedom of religion to every Swiss citizen, it would not be safe for the friends of the reformatory movement to attempt an organization. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that in the largest Catholic city of Switzerland, Luzerne, a considerable majority of the inhabitants favor the reform movement, and the organization of a congregation has only been postponed by the hope of the Christian Catholics to take with them, at the final separation, a fair proportion of the Church property.

The Old Catholic Church of Germany passed, in 1878, through a severe crisis, and was at the end of the year in any thing but a flourishing condition. At its fifth synod, which was held, as in former years, at Bonn, the vexed question of priestly celibacy was decided by the adoption of a resolution in favor of its abolition. The synodal council, in compliance with the request of the previous synod, had prepared a report on the legal aspects of the question. Its conclusion was, that in Prussia, Hesse, and Baden no legal hinderances stood in the way of a priest's marriage, and that the Governments of these States would regard it as a purely inner Church question. In Bavaria, on the other hand, where the jurisdiction of the Old Catholic bishop had not yet been acknowledged, it was expected that the abolition of priestly celibacy would induce the Government to treat the Old Catholics henceforth as a non-Catholic sect. The synodal council, therefore, advised the synod to postpone, by a formal vote, the decision on the question until 1883. The majority of the synod was, however, in favor of a decisive resolution, and, after various compromises had been offered, a resolution was adopted by seventy-five against twenty-two votes, which declared: 1. That the law of compulsory celibacy is only a question of discipline, not of doctrine. 2. That it is not in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel and with the spirit of the Catholic Church. 3. That thereby scandalous and immoral offenses are induced. 4. That a voluntary celibacy is by no means

to be condemned; but, 5. That the canonical prohibition of clerical marriage, from subdeacon upward, shall be no longer binding on the Old Catholic Church. Nineteen priests and fifty-six lay deputies voted for the abolition, and the bishop and five priests, with sixteen laymen, against it. Among the majority are found the names of the vicar-general, Dr. Knoodt, Professors Von Schulte, Weber, Michelis, and Lutterbeck. The synodal council voted exactly level, two clerics and two laymen for and against. The archbishop of Utrecht sent, in the name of the Old Catholic Church of Holland, a letter warning the German Church against the abolition. The statistical report showed a total of Old Catholics in Germany of 51,864 souls—a slight falling off since last year. But the number of enrolled members had increased by about 250, a sign that the cause has made greater progress among young unmarried men. The largest falling off is in Bavaria. Baden lags behind, and only Prussia shows an increase. In consequence of the synod's decision against compulsory celibacy Professors Reusch and Friederich at once withdrew from the synod. Subsequently Professors Langen and Menzel also severed their connection with the synodal council. At a convention of the Old Catholics of Bavaria a resolution was passed to consider the decision of the synod as not binding for the Old Catholics of Bavaria.

In Austria the Old Catholics were acknowledged on October 17, 1877, as an independent religious body, under the designation of "Old Catholic Church." Old Catholic congregations are, however, not regarded according to the new Austrian law as fully organized until they have a pastor against whom the State Government raises no objection. Thus the congregation of Vienna was not fully organized until September 29, 1878, when a pastor whose election had been approved by the Government was solemnly inducted into his office. The sympathies with the Old Catholic cause appear still to be widely extended, and great hopes are now again entertained with regard to its further progress.

The interests of the Old Catholic Church of Italy are actively supported before the public by the bishop elect, Prota-Giurleo, and its literary organ, the *Emancipatore Cattolico* of Naples. In its last number for 1877, the *Emancipatore* gave a review of the National Church during the year, and explained the delay in the consecration of the bishop by the complications attending the Eastern war. "But we are satisfied," it said, "with the significant increase in the number of our adherents, especially among the high dignitaries of the Church and the laity of the southern provinces, especially in Calabria, Apulia, Basilicata, and Salerno." It also stated that the relations with the representatives of the Old Catholic movement in Germany, Switzerland, and France had become very cordial and intimate, and that proofs of fraternal sympathy had been received from the Church in the United States. Since then, the *Emancipatore* has declared that it was authorized to announce that the consecration of the bishop-elect, and the complete organization of the Church, were near at hand.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Of the revised and enlarged edition of Herzog's Theological Cyclopedia, three volumes, extending to the close of the letter D, are completed, (*Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* New York: Westermann & Co.) The great hope which the theologians of the entire Protestant world have expressed with regard to this work are realized. The new edition of the Cyclopedia is more than a revised edition of the original work; it is an entirely new work, giving on every subject treated an abundance of information which can hardly be found to the same extent in any other work. It is indispensable to any one who wishes to acquaint himself with the results of theological science in Germany, and the library of no theological institution should, therefore, be without it. We have noticed a few inaccuracies and omissions. Thus, in the article *Australia*, the statement on the Episcopal dioceses omits the dioceses of New Castle and Bathurst, and that on the Roman Catholic Church, the archbishopric of Melbourne, which was erected in 1874, and the bishoprics of Ballarat, Sandhurst, Hobarton, Bathurst, Maitland, Goulburn, Armidale, and Brisbane. (See Methodist Quarterly Review, 1877, p. 782.) The articles on the States of South America, all of which are very meager, should mention among the works of reference, Neher, Kirchliche Statistik, Vol. III, which contains much more information on these States than any of the works that are mentioned. Of course, a few imperfections of this kind in no way diminish the superior merit of the work.

Another of the best German Cyclopedias, the comprehensive Cyclopedia of Education, by K. Schmid, (*Encyclopädie des Erziehung, und Unterrichtswesens,*) has just been completed by the appearance of Volume XI. The first volume was published in 1859. The first and second volumes of the work have recently appeared in a new edition, and the third and fourth volumes soon will. Though not chiefly theological, this work treats on many subjects of importance for theologians, and it is throughout written from an evangelical point of view.

A valuable work on the history of Protestantism in Roman Catholic countries has been begun by Pressel, under the title: *Bausteine zur Geschichte des Gustav Adolf Vereins*, (*Freienwalde*, 1877, and 1878.) The first volume (*Das Evangelium in Spanien*) traces the history of Protestantism in Spain; the second, by L. Witte, treats of Italy.

Among the editions of the Apostolic Fathers, that by Dr. Hefele, now bishop of Rottenburg, is highly valued. A fifth revised edition has recently been published by Professor Funk, of the University of Tübingen. (*Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, Tübingen, 1878.)

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Course of Nature. An Address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at St. Louis, August 22, 1878. By Professor SIMON NEWCOMB, President. [Published in the Popular Science Monthly, Supplement for October, 1878.]

It is a fact worth noticing by our scientific brethren that the wide public interest in the proceedings of their associations arises not so much from their purely scientific discussions as from their attempts at performance in philosophy or theology. Upon the facts of merely physical value, however conducive their development may be to human convenience, they could expatiate "from July to eternity" without startling the world with excitement; but when some manifesto is issued crossing the higher interests of man's nature and destiny, or the dealings of God with man, or of biblical authority, their audience room is crowded, the reporters are all on the alert, and the newspapers ring the echoes to the four quarters of the civilized earth. It is thus that the scientistic haranguer is indebted to the religion he attacks for the reckless notoriety he attains. That notoriety is a premium upon scientistic (not scientific) irreligion. Hence at almost every meeting some ambitious performer mounts the scientific pedestal, and assumes to pronounce with scientific authority on any dogma of philosophy, biblicism, or theology he honors with his selection. The world is expected to assent, for is it not SCIENCE that speaks? The latest grandiloquence of this kind is this present address by Professor Newcomb.

Professor Newcomb's grounds are very peremptory and very exclusive. They amount to this: *The entire course of nature is a series of mechanical sequences, from which all interference from any outside causation is entirely excluded.* Knowing the premises and the laws of the series, "we can predict with unerring certainty what the result will be." "If we include the whole of nature in our field, no outside facts can come in; and her course, therefore, admits of being predicted with entire certainty from beginning to end."

Again, "*the mechanical theory of natural operations*, or, as it is sometimes called, the doctrine of the uniformity of nature, is generally acquiesced in by the mature thought of intelligent Christendom." "It" [the school of science] "tells us that the whole course of nature takes place in accordance with certain laws

capable of expression in mathematical language;" and he proceeds to deny any interference whatever with the invariable sequences under those laws. This he calls, very truly, "the mechanical theory of the course of nature."

Again, "At each moment of time the state of the universe is the effect of the state which immediately preceded it, and is the cause of the one which immediately follows."

The special point here, let it be specially noted, is not so much what he *includes* as what he *excludes*. These mechanical sequences are universal and eternal, and no special interposition from without ever has, or ever will, interrupt or vary them. He admits that back of the great machine there may have been a primordial cause of the whole; and at that back there is a belt where theism may come in. God can be admitted at the back door. But God must stay back. After the machine has started he must hands off. So that the professor is no atheist. And yet Darwinism, as he assures us, does affirm that the eye, and, of course, every thing else, comes into existence without any design; and when Darwinism is proved it will destroy all admission of intentionality in "the course of nature." And he assures us that if the maintenance of unintended obedience to law, obedience excluding all "scrutable" design, purpose, or object, be Atheism, then science is rapidly tending to Atheism. So that the professor, and all science with him, vibrates on the brink of Atheism. For, whatever he may please to call it, all theology will pronounce the denial of intentionality to be blank Atheism. A God without design is a dead-head, and no God at all.

Now, we admit "the theory of the mechanical course of nature" positively, but we do not admit the exclusion, negatively, of all interposition with that course from an external personality. The professor tells us that he has carefully studied several volumes of eminent theologians to ascertain, but has never been able to ascertain, whether they believed in said mechanical course of nature or not. Of course, after the failure of several standard volumes to satisfy the professor, it would be immodest for us to imagine that we can satisfy him; but we trust we can satisfy our readers not only as to *what* we believe, but as to the firmness of the ground on which our belief is founded.

We say, then, that when he affirms the *intrinsic* invariability of the course of nature, he is right. But when he affirms that no personal will, whether divine, or angelic, or diabolic, or human, or animal, has ever interfered with the course of nature under her

laws, he commits a stupendous mistake. If a ball be flying in a straight line through the air, and a deft player hits it a rap and deflects its career to a slant, he has changed, not a law of nature, but the course of nature's sequences under her laws. He has effected a result which all nature's mechanical powers could not have accomplished. So intrinsically immutable do we hold those laws to be that we believe that from eternity to eternity the course of nature could not have undergone such change without the introduction of a force from without. If a higher being, a holy Gabriel, or a bad Samael, did the same thing as our ball-player, it would be called a miracle—a miracle not from any difference in the nature of the event, but in the rank of the agent. If the professor extends his hand and rescues a drowning fly, he has interfered with nature's course just as much as Jesus did when he rescued the sinking Peter. To the fly both are alike miracles.

This view discards the old theological definition which says that "a miracle is a suspension of the laws of nature." It was, we believe, the eminent metaphysician, Dr. Thomas Brown, who first suggested that a miracle is simply the interposition of a new antecedent into the train of nature's sequences, thereby not suspending the law, but varying the consequents under the law. Dr. Mansell then made clear that this variation is called a miracle only when and because the interposed antecedent is furnished by a superhuman being. But the course of nature may be as truly deflected by an animalcule as by an archangel. And truly this brings into view a stupendous amount of deflection of "the mechanical course of nature." George P. Marsh has written a book, which we have not read, showing the vast effects which human beings have produced on the surface of the earth. What an infinite number of the interposed variations of the interiorly invariable! And then think of the immeasurable amount of deflections achieved by the total amount of animal movements since the azoic period! It is, too, a most sublime thought that will is thus the sole, the great, antithesis to nature. And it is a most sublime contradiction, too, of the professor's doctrine that there is no deflection of nature's course from without, and that the universe of the present moment is the exact physical sequence of that of the previous moment.

As science, then, is limited to the affirmation of simply an *intrinsic* invariability of physical sequences, so the question whether a deflection from an extrinsic source does occur is not a scientific, but a historical question. Napoleon's career was a perpetual de-

flection of nature's physical invariability; but we know that fact not from science, but history. And so whether Jesus performed a train of supernatural interpositions is a question of history. The decision depends upon historical testimony, in which history may be aided by scientific criticism, but still makes her own decision. When Professor Newcomb denies that such facts have occurred, he is without the bounds of science, and is affecting to decide a historical question, where historians are as authoritative as himself. We affirm, on the authority of history, that nature's courses are perpetually deflected by human and animal will. And just as firmly we affirm, on the same authority, that nature's courses are deflected by superhuman will. It is a question which we do not propound to science.

The Professor gives us some graceful but irrelevant pages picturing the uniform flow of nature's processes. Mr. Tyndall, in his "Fragments of Science," also in his own fluid and richly colored diction, followed the same course, and some of our readers may recollect our criticism on its unwisdom. Who doubts the uniformity of nature's laws? Certainly not the theologian; for the theologian's very notion of a miracle, as an extraordinary event, presupposes the ordinary as its necessary antithesis. If all were miracle there would be no miracle; just as when the whole page is printed in italics all italic emphasis is lost. If the theologian's eternal, omnipotent, and only wise God is a reality, there must be a divine plan, and, as he is eternal, an eternal plan. The laws of nature must be his permanent volitions, and his eternity requires their permanence. This is old-fashioned theology, and we smile at the self-complacent lectures of the scientists aiming to impress us with this trite but divine old truth of the permanence of God's laws upon nature, and the uniformity of nature's obedience to those laws. Theology taught those truths before science was born. Even the miracle that crosses the orbit of the physical law is the acting of a higher law, the law of eternal reason in the divine mind, which moves with a larger orbit of uniformity all its own. So that the very miracle is fulfillment of law. Our phenomenal changes are based in the divine immutability. And to finite beings the uniformity of these laws is the ground of all calculation, and logic, and rational intelligence. Without this uniformity of nature's course man could never calculate, reason, or form a plan of conduct. These laws are the divine epistle from God to us. They are the mediators between the infinite mind and the finite mind, rendering an intelligent world possible. But the extreme physic-

al *lawolatry* that would imprison God in his own laws, or that would abolish God and let laws attempt to operate without their divine Main-spring, or that would make the divine Mechanist incompetent to intersect the course of the machine with the orbit of a higher nature, is not only ignoble, but contradictory to highest reason.

But the Professor tells us that, so far as science is concerned, "final causes have, one by one, disappeared from every thicket that has been thoroughly explored." We believe the statement to be manifoldly untrue. Taking final causes within the course of nature as proofs of God, and we believe the common sense of mankind affirms, with Horace Bushnell, "That all things around us are mind-molded is as certain as that there are things at all." The man who says the eye is not made to see with is on a par with the anti-geologist who says that the fossil remains of animals are mere spontaneous sports of nature, which never had life. You cannot refute him. If he has not the mental spring to grasp the plain truth there is no help for it. If the ear, in primordial correlation with the tongue and vocal organs, in primordial anticipation of articulate speech impregnate with thought, and thence in view of human society, advancement, and history, is not a thicket where final cause still displays itself, then the fossil mammoth is only one of old earth's night-mare dreams hardened into stone.

And there is, too, many a special "thicket," even within nature's courses, from which we suspect that, by dictate of universal common sense, God has not been expelled by science. Is not the molding of every human face performed by an immediate intelligent power, so that it possesses the expression of a true humanity and yet the special expression of individuality? Can science, Darwinian or not, explain how this specialty in universality is attained by any blind, natural, definite, molding power? Can science tell us how a tree, a maple for instance, can, apart from all intelligence, so shape its form, and put forth its branches, leaves, and fruit, as to remain in species a maple, and yet stay unlike any other one maple? Or in psychology, can any one show that a divine Spirit cannot touch the springs of the will, shed special clearness upon the intellect, kindle the emotions, or regenerate the soul? Or in physiology, can science affirm that an immediate intelligent power does not shape the human form, measure out its symmetries, and pour into its organism at will the strength of a powerful manhood? We have read a great many pages of Spencer, Tyndall, and Haeckel, about "heredity,"

and the analogy of crystallization and corn kernel to the human body, and the laws of similarity and variation in animal descent; and we are entirely sure that you have but to fix these reasoners down to specific points, and you will find that ultimate specializations can be explained only upon an underlying intellective, intentional basis. There is not only a "thicket," but a broad plain, an immense cosmos, from which the Almighty declines to be expelled. Yet here the scientific Professor, mounted on his infallible tripod, puts on, perhaps, a tone of modesty, and replies, "But science knows no such underlying intelligence." We reply, If science is competent to know that *force* exists because she sees motion, why can she not see that *intelligence* exists, when she sees the apparency of intelligently directed motion, that is motion directed to clear intelligential results? We apprehend this unknowing is the fault not of science but of the scientist. And our respected Professor may be well assured that the public mind will not be controlled by tripods, but will look for itself at facts and principles, and for itself will judge science and scientists. These professional annunciators, under atheistical predispositions for the purpose of a sensation, will have their day, and their reaction, and in the light of that reaction God will hold his undisturbed throne upon the mind of man.

Perhaps the pages of science herself present, also, some special thickets from which God has not been expelled. Campbell, in his reply to Hume on miracles, adduced the necessity of man's creation as an undeniable proof of miracle. In varied form his argument still remains. For, as deeply as excavating geology has found man, she has found him a complete man. Geologically he springs into sudden existence, a full grown humanity. And, by the geologic record, race after race of lower beings, and of plants, starts up with an epochal instantaneousness. How does science know that there was no God in all these sudden unheralded inaugurations? Has "final cause disappeared" from this "thicket?" Again, there was an azoic period, subsequent to which life commenced. Whence, then, was life? Here is still a much "explored" but uncleared "thicket." In his earlier day Darwin thought that originally God may have breathed life into a few primordial particles—*a miracle!* Has he furnished any better solution since?

We may now adduce some "thickets" of a non-scientific but historical character from which it is not easy to expel a superphysical presence, or deny an interruption in the chain of physical causations. Want of space limits us to an instance or two.

Our first historical "thicket" is the phenomena in the Wesley family of rappings and other manifestations from no corporeally human source, for months continued. They were examined under all conceivable theories, by the most skillful investigators, and set all theories at defiance which did not admit their superphysical character. The invisible agents of those phenomena acted with intelligent reference to the treatment they received. They had a palpable influence in producing that supernaturalism in the character of John Wesley by which he became the apostle of the eighteenth century. They are unquestioned historical facts, facts irreconcilable with the theory of "the mechanical course of nature," as excluding all supernatural interference. There are, therefore, intelligent beings, invisible to man, who do, probably under certain permitting conditions to us unknown, interpose in mundane affairs.

Swedenborg was one night in Gottingen, sitting in a social company. Suddenly he arose, went out the door, and after a while, returning, announced to the company that a great fire was raging in Stockholm, Sweden, describing with particularity its extent. Three days afterward the news arrived, confirming in every respect the statement of Swedenborg. The relator of this narrative is the philosopher, Kant, who declared that there is no doubt of its truth. No science can either annihilate that fact or explain it on any theory of an uninterruptible course of lower physical nature..

Our third "thicket" may seem of more doubtful character, and we adduce it only to suggest a solemn pause to skepticism. It is the historical fact of the awful thunders from heaven that saluted the declaration of the papal responsibility by the Vatican Council. It is thus related by the correspondent of the New York Tribune. He is describing the scene of the final vote on the infallibility question:—

> The names of the Fathers were called over, and *Placet* after *Placet* (vote after vote) succeeded *ad nauseam*. But what a storm burst over the church at this moment! The lightning flashed and the thunder pealed as we have not heard it this season before. Every *Placet* seemed to be announced by a flash and terminated by a clap of thunder. Through the cupolas the lightning entered, licking, as it were, the very columns of the Baldachino over the tomb of St. Peter, and lighting up large spaces on the pavement. Sure, *God was there*—but whether approving or disapproving what was going on, no mortal can yet say. Enough that it was a remarkable coincidence, and so it *struck the minds* of all who were present. And thus the roll was called for one hour and a half, with this solemn accompaniment, and then the result of the voting was taken to the Pope. The moment had arrived when he was to declare himself invested with the attributes of God—nay, a God upon earth. Looking from a distance into the hall, which was obscured by the tempest, *nothing was visible but the golden miter of the Pope*,

and so thick was the darkness that a servitor was compelled to *bring a lighted candle* and hold it by his side to enable him to read the decree by which he deified himself.

The next day after this blasphemous performance, Louis Napoleon, as son of the Church, commenced war in behalf of the infallible supremacy against Protestant Germany, and in less than three months took place the battle of Sedan, the prostration of France, the entrance of King Victor into Rome, and the downfall of the papal secular kingdom, which had stood ever since the days of Charlemagne. Such a combination of events may make the skeptic pause and wonder whether the divine purpose may not, after all, be sometimes "scrutable." Such a view infringes no principle of science. It questions not the intrinsic immutability of nature's laws. It forgets not that thunder is electricity, and that rain is condensed vapor. Not the less may the thunder be God's voice to man, and the pouring storm, and the black darkness, the tokens of his wrath. God can use them all for the crisis, and all nature's course be otherwise left unmarred, just as the air cleft by the arrow instantly closes its wound and retains no scar. We submit that special Providence is no contradiction to the intrinsic uniformity of nature's laws.

We have given but a few such facts simply from want of room. We can give abundance of them, of such a nature as to defy all adverse criticism. Not only in the books, but in our daily newspapers of the highest respectability, facts showing super-mundane interference in mundane sequences are narrated with perfect explicitness, by the most intelligent witnesses, published at the time and place with the broadest notoriety, uncontradicted by any party, and unexplained by any scientific Professor. When we are told that science "cannot know" these facts, we reply, that science can be as obstinate an ignoramus as she pleases; but she cannot expect that all history and the common sense of mankind will be ignoramus in her company.

The Foreknowledge of God, and Cognate Themes. By L. D. M'Cabe, D.D. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The mystery surrounding the nature of God is the most alluring and the most disappointing of all the mysteries that address themselves to human inquisitiveness. The works of nature are tantalizing in a high degree. The origin of matter, the laws of force, the relation of atoms, above all, the secret of life, have for ages drawn thoughtful minds to their thick darkness—drawn not to enlighten save in part, and to obscure more than enlighten. Yet

as scholars are allured to mysteries they cannot fathom, in proportion to their unfathomability they will be allured to the highest mysteries, and the highest of the highest is God.

One of the perplexities about the divine Being involves our freedom and his sovereignty. Another involves our freedom and his omniscience. Another involves his goodness and the misery inflicted on innocent and even virtuous beings. Another involves the existence of evil. Another, everlasting hell fire. Clouds and darkness are round about him. Dr. M'Cabe struggles with one problem, and seeks to solve it. Others are troubled about other problems. Said a distinguished preacher: "I cannot sleep nights because of the terrible doctrine of eternal punishment." But he did not solve it, notwithstanding his *insomnia*. If one seeks to escape by the door of eternal hope he falls into a deeper danger. Has Dr. M'Cabe escaped by the path he essays to tread? What is that path? The one advocated by Adam Clarke—as he also advocated non-eternal sonship, the conversion of Judas, the ape theory of the serpent, and other like ways of deliverance from stern and inscrutable truths—that God can unknow the moral acts of free moral creatures, or those that involve responsibility and accountability. His omniscience is limited by man's freedom of the will so far as man's responsibility is concerned. That freedom necessitates the unknowable in man and in God. If God knows those decisions, then they must be, and if must be, there is no liberty in their being, no freedom of will, no accountability, no morality, no reward or punishment possible. What does Dr. M'Cabe declare? That omniscience is irreconcilable with freedom of the will. That postulate will be eagerly denied, first by all Calvinists, second by almost all anti-Calvinists. Calvinists assert freedom and sovereignty to be co-existent. Their creeds all say of divine sovereignty that it so exists as not to interfere with the absolute freedom of the human will. Of course, they cannot explain this, nor fit it into any system of clear, rational thought; but they affirm it, nevertheless. All Arminians and liberalists of every school, even Deists not Calvinical, declare their belief in God's omniscience and in human liberty; and while they may be unable to explain how liberty can consist with omniscience, they none the less affirm liberty as absolute, and let omniscience, as it were, take care of itself. The Calvinist of every school, liberal and orthodox, is alike and more jealous for absolute foreknowledge, though he clings to divine sovereignty as a part of it. The anti-Calvinist joins his foreknowledge to freedom of the will. As "The Inde-

pendent" once put it, editorially, when it was under Dr. Thompson's management: "The Calvinist says, 'Divine sovereignty and human freedom;' the Arminian, 'Human freedom and divine sovereignty.'"

In developing his theme Dr. M'Cabe asserts that there are four kingdoms of God—Nature, Providence, Grace, Glory. In three of these there is no actual freedom of the will, and for the acts performed in them there is no accountability on the part of the actor. In nature every thing is fated, in general providence equally so, in the future reign in heaven equally so. The crucial test here is providence. Since he must concede foreknowledge of what seem to be free moral acts of accountable creatures in the fulfillment of prophecy, he has to declare that such foreknowledge does not involve responsibility. Cyrus did as God had arranged. The king's heart was in his hand, and for it he had neither praise or blame morally. Pharaoh ought to go into the same category, for he was as necessary to the fulfillment of prophecy as Cyrus. When we come to Judas he breaks down. Judas was not prophesied about, he asserts; and he attempts to abolish the prophetic meaning of the Twenty-second and Eighteenth Psalms, in which the people are presented as the persecutors; the thirty pieces, which Matthew, or the Holy Ghost through Matthew, says meant Christ and his betrayer; the One Hundred and Ninth Psalm, which Peter quotes as referring to Judas, and other prophetic passages, because, he says, if Christ knew him to be a bad man and knew he would betray him, and then chose him, he was to blame, and not Judas. Therefore he knew him not. But the Bible says he did, and wisely declines to explain the mystery. We may as wisely follow its example, though it can be explained on another line than that the Professor deems the only possible one, namely, the practical common sense which every pastor annually is compelled to pursue, that Judas, being a very prominent disciple, though not all that could be wished by the Master, was still too prominent to be kept out of the apostleship. If we have to allow and even nominate trustees and stewards, and to appoint class-leaders, and, worst of all, admit into the ministry, those whose Christian life is not perfectly unexceptionable, because public opinion requires it, when we fear the outcome, so must he, as the Son of man, building his Church out of men, take this chiefest of his disciples, even if he knew, as God, that he had a devil and would betray him. He must not act according to his foreknowledge in such human affairs, any more than he must command the

stones to be made bread, or cast himself down from the temple, though possessed of the power to feed and to save himself. Whether this theory be true or not, one thing is true, that the Scriptures plainly teach that Christ should suffer and die from the hand of man, as well as that he should, as God, give up his life of himself. The attempt to exclude this fact weakens and substantially destroys the whole argument. For this attempt, if successful, abolishes the fifty-third of Isaiah and the whole prophetic character of the sacrifices. To accept it abolishes this theory, that a man working under providence is not amenable for his acts. To deny it abolishes practically the Old Testament. Better abandon the theory.

The whole work is conditioned on this necessity of God's ignorance of the responsible acts of free moral beings. He is protected by his resources against every emergency. He cannot be surprised and overborne. He knows every way the free will can act, and is ready at the gate of its action to lead or to oppose it. The least we can say of the effort is the Scotch verdict—"Non proven." The human instinct will not surrender omniscience. It will not surrender freedom of the will. The attempt to prove the necessitation of all acts under foreknowledge we gravely question; the assertion we unqualifiedly doubt and deny. That is Calvinical. Foreknowledge necessitates foreordination. Against that John Wesley fought all over England with every Calvinist and fatalist in pulpit and philosophy, with Whitefield no less than with Toplady. Against that Fletcher wrote his brilliant pamphlets. Against that Watson rolled out his great sermons and treatise. The human soul, the intuitional faculties, our guides here as in so much else that is dark to reason's glimmering sense, affirm at once perfect omniscience with perfect freedom, and without predestination. The work is, therefore, in the interest of the Calvinist more than that of the Arminian. He is already commending it and deducing predestination from it, for he knows the universal sense of man will never deny omniscience. On the other hand, it surrenders what no freedomist will concede. Freedom of the will, excluded from three kingdoms, is easily ejected from the fourth. Matter only is under absolute fate, mind nowhere and never. Both schools will reject this attempt to reconcile them. It is amiably and ably written, but is erroneous in its fears, and, therefore, its reasonings are as needless as they are useless. Our brother will yet regret the publication. Like much which preachers think, it should remain unspoken. The word and the Spirit are our guides.

They are enough. Let this attempted knowledge await the hour when it shall vanish away, and light celestial pour in upon the understanding. Not then the light which no man can approach unto, but which convinces the recipient that the two grandest truths in God and man remain, and shall forever remain, untouched—his absolute knowledge, our absolute freedom. H.

Discussions in Church Polity. From Contributions to the "Princeton Review." By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. Selected and arranged by Rev. WILLIAM DURANT. 8vo., pp. 532. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Between the years 1835 and 1841 the stately mind of Dr. Hodge traversed the subject of ecclesiastical polity, and published the results in the "Princeton Review." From this series a selection was made by the hand of a recent pupil, received the approbation of the author, and now appears in the form of the present noble posthumous volume. It first discusses the general nature of a Church, its visibility, perpetuity, administrative authority and relations to the State, Presbyterianism, the Church of England and Presbyterian orders, Presbyterian Liturgies.

A second part narrows the ground to a discussion of the history and intent of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church. It delineates in successive chapters a particular Church, church officers, the presbytery, the general assembly, discipline. The work will specially interest the members of that venerated branch of the Church of Christ in which the author was so eminent a teacher, but presents many pages worthy the general interest of Christian thinkers.

We were specially attracted by his chapter on the Church of England and Presbyterian Orders. It calls to mind the fact how many of the highest Anglican authorities maintain essentially the full rightfulness and validity of our Wesleyan Episcopacy. Dr. Hodge quotes from Dr. Goode Hooker's words, as follow:—

> The next testimony is that of Hooker, who says: "There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reasons to allow ordination made without a bishop. *The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power*, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than bishops alone to ordain; howbeit, as the ordinary cause is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted into spiritual functions in the Church. One is, when God himself doth of himself raise up any. . . . Another, ... when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep."—*Ecclesiastical Polity*, vii, 14. See also liii, 11.
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> "In a former passage of the same book," says our author, [Dr. Goode,] Hooker "distinctly admits the power of the Church at large to take away the episcopal form of government from the Church, and says:—

" 'Let them [the bishops] continually bear in mind that it is rather the force of custom, whereby the Church, having so long found it good to continue the regiment of her virtuous bishops, doth still uphold, maintain, and honor them, in that respect, than that any true and heavenly law can be showed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himself hath appointed presbyters forever to be under the regiment of bishops;' adding, that 'their authority' is 'a sword which the Church hath power to take from them.'"—*Ibid.*, vii, 5. See also i, 14, and iii, 10.—Pp. 152–153.

These are the very grounds on which Wesley, in his diploma to Coke, bases his action; the very grounds on which our Constitution and Discipline place our Episcopacy; the grounds on which we have based our defense of our polity in our Quarterly.

There are some thinkers among us who seem ambitious to claim that we are "Presbyterians." We are so in the same sense that all the Churches of Christendom are Presbyterian. All hold to the rightfulness of a Presbyterial order. But we are not Presbyterian in the sense that a third order or ordained grade of ministry is unscriptural or unauthorized. Nor is our organization, with its normal reserve of the function of ordination to an ordained executive, properly Presbyterian. We are Episcopal in the same sense that Hooker was Episcopal, holding to an ordained number of ministers to whom is intrusted the ordaining and superintending responsibility; but whose power and office go forth from the power and will of the Church, which is fully competent to withdraw its will and abolish the office by its proper constitutional methods.

The Roman Conflict; Or, Rise, Power, and Impending Conflicto f Roman Catholicism, as seen in Ancient Prophecy, Ceremonial Worship, Mediæval and Modern History, with a Sketch of Protestant Claims and Doctrines. Illustrated in steel and wood, with many full-page plates of Churches, Temples, Ceremonial Rites, and portraits of Popes, Princes, and Cardinals, and Martyrs of Persecution. By Rev. JAMES SHAW. 8vo., pp. 603. For the Author, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis: Hitchcock & Walden. New York and San Francisco: Nelson & Phillips. Toronto, Canada: Samuel Rose. London, Wesleyan Conference Office: T. J. Jobson. 1878.

Mr. Shaw was born and educated in the midst of a Romanistic population, and by intercourse and general reading possesses both a practical and theoretical knowledge of the Romish system. The present volume is prepared for the purpose of giving to the English-speaking world the same knowledge of that remarkable phenomenon. It is furnished with exterior attractiveness, to render it acceptable to the popular attention and to give it a wide public reception. We trust it will obtain a general circulation and perusal. The truth cannot be too well understood or too deeply impressed, or too conducive to energetic action. The Roman politico-ecclesiastical body is in our midst, an atrocious conspiracy

against the liberties of the country and the well-being of mankind. By its own avowals it claims supremacy over civil governments, enthroning an old Italian priest as absolute Cesar over us and over all the human race. It only wants the power to raise the inquisition over our land to arraign us before the grim tribunal of the "Holy Office," and to inflict the thumb-screw and the fagots upon all insurgents against the tiara. Its failure will be, we believe, complete and ignominious, but only on condition that the public mind is well-informed and pre-armed against its purposes. Hence works like this, tending to keep our people alert and active, cannot be too extensively circulated. It is a battle of truth and freedom against lie and despotism, and truth must be ever giving forth an aggressive activity. The work is divided into four parts. The first gives us popery as antichrist in prophecy; the second, Romanism as modified paganism; the third, Rome as foe to freedom and religion; the fourth, Romanism as a final failure. The four positions are sustained by an immense array of facts, and the conclusions are necessary from the premises.

It would have been well if one fourth or one third of the earlier part of the volume had been devoted to a brief but lucid history of the origin of the popedom, and the steps by which it advanced to power and supremacy. On what strata of fraud, falsehood, and perjury its throne is based a succinct history would show. The omission of such a narration gives the book a too exclusively polemical character. What the popedom is the popular mind must gather by scattered statements ranged under piecemeal propositions. The author plunges at once into prophecies and arguments, when the real subject is but obscurely known to the ordinary reader.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. With Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D.D. 12mo., pp. 244. New York: Appleton & Co. 1878.

Dr. Cowles gives us a very able argument in his Introduction, maintaining that the book of Hebrews was written by Luke, and was addressed to the Hebrews at Cesarea, who had been converted under the preaching of Paul, Timothy, and himself, during the two years of Paul's imprisonment at that city. Thereby the doctrine is Pauline, for Luke's theology was one with Paul's; the style is Greek, and Luke was not a Hebrew, but a Gentile. We agree with him, at any rate, in the opinion that there is very slender ground for attributing the epistle to Apollos. But we see no characteristic resemblance between Luke's style, where he is un-

questionably the writer, as in his history of Paul's shipwreck and its sequences, and the style of this epistle. We do see a great difference between two or three of Paul's several styles of language and that of the epistle, and yet there is also a style or two of Paul's which is very much the style of Hebrews. As to the style of thought underlying the diction, that is, its modes of argument, its suspending the train of thought for a digression and then returning to it, there are eminently Pauline instances in the epistle. The historical evidence is almost exclusively for Paul. We suspect that all the peculiarities of style are explicable upon supposition of Pauline authorship.

The Notes are, in the main, excellent, suited to the people, yet not below a scholarly level. There are several Excurses in the Appendix. Three of them—one on Perseverance of the Saints, one on Premillennialism, and one on the Higher Life—will appear convincing mostly to those who already agree with the author.

A Treatise on Justification. By R. N. DAVIES. 16mo., pp. 251. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Philips. 1878.

Mr. Davies takes our Wesleyan-Arminian definition of justification as a central position, and shows with what a many-sidedness it throws off the assaults of errorists from every quarter. He demonstrates how our view of justification, strictly maintained, solves the errors successively of Calvinists, Romanists, Universalists, Imputationists, Campbellites, and Skeptics. His logic is close and clear, his style is grave and perspicuous, and altogether his book seems a monograph quite worthy the study of the thoughtful theologian.

The New Testament Idea of Hell. By S. M. MERRILL, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo., pp. 276. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

Bishop Merrill's book is a "tract for the times," flung in opportunely to meet the demands of a pending discussion. He bases himself entirely upon Scripture, and endeavors to bring his solemn subject into the clear comprehension of the popular mind. His purpose is to show that the Hades and Gehenna are presented in the Bible as realistic facts. It is not so much a verbal discussion as a "factual" discussion. He shows against the arguments of the most popular expositors of Universalism at the present day that the *facts* are just what the Church of the past has cognized them to be. The nature and duration of future penalty the Bishop reserves for discussion in another volume, to be published.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. By English and American Scholars of Various Evangelical Denominations. With Illustrations and Maps. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. In four volumes. Vol. I. Introduction, and the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Royal 8vo., pp. 508. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879.

This is a beautiful volume externally, and a valuable volume internally. As a commentary it claims to be "international and interdenominational." That is, its authors are, respectively, on both sides the ocean and in different sects of Protestantism. Of Methodists, Professor Pope annotates the three Epistles of John in connection with Professor Moulton; and Professor Moulton shares in the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John. Drs. Schaff and Riddle do the entire of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. With Dr. Schaff Dr. Riddle has Romans, and he Ephesians alone; and we hope Dr. Riddle will be rescued from saying quite as unwise things as he did in Lange's Romans.

The maps and illustrations are of surpassing beauty. The text is in large type, and, though the volume is larger, the notes we judge, from a glance, are really less extensive than those of our Commentary now being issued from our Book Rooms. We welcome its issue, and commend it to public attention. Price, $6.

The Prophet Isaiah, Theologically and Homiletically Expounded. By CARL WILHELM EDWARD NÄGELSBACH. Translated from the German, with Additions. By Rev. SAMUEL T. LOWRIE, D.D., and Rev. DUNLOP MOORE, D.D. 8vo., pp. 741. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Our American biblical scholars will trace the pages of this volume of the great commentary with no little interest. Two great questions, especially, are involved in the study of the "evangelical prophet," hitherto so called by the "evangelical" Church. The first concerns the integrity of the book. Is the specter of a pseudo-Isaiah, conjured up by "the higher criticism," a reality? Is the book to be "sawn asunder?" The second concerns the Messianic interpretation of the fifty-third chapter. On both these questions Dr. Nägelsbach will be found eminently satisfactory.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Nineteenth Century for November, 1878. Article, Virchow and Evolution. By Professor TYNDALL.

Mr. Tyndall, feeling that Virchow's manifesto against the knight-errantry of scientists in running into speculations and parading the specters they there found for realities of science rather seems

to cut across himself, enters a defense. With the defense itself we at the present have nothing to do. But as the Professor here reaffirms "the growth of the human body to be mechanical," as maintained in his article on "Force and Matter" in his "Fragments of Science," we propose to give a fuller notice of that argument for such "growth" than we did when it first appeared. The argument as by him given takes four steps, and consists in an attempt to show, in very diffuse and variegated style, that, as men built the pyramids of Egypt, so crystallization can build mechanically a pyramid of molecules, and vegetation can equally mechanically build a kernel of corn, and organization can equally mechanically build a human body. No intelligent power is needed in the last three of the aforesaid four buildings. Let us trace his four steps, and try to ascertain for ourselves.

1. Mr. Tyndall shows us the pyramids of Egypt, and describes them graphically as being built by "power," in "a form" which "expressed the thought of the human builder." That is, be it noted, these pyramids were built by blended *force* and *intelligence* incarnated in men. 2. He then tells us that salt and water under evaporation will, by molecular force, form itself into similar pyramids. These molecules are "self-posited," "being fixed in their places by the forces with which they act upon each other." Here creeps in his first fallacy, namely: the assumption, which no theist is bound to concede, that these molecules all march into their places without any intellective guidance, insensate matter acting as intelligently as so many soldiers stepping into rank to form a phalanx. The possibility of such action the theist at once declines to grant; and for that refusal what remedy has Mr. Tyndall? The very analogy of the Egyptian pyramids warns us that for the building of a salt pyramid there must be the same blend of force and intelligence to put the blocks in place. He, indeed, admits the *force* to produce the motion; but it is as plain that there is a *selective direction* of the motion as that there is *force*. And it is as plain that there are both a *force* and a *selective direction*, as that there is a molecule at all. Now, as force is a physical factor, so is selective direction an intellective factor. The theist, therefore, is not in the slightest degree bound to concede that the salt pyramid is built without a guiding intelligence any more than the stone pyramid. 3. Mr. Tyndall next takes up a kernel of corn, and, by a polarized light, shows us that the kernel is built by the same sort of molecular action as the salt pyramid. He then tells us that, if we "have rejected the notion of an external architect"

in the case of the salt pyramid, we are bound to reject it now, and hold the molecules of the corn "self-posited." That simply hooks his second fallacy on to his first fallacy. Disregarding the irrelevant phrases about "an external architect," which nobody supposes, our theist refuses to grant that without intelligent direction united with force the molecules can make any movement at all. 4. Mr. Tyndall lastly takes the animal body, and analogically argues with the same inconsequence that the molecules, all without any intelligent guidance, "posit" themselves in places, each one stepping to his post to form with the rest an extended, symmetrical organism!

And that is a self-contradictory and absolutely impossible conception. A brick is a big piece of matter, and a molecule is a little one; and if without any intelligence, internal or external, a brick cannot, at the required instant, start up from the ground and fling itself right into the vacant niche formed by the requirement of the rising pyramid, how can the little piece of matter, just as destitute of intelligent direction or self-direction, fling itself at the exact instant into just the exact vacant point, in order to furnish a large and complex organism consisting of a variety of symmetrical and correspondent parts? Suppose the organism be a huge mastodon, or a devil-fish, with a thousand Briarean arms, we are called upon in vain to believe that an unintelligent molecule, undirected by any intelligence that can comprehend the whole complex organism, can, at the right instant, put itself in the right point; and that myriads of blind, unguided little pieces of matter can also so combine with reference to each other as to form that contingent and varied whole. Each one particle must, with vast varieties of contingencies, act with perfect reference to the contingent and varied motions of every other particle, and with exact and perfect reference to the final whole. And if we suppose the whole cosmos to be a symmetrical whole, then an intelligence co-extensive with the cosmos, yet not overlooking one molecule in the whole cosmos, is a logical necessity for the due location of each one of the entire infinities of the molecules. Theology rightly assumes such a cosmos, and so infallibly infers a God.

Cicero's ancient illustration, wrought into modern terms, is as decisive an argument as can be selected. Is it not perfectly self-contradictory to claim that solid metallic types could so start into spontaneous action, give themselves self-direction, and among an infinite number of possible points so posit themselves, each at the right point, as to form a Bancroft's History of America? First, it

is conceded by all physics that every existing molecule is inert; that is, destitute of the power of self-motion; so that the said types could not start into motion. And as every existing molecule is destitute of self-motion, so all the powers of attraction, repulsion, cohesion, and motion belonging to molecules are not intrinsic to the molecule, but are *addenda*, superadded to it from a foreign source; so that even the coherence of the molecules by which the solid type is formed is interpolated from a foreign source. But, *second*, the motion being supposed possible, the *particular* motion, amid an infinity of possible directions, is conceivable only by the assumption of *selective intelligence*. The *problem* is, How can a solid mass of molecules, composing a metallic type, select its place in view to form this American History? And how can this process be repeated so that say a million types shall so *posit* themselves as each to assume the point requisite to the formation of this exact whole? The only *solution* that the human mind can conceive for such a problem is—*selective intelligence*. And it must not be a mere speck of intelligence in each molecule; but for each molecule there must be a comprehension of the whole history. The position of every type has reference to the whole book. The intelligence that fixes each type to its place must know the whole in order to assign the place for each one. But this book itself has a further system of intellective connections. It is a representation of an external series of facts belonging to the history of the outer world, the great system of events of the founding of this our American nation—a system by which the entire system of human history is remarkably modified. The "positing" of each one metallic type, then, has a reference to the great whole of human history. Now, instead of this book substitute the cosmos. There is in that cosmos an infinity of relations and references just as clearly intellective as the relations of the types to the words of the book, as the relations of the words to the sense, and as the relations of the sense to the great summary of historical externalities. The whole cosmos must, therefore, be comprehended by one all-grasping Intelligence, which takes in at once each molecular item, and the cosmical whole, and holds them a unit. That intelligence can be nothing less than God. To deny it, we submit, is an abdication of common sense.

Mr. Tyndall endeavors to supply the absence of intelligence by such phrases as "structural energies," "attractions," and repulsions. But, first, what is a "structural energy?" How does it look? What is it made of? Who made it? And the more

steadily we look at it we shall find it to be a nothing in the world. It presupposes a directive intelligence in the molecule, and so we have an infinite number of molecular intelligences. But each molecule, as we have shown, must have more than *a* molecular intelligence; it must know more than enough to crawl to *a* point, it must know the whole organism in order to know enough to crawl to *the* point. That is, we must have a practical omniscience in every molecule.

Now, Mr. Tyndall's "structural energy" is a poor edition of the "plastic power" of the grand old philosopher, Cudworth; a conception that philosophic theologians have, for, perhaps, well considered reasons, disused. Yet Cudworth's "plastic power" was not, like Mr. Tyndall's "formative energy," unintelligent. It was, as we may say, a *so much deity* as was necessary, set apart for the carrying on of the physical world. Indeed, "the plastic power" has received a new illustration from the old Cartesian doctrine, now adopted by physicists, of the "conservation of force." This doctrine affirms that there is through all ages the same amount of force engaged in the physical cosmos. It is, then, still left with the theologian to assume that this is but a part of the omnipotence lying back of or above it in the divine Being. To our physical system God has assigned its fixed amount of force, sufficient to carry it on with all practical completeness, subject to all the interpositions his reserve omnipotence pleases. This would serve to explain the "course of nature," with all its completeness and incompleteness, its fixities and its accidentalities, its goods and its evils. The "plastic power" is omnipotence itself working under self-assigned conditions of finite cause and effect. In every molecular movement the force requires omnipotence, and the directivity requires omniscience; for without the omnipotence that force could not exist, and without the omniscience that directivity could not exist; yet only so much force and so much intelligence is added as will accomplish the finite object—an infinitesimal drop from the infinite ocean.

This completes our view of his argument in his "Fragments of Science," but we have a point or two more to make.

In this same Nineteenth Century the Professor quotes the following words from Professor Knight, applauding them as "bold words to be spoken before the moral philosophy class of a Scotch University." We think they are as foolish as they are "bold:" "If matter is not eternal, its first emergence into being is a miracle beside which all others dwindle into absolute insignificance. But

it has often been pointed out that the process is unthinkable." But, we reply, the creation of matter is no more unthinkable than the eternity of matter. Creation from nothing is just as valid a thought as eternity without beginning or end. And as we know eternity, however unthinkable, to be a valid reality, so the unthinkability of creation, if true, does not destroy the validity of creation. But neither is unthinkable, but only *unpicturable*. That is, we cannot shape them into a conceptual form, as we can a horse or a hand-saw, although they are valid to the higher reason. No more can we think into conceptual form Spirit, or Herbert Spencer's "Unknown Absolute," or Professor Tyndall's "promise and potency in matter" for forming an intellective cosmos. Nothing transcending the senses can be mentally pictured. And this is so well known a fact in philosophy that one is amazed at the persistence with which unthinkability, that is, *unpicturability*, is assigned for rejecting creation.

Mr. Tyndall assures us that he discerns a "promise and potency in poor despised matter" capable of evolving all the phenomena of the world. So do we, Mr. Tyndall. And that "promise and potency" is the *causa causarum*, the immanent God, who is in the matter by him created, sustaining it in existence, endowing it with powers, and carrying it through all its operations. He is the soul of the world, the light of lights, the life of life, the inner substratum of all phenomena. And this answer, assumed as final, leaves to science all her investigations, her theories, and her systems.

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1877. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the Assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 480. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The almost world-wide co-operation of the ardent and laborious sons of science is assuming an aspect of something like sublimity. Each individual is alive and productive in his own little sphere, like a coral evolving his own little mite, until, by unanimity and continuity, the system of science rises like a grand continent before the mind's eye. This is a divine work, for more and more it becomes evident that creation is a divine revelation. Yet when, from rigid habits of limiting his thoughts to the objective, he forgets or denies the existence of the infinite Revealer, that is a sin not of the flesh, but of the spirit, for which it should be firmly declared that he stands fearfully responsible. Atheism is *sin;* the promulgation of atheism is *crime*. The unbeliever in God is the moral enemy of man.

The present volume is rather more systematically arranged than its predecessors. The different departments are assigned each to an eminent scientist. We note that the very important department of "Agriculture and Rural Economy" is assigned to Professor Atwater, of Wesleyan University, Middletown. The science of theoretical and practical agriculture has a great future before it. Our vast North American Continent opens a field of immense grandeur for its development.

We do not perceive that the year has evolved much new discovery in the fields where our Quarterly is principally interested—biology and anthropology.

The following extract seems to furnish the present *status* of the doctrine of

Spontaneous Generation.—Dr. Bastian has recently read before the Royal Society a paper giving an account of some further researches "illustrative of the condition favoring archebiosis in previously boiled liquids," summing up as follows: The experiments show, as others have done, that living matter may, and does, originate independently during the progress of fermentation in previously germless fluids; insoluble products reveal themselves as specks of protoplasm, "living" matter, emerging gradually into the region of the visible, and speedily assuming the well-known forms of one or other variety of *Bacteria*, thus bridging, as he conceives, the narrow gulf between certain kinds of "living" and "dead" matter, and affording the long-sought-for illustration of the transition from chemical to so-called "vital" combinations! In the "Lancet," August 5, will be found an interesting note upon M. Pasteur's reply to Dr. Bastian on the heterogeny controversy. M. Pasteur, while admitting that Dr. Bastian's experiments, as detailed in his communication to the Paris Academy of Sciences, are very accurately conducted, asserts that a temperature of 50° C. (122° Fahr.) is not sufficient to kill the germs of the minute organisms which may be introduced by means of the solution of potash employed by Dr. Bastian. He considers it fully proved, from his own experiments, that the germs of certain organisms, which do not resist a temperature of 100° in acid solutions, are capable of such resistance in neutral or slightly alkaline fluids. He expresses the hope that Dr. Bastian will abandon his faith in spontaneous generation, and classes its supporters with the theorizers in physics and mathematics, who believe in perpetual motion or the quadrature of the circle. Professor Tyndall, after having read Pasteur's reply, gives entire adherence to his views, and calls "on all enlightened persons to banish from science this doctrine of spontaneous generation, which has nothing whatever to support it." In a recent communication to the "British Medical Journal," Professor Roberts, of Manchester, commenting on Dr. Bastian's claims, states that his experiments are decidedly in favor of Pasteur's conclusions, and, indeed, that to a logical evolutionist there would appear to be a strong *a priori* improbability in the abiogenic origin of *Bacteria*. When Pasteur says that abiogenesis is a chimera, he prudently adds, "in the present state of science;" and, even thus qualified, the expression is perhaps too strong. But it is absolutely certain that up to the present time no case of abiogenesis has been presented which has stood the test of accurate investigation. Dr. Tyndall has recently repeated at Kew, where he found a purer atmosphere than at the Royal Institution, his last year's experiments with perfect success, and without the annoying failures due to the atmosphere of the Institution being laden with germs from a quantity of hay, and has thus once more proved his case against Dr. Bastian. In every experiment but one the specimens showed no trace of life; in that one a small aperture like a pin-hole was in the side of the test-tube.—Pp. 243, 244.

Common Basis of Animal and Vegetable Life.—Herr Cienkowsky, well known for his researches on monads, has recently contributed some additional informa-

tion upon these and allied organisms, which appear to show that the boundary-lines which it has so long been usual to draw between plant and animal organisms, and between the individual groups of those lowest forms of life, appear more and more illusory, and the supposition is recommended of a common lowest kingdom of organisms, that of *Protista*, (Haeckel,) out of which animals and plants have by degrees been differentiated.—P. 246.

This bottom oneness of animal and vegetable life presents an interesting phase of thought. Whether higher life ascends ideally or genetically is a question not disturbed by such a fact. It must be remembered that vitality is not in itself intelligence, but is a basis upon which intelligence is overlaid. And the very fact that vitality in animal and vegetable is the same entity, demonstrates the fact that the overlying intelligence is a different and a higher entity. We have, then, this column, placing lowest lowest.

PURE REASON—Solely human.

INTELLIGENCE—Animal and human.

VITALITY—Vegetable and animal and human.

This is the old trinal philosophy, the philosophy of the Old Testament and the New; of Plato and of Paul; of the early Christian antiquity and the best modern thought; the philosophy that finds in man the trinity of body, soul, and spirit. It is upon this philosophy that the immortality of man, as distinct from brute, can be maintained. Nor is this trinality at all disturbed by the fact that the apparent boundary line between plant and animal is often crossed or obliterated. For whatever the form may be, the slightest element of true *sensation* in the individual renders it an animal. The true boundary line may, therefore, be imperceptible to observation, but is none the less real.

Genetical Development Downward.—There is a discussion in progress about the exact boundary line of the Vertebrates. Shall the lower order of *Tunicates* be included as a sort of degenerate vertebrate? On this Professor Lankaster says:—

He thinks, like Dr. Anton Dohrn, that evolution may tend in different directions, and that, although on the whole it is in the direction of progression from the low to the high, it may be, and in a number of cases he believes actually has been, toward degradation. "So strong," says he, "is the case in favor of degeneration, that at present all that can be said against it and in favor of progression, with regard to any particular case, is this—that the general doctrine of evolution justifies us in assuming, at some period or other, a progression from the simplest to the most complicated grades of structure; that we are warranted in assuming at least one progressive series leading from the monoplast to man; and that *until we have special reason* to take a different view of any particular case, we are bound to make the smallest amount of assumption by assigning to the various groups of organisms the places which they will fit into, on the supposition that they do represent in reality the original progressive series. . . . When, therefore, the hypothesis of degeneration presents itself as a solution of any special morphological difficulty, we need have no scruples or prejudices in favor of the doctrine of universal progression which should prevent us from accepting it." Thus

reasoning, he urges that the Tunicates are degraded Vertebrates; that their systematic relations with the members of that group are evidenced by the chorda of the larval stage; and that there has been quite a general tendency toward degeneration in these animals.—P. 285.

An Ancient Atlantic Continent.—The results of soundings over the bed of the Atlantic have made clear the existence through the middle of the ocean, extending from north to south, of a sunken ridge, often less than 1,000 fathoms from the surface, while on either side the water has a depth of from 3,000 to more than 3,450 fathoms; so that the elevation of the ocean's bottom required to make these depths dry land would bring up between them a mountain range from 9,000 to 15,000 feet in height. The higher points of this sunken ridge now form the islands of the Azores—St. Paul's, Ascension, and Tristan d'Acunha. This discovery was, in a manner, anticipated in 1860 by Unger, who, from his studies of the Tertiary flora of Europe and America, was led to imagine a land connecting the two regions, over which the plants of North America had passed eastward. This, he supposed, might be the vanished Atlantis of which Plato has preserved the tradition.—P. 179.

A Preliminary Account of the General Results of the Exploring Voyage of H.M.S. "Challenger," during the Year 1873 *and the Early Part of the Year* 1876. By Sir C. WYVILLE THOMSON. Illustrated with maps, charts, diagrams, and numerous wood-engravings. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

What is the geography of the sea-bottom? What about its possible plains, and hills, and mountains, and caverns? What is the truth about its animal and vegetable forms of life? These are emphatically *deep* questions? When the soundings were performed in laying the Atlantic cable the subject was deeply probed. Previously to that process science shook her wise head at the idea that the ocean-floor was the abode of living residents. Says the author of these volumes, Sir Wyville Thomson:—

> It was almost as difficult to believe that creatures comparable with those of which we have experience in the upper world could live at the bottom of the sea, as that they could live in a vacuum or in the fire. Of many of the conditions at great depth we as yet knew nothing; but some of them were as easily determined by calculation as by direct experiment, and we knew that an animal at a depth of one thousand fathoms must bear a weight of a ton on the square inch, and one at a depth of three thousand the almost inconceivable weight of three tons; and we had every reason to believe that the sun's light is almost entirely cut off at a depth of fifty fathoms, and that therefore the existence of plants upon which the animals primarily depend for their food is impossible at great depths. These considerations alone seemed almost sufficient to place this question beyond the region of reasonable inquiry, and it was not until a considerable amount of evidence had been brought forward that what was called the "antibiotic" prejudice was in any degree overcome.

The excitement, wakened by the cable soundings, over these questions induced the British Government to strip the good ship "Challenger" of her war rig, and equip her with the varied appliances of science, to cross the broadest breadths of the ocean, and dredge her deepest depths. Vast ridges nearly north and south, with deep intervals, were found. The mean depth of the ocean is estimated at two thousand fathoms. Beneath the heavy superin-

cumbent pressure animal forms disport themselves, unaware of the weight they carry. They are brought up from their far-down homes, and compelled to sit for their portraits, that the engraver's art may book them in these magnificent volumes, and display them before our eyes. So is every department of nature furnished to be the home of life.

Science may be too positive in her negatives. She cannot affirm that beings cannot "live in a vacuum or in the fire." We do not believe that *life*, conscious being, personality, is dependent on organization, or limited to material incarnations. The seraph of the Old Testament, "that adores and *burns*," has usually been interpreted as a living flame. Such a being might stand unchilled the intensest cold of inter-stellar space, or live congenially in the center of a planetary fire-ball not yet shelled with an incrusted surface. We do not believe that all is nonentity outside the reach of our senses. Spirits, with or without their spiritual investments, may find their most glorious homes, and build their most transcendental palaces, on the surface of a half-nebular globe, or amid the slag of a worn-out planet.

Life in Other Worlds: Including a Brief Statement of the Origin and Progress of Life in Our World. By ADAM MILLER, M.D. With an Appendix of Three Sermons by Rev. H. W. THOMAS, D.D. Small 12mo., pp. 279. Chicago: Fox, Cole, & Co. 1878.

Dr. Miller is an eminent physician of the homeopathic school, who has, as a local preacher, been very efficient in the work of German Methodism, in past years. The present volume is an essay toward supplying the intermediate conceptions by which the chasm between our science and our religion may be bridged over, and both be easily thought in harmony. He rejects the Darwinian theory of life, holding it to be unproved, and finds no serious difficulty in the Scripture creation. His fullest discussion is in the department of astronomy. He has an ingenious theory for heating our planet without the use of a burning sun for its stove. The space between the sun and his planets is so cold that the north pole is a fire-brand in the comparison; how, then, can actual heat pass through that space to our earth? Light does, indeed, come from the sun, but heat cannot. How, then, is the heat kindled? The reply is, heat is not a substance, but a *motion;* the *motion* is produced on our earth by the collision of light with our atmosphere. Our atmosphere is, indeed, a lens; and the heat is produced by it just as by a glass lens with which a German smoker may light his pipe. The sun, then, may just as well be a snow-ball as a fire-

ball, being surrounded with a luminous coating which forever sends its arrows of light to our earth; arrows which kindle to fire as they strike our coating of air. Whence comes the eternal supply of light to the sun, unless direct from the exhaustless Father of Lights, he does not say. But his theory dispenses with the sensational prediction of the scientists, that the sun's fire is slowly going out, and that after all the planets have rushed into his mass, the whole will remain forever a black and lifeless char. In the moral world, too, he entertains the hope of a final cheerful result in eternity.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Tent Work in Palestine: A Record of Discovery and Adventure. By CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER, R. E., Officer in Command of the Surveying Expedition. With Illustrations by J. W. Whymper. Two Volumes. 8vo., pp. 376, 332. Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. New York: Appleton & Co. 1878.

We take to these volumes very kindly at first sight. The paper, the type, the mechanical work, are of the best. If a typographical error exists in them, it has not been our hap to light upon it. The page is so open and pleasant to the eye that as we read we seem to be looking into an honest man's face.

Our readers are, doubtless, aware that a few years ago societies were organized for a thorough systematic and scientific exploration of Bible lands. The different branches have their several fields. The American Society has been requested to undertake the Land of Moab. The English Society has chosen Western Palestine, and has made such a beginning as will, we trust, provoke the other organizations to similar good works.

In pursuance of the plans adopted by the Committee, Captain Stewart, of the Royal Engineers, began in January, 1872, the topographical survey of the territory in question, which extends from the Lebanon Mountains to the southern borders of Judah, and from the Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea, comprising an area of 6,000 square miles. His health, however, failed almost at the outset, and he was compelled to return to England, and Lieutenant Conder, also of the Royal Engineers, was appointed to the command of the expedition. Arriving in Palestine in July, 1872, the party spent three years in the work. When among the mountains of Upper Galilee they were attacked by the fanatical population of a Moslem village; every man of them (five Europeans and ten

natives) was more or less injured, and the officer in command compelled to cease from his labors, and seek health in his native England. He saved his papers, however, and has been engaged the past three years in arranging his mass of materials for publication. His survey covered 4,700 square miles. The remaining 1,300 were surveyed in 1877, by Lieutenant Kitchener, whose safety had been rendered more assured, meanwhile, by the condign punishment of the actors in the murderous attack of 1875.

The two volumes before us do not contain the scientific results of the expedition. These will be published in another work, which is now in process of preparation, with an entirely new map of Palestine, giving the location of every place as ascertained by the recent survey. The present work is a preliminary publication, narrating the haps and mishaps, the adventures and observations, of these three years spent among the mountains, the plains, the deserts, and the mongrel people, of the Holy Land. The thorough character of the general plan of the final report is seen in the following statement of Lieutenant Conder: "The survey is being prepared in twenty-six sheets. The plan will show towns, villages, ruins, roads, water-courses, buildings, tombs, caves, cisterns, wells, springs, and rock-cut wine-presses. The hills will, also, be delineated, and the cultivation shown, olives, figs, vines and palms being distinguished, and the wild growth, oak-trees, scrub, and principal separate trees will appear. The Roman milestones on the roads are marked, and every similar relic of antiquity; the heights of the various principal features are given; and the levels of the Sea of Galilee and Dead Sea have been fixed within a foot."—Pref., p. xvi.

All this is to be given on the scale of *an inch to the mile.* It is evident that the plan surpasses any thing that has gone before it in reference to Palestine, and that soon Bible students in all Christendom will be put in possession of new treasures of knowledge. The narrative of personal adventure is a happy introduction to the work which is to follow, and, moreover, has no small value of its own. The two, in fact, ought to be examined together.

The English Society have reason to be gratified with the rich fruits of their great enterprise; every mile of their allotted territory has been examined by scientific eyes. The men whom they chose for the work seem to have possessed rare qualifications. Lieutenant Conder has made no mean attainments in the sciences, the language, and the history involved in his mission; added to this

is a power of observation and description not always found in connection with such attainments. He seems to see every thing, not only the mountains and the plains, the forest and river, but beasts and birds, flowers and insects. He studies the people of various races in the land, their *physique*, their mental powers, their morals, their language, the manners and customs of their daily life, and the tools with which they do their daily work. Of the varied scenes which he witnesses, grave and gay, beautiful and grotesque, he gives graphic description. He has something of the poetic spirit withal, and when he stands upon some peak of Lebanon, at sunset, and describes the long shadows of the mountains, as they stretch onward over the plains, and fill the valleys with a steadily rising tide of darkness, or when he tells of the bright stars of the Syrian sky, there is a simple beauty in his speech which assures us that the word only does justice to the fact. The engravings, thirty-two in number, are new and good.

The last one hundred and thirty pages of the second volume we have read with especial satisfaction. They treat of the origin of the Fellahin, or peasants, their life and habits; the Bedawin, or Arabs; the Jews, Russian and German; and the fertility of Palestine. These are all described with a closeness of observation and a completeness of statement which are wholly beyond the reach of the rapid tourist, however intelligent and truthful. Lieutenant Conder is as skillful with the pen as with the theodolite, and we commend his work to the reader without reservation.

History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland Chiefly. By Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, late Professor in Ordinary of Theology at Basel. Translated from the Fourth Revised Edition of the German, by EVELINA MOORE. Vol. I., 8vo., pp. 422. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878. Special edition imported by Scribner & Welford, New York. Price, $3.

Delivered originally as a course of lectures, this history, notwithstanding its thorough scholarly character, has a freedom and freshness of style very acceptable both to the student and the popular reader. The events are narrated with a pictorial vividness, the characters are portrayed with a living reality. For Luther, the principal figure, the writer has, notwithstanding a free dealing with his faults, a personal love. The attendant characters of Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Ulric von Hutten, are delineated large as life. And while the narrative cannot widely vary from what has long since become fixed and well-ascertained history, it wears all the colorings of a grand romance.

This interest is specially vivid during the period when the Ref-

ormation is a unit, with Luther for its personal center, and the scene is perpetually expanding over wider areas, into larger events, and more decisive successes; it fades as soon as the quarrels between the Reformers commence, when fracture and disaster break upon us, ominous of reaction, and prophetic of the woes of the coming Thirty Years' War, in which the destinies of religious freedom in Europe are at stake. Up to this period of discord, Luther's career is an advancing climax. He is a rare historic moral hero. He had at the Diet of Worms an opportunity, perhaps unparalleled in history, for a display of personal moral sublimity, and nobly and sublimely, yet not theatrically, did he perform. There was now and then an exuberant hyperbole of language on his way to the Diet that might have been spared. Some one has said that Wesley would have gone to Worms and have said nothing about "the devils plenty as tiles." Paul's last journey to Jerusalem in face of certain doom was a scene of pathos which heightened and softened the modest firmness. In Luther, the earthly grandeur of the powers he was to face awakened all the grandeur of his own soul. Yet he felt, additionally to all his own natural heroism, an incoming power not his own, buoying him up, and making every step firm and graceful over the surface of the underlying volcano. When in his after days he reviewed his own high bearing, he doubted whether the power for such action was truly in his own nature, and recognized the divine uplifting. In our argument with Professor Newcomb, on a previous page, we need not have hesitated to quote this lofty instance of a "scrutable" manifestation of the Divine, pouring the energy of a powerful manhood into a man of heroic faith. The question, *Was it a miracle?* would be too technical. If by *miracle* is meant an interposition between the sequences of physiological nature of an antecedent from above, we answer unquestionably, *Yes.* If by *miracle* be meant a violation of law, we reply, *No.* Such interchange between the physical course of nature and the dealings of the Divine is according to the normal rule of divine conduct, and is a true fulfillment of law.

One great merit of Luther seldom noticed is his doctrine of *tolerance*, in which he was almost the only true Protestant of his age, and anticipated a truth the world is even yet slow to learn. This doctrine he maintained not when he was the weaker party and needed the tolerance; it was when he was in power, and tolerance was a self-restraint. It was to his patron, the elector, about to do violence to the "prophets of Zwickau," who were

dishonoring the Reformation by their fanaticism, that Luther laid down the law of tolerance as clearly as, after centuries have passed, it could now be stated. Says our historian: "Luther applied to the elector through his friend Spalatin, and conjured him not to stain his hands with the blood of the prophets. In this he followed the true evangelical principle, *to which he adhered throughout his life*, namely, that truth cannot be disseminated, or error be checked, by violence; and when, at a later period, Calvin and Beza held the tenet that it is right and necessary to inflict capital punishment upon heretics—that is, those who hold mistaken opinions on the subject of religion—Luther's better and humaner sentiment recoiled affrighted."

In the cheery face and hilarity of manner with which Luther seemed to render his darkest trials endurable to himself we recognize a typical trait of our own American Lincoln. In both men under that light and foamy surface there were what depths!—depths of sadness, earnestness, wisdom, probity. In Lincoln's case a tragic end has rendered him an ideality in history, a truth stranger than fiction. Even before the lapse of time has softened his image with its shades, we already forget that he was our living contemporary, and place him almost amid the myths of antiquity.

The Origin of Nations. In Two Parts. On Early Civilizations; On Ethnic Affinities, etc. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford, and Canon of Canterbury, Author of "The Four Great Monarchies," etc. 12mo., pp. 292. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1878.

A very valuable work on comparative chronology, sacred and profane, from a very high authority. In Part First, a scientifico-historical investigation and estimate of the early chronology of the earliest nations are given, with a comparison with the early biblical dates. In Part Second we have a survey of that wonderful ethnological chart given in the tenth chapter of Genesis; the various lines of descent from the primitive stock as there given are traced, and the true identifications, by the light of the latest investigations, with the later history and modern races, are ascertained. Biblical scholars will find this little work specially valuable as affording light upon some important questions.

In the first place the assumption made, even as a part of "science," that man began a "savage," and that ascending progress is the uniform law, is unquestionably antihistorical and false. All the recollections of the race point to a primitive "golden age,"

and in this the consensus of the nations is so uniform as to assure its authority. The post-diluvians inherited the antediluvian civilization. Hence Assyria and Egypt are found to begin as civilized originals. There is, we believe, no exclusive stone age in those regions; and the so-called stone ages of Europe are later degenerations, arising from the distant emigration from the eastern seats. The dating of these stone ages back to pre-adamic antiquity is to be trampled upon as a pseudo-scientific fiction. Rawlinson does not explicitly say this last; but we do, and his whole work assumes its truth as a basis.

Rawlinson makes no attempt to reconcile the chronologies of the other nations of antiquity with the modest figures of the Hebrew Genesis. The more extended chronology of the Septuagint, however, covers every difficulty, even the difficulty of the claims of Egypt, by the reckoning of the more modern Egyptologists. It seems to us that the Septuagint translators, whose work was done in Egypt, were met by the chronological difficulty, and stretched the original text in their translation in order to cover the grounds. Many will prefer to assume the truth of the Hebrew, and to leave the discrepancy unreconciled. They will hold that, compared with any other chronology, the Hebrew is the most authoritative, and whatever contradicts it is false. This higher authority arises from at any rate two facts. First, the Hebrew is the only clear consecutive history covering the whole grounds, the rest are patches and tatters; and, second, the very modesty of the Hebrew is the contrast of simple truth with high antiquarian pretension. Said George Syncellus, ten centuries ago, "The writers on Chaldæan antiquity consider the accounts of Egyptian antiquity to be fabulous, and the writers on Egyptian antiquity hold a similar opinion with respect to the accounts of Chaldæan antiquity. Neither regards the other; but each weaves spider's webs in glorification of its own nation."

The early Egyptian chronology is a sham. It was a sham as first manufactured by the Egyptian priests. It is a sham when patched together and offered to our attention by modern Egyptologists. It has, indeed, been faithfully, laboriously, and honestly patched by them; but the highest merit of the work is its showing itself to be, earlier than the eighteenth dynasty, good for nothing. We laugh the gentleman in the face who quotes it as weakening the Genesis chronology. If, however, any one prefers to take the Septuagint and reconcile the other chronologies with its figures, he has an easy, if a satisfactory, task.

The Second Part of the book will be found very valuable to the student who wishes to connect history with its primeval sources. The African races are, of course, not traced very far. But there are a few tribal names in the chart that look like stems from which the branches may have spread and flourished southward. Yet if Professor Winchell or any other ethnologist chooses to believe, on grounds satisfactory to himself, that the southern African races originated in Lemuria or some contiguous region, although we do not believe with him, we do not know a single text of Scripture that conclusively contradicts him. We decline to believe because we have seen no adequate proof.

The Invention of Printing. A Collection of Facts and Opinions descriptive of Early Prints and Playing-cards, the Block-books of the Fifteenth Century, the Legend of Laurens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, and the work of John Gutenberg and his Associates. Illustrated with fac-similes of early types and wood-cuts. By THEO. L. DE VINNE. Second Edition. 8vo., pp. 557. New York: Francis Hart & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

Of all human inventions, that of recording thought for transmission to contemporaries and for accumulation for posterity is the one which, without changing human nature, has most improved and elevated human conditions. It was a double process: the first part consisting in a perfected alphabet, and the second in a perfected typography. Neither of these two products had an inventor, for the remains of the olden times in regard to each show that the ultimate achievement was attained by infinitesimal advancements through ages by a succession of contributors. Letters have failed to record the name of their inventor, for the name of Cadmus simply signifies *The East*, and indicates only that the Greek alphabet and ours had their origin in the Phenician or Hebrew. Research has developed the fact that the last touch of improvement was given to typography by John Gutenberg; but it requires a dissertation to explain what his contribution was, and the unreflective mind might pronounce it a very minor achievement. For this final step the conditions to success were: 1. A surface on which the print could be impressed, which had long existed in the form of paper; 2. The proper ink, for which both the ingredients and the methods were already well known; 3. A reading public sufficiently large to furnish market for whole editions of a given book, and this had been created by the large amount of manuscript books, of picture books and cards, and educational horn-books, produced by wood-engravers. 4. All now wanted was a good, delicate, movable, metallic type, run in a mold, and made

with clean exactness. And this was the single work of John Gutenberg, "the inventor of printing." Measured by its intrinsic magnitude it seems small enough; but measured by its secured, and, indeed, its immediate results, it was stupendous. The large edition was now an assured possibility, and the entire face of human improvement was changed.

Lately-found documents have dispersed many a popular tradition in regard to this last achievement. Gutenberg had the fate of a great many inventors. He worked long and patiently before results were attained. He struggled under want of pecuniary means. Of course, a greedy capitalist steps in, first patronizing, and then cheating him. In the present case said capitalist appears in the person of John Faust, or Fust, whom popular tradition has called the "inventor," but who invented nothing but methods of fleecing the true inventor. Having got Gutenberg into his power, he ejected him from the business, and substituted in his place a smart and nice young man, destined to be his son-in-law. Gutenberg, however, resumed work on his own bottom, and was admitted to the court of his petty sovereign, but died apparently poor and alone.

Mr. De Vinne has performed his work as a historian of this great subject with admirable ability and success. His work is the product of wide reading and thorough research. As a practical printer, he understands fully "the art and mystery" of his subject; as a reflective thinker, he comprehends its divine philosophy in its wide bearings; as a writer, he unfolds his views in a clear, fresh, and vigorous style. His book traces with great power one of the most wonderful lines of human history. It throws a clear light on the conditions and progress of the human intellect in the Middle Ages of Europe, and the genesis therefrom of our modern civilization.

Students' Ecclesiastical History. The History of the Christian Church during the First Ten Centuries, from its First Foundation to the Full Establishment of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papal Power. By PHILIP SMITH, B. A., Author of "The Students' Old Testament History," and "The Students' New Testament History." With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 618. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Mr. Smith does not claim to have based his history in research among original documents and authorities; he assumes to stand as mediator between the great standards of Church history, German and English, and the popular reader or the young student. His purpose is by a compactness which does not lose clearness and coloring to furnish a practical *manual*. Its divisions are well ar-

ranged; its full index, with an admirable chronology adjusted to it, renders reference easy; while its copious supply of authentic engravings in ecclesiastical archæology bring vividly before the mind's eye suggestive images of the early Christian ages. The spirit of the author is in sympathy with his subject, with the ages he describes, and the nobler characters he delineates. The history of the Christian Church thus written is inspiring to the Christian heart.

The present volume covers the first ten centuries. A second will give the history of the Church of the Middle Ages, and a third of the Reformation. The present work begins with the divine founding of Christianity, and ends with the Papacy at its zenith. The spirit is unpartisan and moderate. The author is not high-Church, but, while he lacks the full pictorial style of Pressensé, he is less radical in his views.

He recognizes the divine consecration of Sunday as a permanent Christian Sabbath, although not technically distinguished by that name by the early Christians, but as "Lord's Day." He affirms not only the authenticity of the apocalypse, but, what is quite as important, he affirms the Domitianian date of that book, and attributes the modern questioning of that date to neological motives. The desire of the German exegetes to find Nero in the Apocalypse, and thus invalidate its canonicity, is the real ground for assailing the date of Domitian. Mr. Smith truly says, "No writer of the first three centuries gives any other date;" and he might have added, no writer before the sixth century gives the Neronian date. Through five centuries there is but one questioner of the Domitianian date, Epiphanius, and he gives a date which nobody believes, and then contradicts it himself.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By Rev. J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D. D. Translated by WILLIAM L. R. CATES. Volume VIII—Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Netherlands, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Norway. 12mo., pp. 368. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The history of which this is the final volume is too well known to need a new introduction to the reading public, and too well established in the public estimation to require new eulogies. There is a fascination in the pages of Merle D'Aubigné, which transcends that of romance as much as truth is superior to fiction. This volume is equal in interest and value to any that has preceded it in the series. The special fields which it traverses are Spain, with Charles V., Torquemada, the Inquisition, and the Spanish martyrs,

in the foreground; England, with Henry VIII., Cranmer and Latimer, Gardiner, Bonner, and Norfolk, the executioner's ax active, and the fires of Smithfield fiercely blazing; and Germany, with its multiplied strifes and local conflicts, the foul and furious excesses of Bokhold, Rottman, and Knipperdoling, who enacted Mormonism three centuries before Brigham Young. A description of the calm and peaceful death of Luther, at Eisleben, on the night of February 18, 1546, forms a fitting close to this, the final volume of the series that records the various fortunes and ultimate triumph of the great reform which he was the human instrument of inaugurating.

A General Index to the whole work fills ninety-four pages, and adds greatly to its value. One of the novelties of the present volume is a *fac-simile* of the famous Indulgence issued by Pope Leo X., the hawking of which by Tetzel precipitated the conflict between Luther and Rome. This document, whose fitting place would have been at the beginning rather than at the end of the history, comes in at this late hour, because no copy could be obtained till very recently, when one came into the possession of the British Museum, and was kindly loaned for the purpose. An examination of this Indulgence reveals the fact that among the sins too enormous for its powers, and for which it could promise no exemption from penal fires, is the *importation of alum into the States of the Church.* The secret of this exception was, that his Holiness the Pope owned certain alum manufactories at Tolfa, and found the monopoly very lucrative. Pardons could be bought by the ream for murderers, robbers, and perjurers, but not for dealers in foreign alum. Think of St. Peter, after he receives the keys, marking off as his own a corner of Gennesaret, and threatening to lock the gates of heaven against all who dare to fish in the prohibited waters.

Illustrated History of Ancient Literature, Oriental and Classical. By JOHN D. QUACKENBOS, A.M., M.D. Author of "Illustrated School History of the World." Accompanied with Engravings and colored Maps. 12mo., pp. 432. New York: Harper & Bro., 1878.

It is something like an originality to introduce into this little manual a concise and clear survey of the latest developments of ancient ethnology. The literature of the earliest races is the token of their earliest civilization, and hence the historian of their literature must trace the origins of and relations of the races themselves. Readers, therefore, who have not become posted in the morning twilight of the Aryan, the Semitic, the Assyrian, Egyp-

tian, and Chinese races, will find in the first of the three parts of the book a very luminous, well illustrated and brief synopsis of the subjects.

In a comparative chronological table of the earliest literatures, our author places the Aryan Vedic hymns earlier than Abraham, and far earlier than the Pentateuch. And this is, doubtless, true, if Moses originated the Genesis history, both in form and substance. But we have long professed to coincide with those scholars who for the last fifty years, at least, have held Moses to have been rather the compiler than originator of the history previous to his own time. Whence came his genealogical record, but from the antediluvian age through his ancestral line of Shem? In that line Abraham comes from Assyria; and how else than through tradition from him did Moses obtain that clear "Hymn of the Creation," of which the Assyrian version is a crude metrical distortion? We hesitate not to believe, therefore, that the Shemite is the earliest of all extant human literatures.

The two other parts of the book give us Greek and Roman literatures. They, of course, go concisely over the routine histories according to the latest authorities. The maps and charts of the book are very admirable and convenient.

Benjamin DuPlan, Gentleman of Alais, Deputy General of the Reformed Church of France from 1725 to 1763. By D. BONNEFON, Pastor of the Reformed Church of Alais, Department of Gard. 12mo., pp. 370. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1878.

Another chronicle of the piety and constancy of the Protestant martyrs during the dark days when Rome was employing every measure that bigotry and hate could devise for the suppression of Scripture truth. The narrative of M. Bonnefon is of personal and local rather than of general interest; yet it deals in the genuine facts of the times of which it treats, and shows how, for many years preceding the French Revolution, the Romish priesthood of that country, by their arrogance and cruelty, were steadily revealing themselves more and more clearly, not only as the enemies of true religion, but as the worst oppressors of the people. It was not Voltaire and Diderot, with their learning and wit, but the priests, with their immorality, cruelty, and greed, that made France seem for a time infidel, or even atheistic.

Periodicals.

The American Antiquarian. A Quarterly Journal, devoted to Early American History, Ethnology, and Archæology. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET. Terms, $2 per year, in advance. Cleveland, O.: Brooks, Schinkel, & Co.

The noiseless rise of an archæological periodical near the center of our North America is a pleasant phenomenon. There is an abundance of material, and the periodical has plenty of very interesting work on its hands. It is an enterprise worthy of public attention and liberal support. In this number we have a full and valuable article on the American exhumed potteries; on the Northwestern traditions of "the Deluge;" on an ancient engraved stone in Ohio; on prehistoric ruins in Missouri; on the Klamath language of Oregon; and on the location of Indian tribes. The editor closes with an interesting series of notes and book reviews. From the latter we infer that his archæology does not include the doctrine of the plurality of human origins.

Mr. Peet is a lover and very much a master of his work. The facts he collects are very suggestive, and it were a misfortune if they were left unrecorded.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die Idee eines Goldenen Zeitalters, (The Idea of a Golden Age.) Von Dr. E. PFLEIDERER. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1877.

A historico-philosophical attempt to take the bearings of the age, and determine what good reasons we have for looking for an essential ultimate renovation of the secular condition of humanity. The work is constructed by help of the tradition of a golden age; and it asks: Was that first golden age a sort of prophecy of what is finally to be realized as positive history? In a word, Is humanity making real *progress?* Before answering this question the author shows that we must first settle the sense of the term. For, evidently, "to progress" is something more than simple motion forward. A child, lost in a forest, may be continually going forward, and yet not make a step of progress. So a nation, or the race, may go through all sorts of revolutions and changes, may tear down and build up, may invent and discover a thousand new things, and yet not make the least real progress. *Progress implies an ideal goal.* To progress we must progress toward *something.* What possibility of progress, if pantheism is true? None at all. There can be only a monotonous vibration between evo-

lution and involution. The divine life pulsates out into reality, and then recedes back into itself, as the wave rolls back into the ocean. Nor can the fashionable school of pessimism talk of *pro*gress. Its progress is *re*gress. The owl cannot stand the sunlight, but hastens back to its cavern. Humanity is only getting worse and worse: life is really not worth living. None can logically speak of progress but idealists or supernaturalists. And such is the stand-point of Dr. Pfleiderer. Fixing before him an ideal of morality and well-being for the race and for the individual, he asks: "Are we drifting toward its realization?" The problem, as thus stated, gives him ample occasion for keen criticisms upon the thousand changes, improvements, discoveries, hobbies, chimeras, social or political reforms, real or pretended, which are now agitating the public mind. What movements are *over*done? and what *under*done? Are wars going to become much less frequent? How are the laboring classes to be relieved? Is the average length of life in enlightened countries much on the increase? How far will machinery yet lessen the necessity of toil? Will all nations ultimately become republican? What of the woman question? What of capital punishment? All of these problems Dr. Pfleiderer grapples with as a true philosopher. He is cool. He weighs the reasons on both sides. His collective verdict will satisfy neither the sardonic pessimist nor the hot-headed radical. It will satisfy only the man of sober sense. Is humanity progressing? Yes; but only slowly. Is humanity going to enter upon a new golden age? Yes; but only in the distant future, and after immense obstacles are removed. Do men commit fewer murders than formerly? Yes; but those that are committed are perpetrated with intenser wickedness. Can a nation, by majority vote, *legislate* social vices and evils out of existence? The more rational and Christian way is to guard against their external outbreak, and to aim at the instillation of sound ethical principles, but yet to suffer the tares and the wheat to grow side by side unto the harvest. What virtue is of highest value, and is most needed in this present age? *Patience*, and patient persistence in unselfish hard work. Such is the tone and drift of Dr. Pfleiderer's thoughtful and suggestive little work.

Ursprung und erste Entwickelung der Kirche Christi. Von Dr. H. V. Andrae. Frankfurt-am-Main. Heyder und Zimmer. 1876.

A commentary in the form of lectures on the book of Acts. It is an attempt to realize the whole historical and spiritual situation

during the genesis period of the organic Church. In tone the work is richly evangelical; in style, popular and attractive; in matter, conservative, but fresh and stimulating. We note a few points: The ascension of Christ did not signify that heaven is up beyond the blue clouds; it was, rather, a simple object lesson: it indicated to the disciples that their Master was now passed into the sphere of the supernatural, where he was no longer bound to the limits of time and space, but would henceforth be to his followers a spiritual omnipresence in all time and all space. The electing a successor to Judas was not an over-hasty blunder. But Peter was directly led to propose it by the impulse of the Spirit, under the study of the Scriptures. The election address of Peter was delivered to the apostles, together with the whole body of *male* believers, from which Dr. Andreæ makes a wholesale inference against the participation of women in Church government. The communism that existed momentarily, and for merely local reasons, differed totally from modern communism. *It* was absolutely unselfish, the latter is absolutely selfish. *It* said: "All mine is thine;" the latter says: "All thine is mine." The one is the spirit of love; the other is the spirit of hate. In regard to the mission of Philip at Samaria, the author says: "Philip hesitated not to baptize the people by masses, much as was done subsequently in the conversion of the Germanic tribes under Charlemagne. He baptized adults while as yet they had a mere incipient faith, and were unregenerated, hoping that they would obtain through communion with the Church that which they yet lacked." The offices of bishop, elder and deacon were but nebulously distinguished in the New Testament Church. Neither office had the least shadow of a "clerical" character. In the entire New Testament there is not a shadow of distinction between *clergy* and *laity*. The idea of a law of moral order in the universe is intuitive even in the lowest stage of human existence. It may be distorted in its application; it may represent the just Father as capricious or tyrannical; but it is *there*, and that, too, with sufficient clearness to superinduce responsibility, and to necessitate the generation of moral character.

Die Philosophie der Geschichte. (Philosophy of History.) Von Dr. R. Rocholl. Göttingen, 1878. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

A prize essay (pp. 411) on the Philosophy of History, "crowned" by the philosophical faculty of the University of Göttingen. It is an excellent book on the highest possible of themes. The name itself of Rocholl would promise much; but when a faculty con-

taining men like Lotze and Baumann stamps its approbation on a work, all doubt is banished at once. For theologians, especially, the theme is of intensest interest. The question examined is, In how far has uninspired human thought succeeded in constructing a rationally consistent and satisfactory conception of the universe as a whole? In other words, How far has humanity already progressed in its search after God? and how far is there good reason to expect that it may yet attain? Or, still otherwise put, Is the progress of science progress toward the knowledge of God? Some of the positions maintained are these: All truth is one. Nature and the intuitions and the Scriptures are, all *three*, revelations from the great Source of all. Natural law, intuition, Bible text, are parts of the same one truth. It is only ignorance that can be shy of the one and idolatrous of the other. Each of the three, logically followed out, lands us in God. Each of the three, fully developed, embraces the whole of the other two. All three move upon converging lines; ultimately they will meet and become identical. The three sciences to which they give birth differ from each other only because, and in so far as, they are as yet but partially complete. *Physics*, matured, will embrace a knowledge of mind and God; for nature springs of mind, and is governed by *the* mind. *Metaphysics*, matured, will embrace nature and God; for it inquires after the ultimate reason and facts of existences. *Theology*, matured, will include nature and philosophy; for its theme is God and the works of God. Thus these three are (or will be) one. And whosoever earnestly and honestly works in any one of the fields is a miner after the truth. And good work in either of the fields is holy and transfigured work. The collective drift of humanity is a drift toward God. We emerge from chaos, enter into the dawn, open our eyes for the rising sun, and mount up toward the noonday. The full philosophy of history is as yet far from written, for all truth is yet far from discovered. Dr. Rocholl sketches the progress already made, and indicates the road yet to be traversed.

Geschichte der Inquisition. (History of the Inquisition.) Von F. Hoffman. Bonn: Neuffer. 1878.

An able account of the origin and acts of the Inquisition, based on authentic sources. The last score of years have brought to light not a few fresh chapters in this horrible story. The author takes advantage of all these, also calls in the help of the Döllinger Catholic party, and thus furnishes a more complete, as well as

more reliable, work than has as yet been accessible to the public. The author writes not as a champion of Protestantism, but as a simple historian of authenticated facts, and as a hater of cruelty and wrong. No doubt this will make his work all the more effectual in very large circles. Dr. Hoffman expresses the firm belief that only prudential motives hinder now, or ever can hinder, the Romish hierarchy from using the same violence against freedom of conscience as in the past. But is he not wrong when he implies that the Inquisition *spirit* is inseparable from every ecclesiastical hierarchy? and that spiritual power in the hands of ambitious prelates, Greek or Protestant, may and does as effectually kill off the *souls* of all opponents as did the Romish Inquisition kill their bodies? With these slight cautions, the book deserves a very wide patronage.

Wissenschaftliche Vorträge über religiöse Fragen. Frankfurt-am-Main: Diesterweg. 1877.

Three very valuable essays on "The Idea of God," "The Christ of History and of Faith," and "The Kingdom of God and the Church," by, respectively, Professor R. A. Lipsius, Dr. H. Schultz, and Professor K. Köhler. Professor Lipsius admits the logical difficulties of conceiving God as personal. But he shows that neither pantheism nor materialism furnish any relief. They satisfy neither head nor heart. And yet our theological demonstrations of the existence of God have no cogency for the unbeliever. The really solid ground for faith in God, in his opinion, is an imperative of our moral freedom; in other words, it is a psychological necessity. The best work is done by the theologian, not by attempting a direct proof that there *is* a God, but by demonstrating the scientific rationality of our *faith in* God. The other two essays are no less able than that of Dr. Lipsius.

Miscellaneous.

The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice. By ALFRED CAVE, B.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. 8vo., pp. 524. Special Edition imported by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, New York. Price, $6.

The object of this able and scholarly work is to show that the death of Christ is literally *sacrificial.* It was *the* literal sacrifice, while all the sacrifices of the Old Testament were the symbolical. To show this he institutes a fundamental examination of the origin of sacrifices, tracing their history from the family of Adam, through

the patriarchal, into the fullness of the Mosaic dispensation. In this process he rejects all extra-biblical history and speculation, and reposes full faith in the sufficiency of the divine record for the complete development of the truth on this great topic. In going over the Old Testament ground the author gives very interesting critical reviews of the older investigators, as Spencer, and Outram, and the later Bähr, Kurtz, and Hengstenberg. From a full analysis of the sacrifices of the older dispensations he deduces the principles which ascertain the nature of the atonement. Theologians inclined to take the short intuitional cut to the "moral influence," or purely manward theory, of the atonement, as what necessarily must be, must acknowledge that the advocates of a sterner theory ground their views in a most thorough research into the foundations of the New Testament in the Old. In surveying the sacrifice of the New Testament our author reviews successively the atonement of the Gnostics, the Unitarians, the Church Fathers, of Anselm, Duns Scotus, Abelard, Grotius, and Limborch; and of the latest writers, Campbell, Bushnell, and Dale. He thence is led to discuss the various themes of the Eucharist, as the Romanist, the Lutheran, the Zuinglian, the Socinian, and the Calvinistic theory.

It seems to be rather clear that with thinkers of the present day who discard the strictly vicarious view of the atonement, the structure of the entire theology grows loose in the joints, and tends to tumble into a disorderly mass. Yet it is equally clear that the Christianity of the first three centuries contented itself with the purely biblical statements, without aspiring to push their analysis of the biblical formulæ to their ultimate. Mr. Cave makes it apparent that early post-apostolic Christianity was not well read in the Old Testament, and failed of the true view, probably from not tracing the truth to its primordial foundations.

The Ceramic Art. A Compendium of the History and Manufacture of Pottery and Porcelain. By JENNIE J. YOUNG. With 464 Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 499. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Even more than the art of printing, pottery is a wonderful symbol of human progress. Clay vessels were among the most obvious and most easily made among human utensils, and their imperishable material and fabric gave them a permanence. Hence in different countries of the world they turn up to the spade of the scientific excavator, and tell of long past "prehistoric ages." Then their growing beauty shows a growing civilization, and the sudden stop of improvement marks the era of race decline. This

historic value gives a dignity to the popular enthusiasm of the hour for "ceramics." The volume of Miss Young, with its graceful style, its elegant book-making, its rich and varied engravings, and its interesting histories and discussions, is, therefore, "a feature" of the times.

The Atlantic Islands, as Resorts of Health and Pleasure. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 274. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

It is a delightful pleasure tour to range with Mr. Benjamin through the "Islands." The scenes in picture so richly here presented are, perhaps, even more enjoyable than the same scenes in reality. From the summer isles of the South, the Bahamas, the Azores, we suddenly leap to the Isles of the British Channel. We visit in devious course Madeira, Teneriffe, Newfoundland, the Bermudas, and Belle-Isle-en-Mer. We predict that before many years George Island, on the coast of Florida, will be thought quite worthy the tourists' visit.

Baptisma; A Threefold Testimony: Water Baptism, Spirit-Baptism, and the Baptism of Fire. By Rev. JOHN LATHERN. 16mo., pp. 267. Halifax, N. S.: Rev. A. W. Nicolson.

The topic of baptism, and its mode and subject, is ever freshly springing up in new localities with every new year. Our Canadian author is posted up to the times, and handles his subject with keen point and logic.

The Holy Bible, according to the Authorized Version, (A. D. 1611.) With an Explanatory and Critical Commentary, and a Revision of the Translation. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter. *New Testament.* Vol. I. St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke. Royal 8vo., pp. 472. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

Science for the School and Family. Part I. Natural Philosophy. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D. 12mo., pp. 433. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Modern Dwellings in Town and Country. By H. HUDSON HOLLY. With one hundred original designs. 8vo., pp. 219. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Pointed Papers for the Christian Life. By THEODORE L. CUYLER. 12mo., pp. 363. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

Scientific Memoirs, Being Experimental Contributions to a Knowledge of Radiant Energy. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 473. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Contributions to Natural History, and Papers on Other Subjects. By JAMES SIMSON. 8vo., pp. 210. New York: James Miller. 1878.

Gates into the Psalm-Country. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. 12mo., pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

John whom Jesus Loved. By JAMES CULROSS, A.M., D.D. 12mo, pp. 244. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

Memoirs of John Howard, the Prisoner's Friend. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 235. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

Eventide at Bethel. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 12mo., pp. 277. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Great Slighted Fortune. By J. D. BELL. 12mo., pp. 452. New York: Published by T. Y. Crowell.

The Life and Times of John Knox. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 357 Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

The Broken Walls of Jerusalem and the Rebuilding of Them. By the Author of "Wide, Wide World," "Old Helmet," etc. 16mo., pp. 313. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1879.

Little Lights Along Shore. By PAUL COBDEN. 16mo., pp. 326. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

Peace on Earth, etc. By JAMES P. SIMMONS. Unbound. 16mo., pp. 231. Boston: A. Williams & Co.; Atalanta: Phillips & Crew. 1878.

Villages and Village Life. With Hints for their Improvement. By NATHANIEL HILLYER EGGLESTON. 12mo., pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Oratory and Orators. By WILLIAM MATTHEWS, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 456. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

Shelley. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 12mo., pp. 189. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Hygiene of the Brain and Nerves, and the Cure of Nervousness. By M. L. HOLBROOK, M.D. 12mo., pp. 279. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1878.

Young Folks' History of Germany. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. 12mo, pp. 474. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

The Students' French Grammar. A Practical and Historical Grammar of the French Language. By CHARLES HERON WALL. 12mo., pp. 458. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The Waverley Dictionary. By MAY ROGERS. 12mo., pp. 357. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

The House by the Works. By EDWARD GARRETT. Large 12mo., pp. 334. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Macleod of Dare. By WILLIAM BLACK. Large 12mo., pp. 406. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

HARPER'S HALF-HOUR SERIES, 32mo. *English Literature Primers: Classical Period.* By EUGENE LAWRENCE.—*Epochs of English History: The Settlement of the Constitution.* 1689–1784. By JAMES ROWLEY, M.A.—*Epochs of English History: Modern England.* 1820–1874. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A.—*Stories from Virgil.* By Rev. ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A.—*Some Recollections of Rufus Choate.* By EDWIN P. WHIPPLE.—*Hints to Women on the Care of Property.* By ALFRED WALKER.—*Daisy Miller.* By HENRY JAMES, Jun.—*Behind Blue Glasses.* By F. W. HACKLANDER. Translated by MARY A. ROBINSON.—*The Romance of a Back Street.* By F. W. ROBINSON.—*A Dark Inheritance.* By MARY CECIL HAY.—*A Hand-Book to the Practice of Pottery Painting.* By JOHN C. L. SPARKS.

HARPER'S LIBRARY OF AMERICAN FICTION: *The Virginians in Texas.* By WILLIAM M. BAKER.—*Cousin Polly's Gold Mine.* By Mrs. A. E. PORTER.—*Like Unto Like.* By SHERWOOD BONNER. Unbound. 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *Time Shall Try.* By F. E. M. NOTLEY.—*The Mistletoe Bough.* Edited by M. E. BRADDON.—*The History of a Crime.* By VICTOR HUGO.—*Ellinor Dryden.* By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID.—*Light and Shade.* By CHARLOTTE G. O'BRIEN.—*Love's Crosses.* By F. E. M. NOTLEY.—*Macleod of Dare.* By WILLIAM BLACK.—*The Story of the Christians and Moors of Spain.* By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE.—*Rare Pale Margaret.*—*The Life of the Right Honorable Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.*

Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By FRIEDRICH ADOLPH PHILIPPI. Translated by Rev. J. S. BANKS. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 421. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878.

A Semi-Centennial Sermon, Historical, Biographical, and Itinerary. Delivered before the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, during its Session at Piqua, Ohio, September 4, 1878. By Rev. WILLIAM HERR. Published by request of the Conference. 8vo., pp. 34. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern.

The Expositor. No. 48. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. 1. Balaam's Ass, by Editor. 2. Ministry of Angels, by Rev. R. Winterbotham. 3. The Kind Master. 4. Studies in Life of Christ, by R. M. Fairbairn. 5. "As old as Methuselah," by Rev. R. Balcarnie. 6. Wind and Fire Ministers of God, by the Very Rev. Dean of Petersborough. 7. A Biblical Note, by Dr. James Morison. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Paternoster Row.

Shakspeare's Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Edited with Notes. By WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. 16mo., pp. 285. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Shakspeare's Comedy of Much Ado About Nothing. Edited, with Notes. By WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. 16mo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

ART. XII.—D. D. WHEDON—BIOGRAPHIC.

THE Publishers, having decided to give the readers of the Quarterly a glimpse of their long-time editor, desire a note to accompany the engraving. Yet why a note? Certainly this is not a picture that will need an explanation as to who and what it means. Nor is he a man who needs a biography to describe who and what he is. He is known and read of all Methodists, of all readers of his Review, of all sharp, clear students in the realm of metaphysical dogmatics. He has not yet put off his mortality, and long may it be ere the inner life consumes the outer!

Still, a word may be desired by the reader as he looks at the elegant engraving, and such a word it is proposed should here be given:—

DANIEL DENISON WHEDON was born near Onondaga, N. Y., on the twentieth day of March, 1808. He graduated at Hamilton College when only twenty years of age. A great gulf is fixed between these two sentences; a greater gulf lies before the first. Of his ancestry, paternal and maternal, where bred and how, in New England, in Old England, or elsewhere—these essential factors in the estimation of a man of parts, that often are a preface to the name itself, are here omitted, partly because we have no space at command, if we had materials for their discussion, but chiefly because we are not writing an obituary or a biography, but simply notes to a portrait. He, quite likely, would dispose of the matter as summarily as in his Phi Beta Kappa oration some years since, by saying, "My family is as old as the Duke of Buckingham's,

only I have lost my pedigree." For a like reason all the interesting and important intermediary between birth and graduation are omitted. The youth of a student whose life has been devoted to the highest pursuits of literature and scholarship must be an interesting study, but it requires a chapter in a life, and cannot be crowded into a dozen lines in a Quarterly. After graduation he studied law, in full purpose of pursuing its practice as his life-work; but his conversion so powerfully changed the current of his thoughts and feelings that he at once abandoned the study, never, it is said, even entering the office again. He immediately united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Rome, N. Y., where he was residing, and, after a brief period of waiting, found employment as Teacher of Ancient Languages in the Conference Seminary at Cazenovia. At the time of receiving his Master's degree, he was called back to his *Alma Mater* as a tutor, and, a year and a half later, when only twenty-four years old, elected to the Chair of Ancient Languages and Literature in Wesleyan University. No one of the eminent band that Wilbur Fisk called around him at the opening of his University better proved that the time had come when Methodism had grown scholars capable of handling a college, and, therefore, that the hour was ripe for the creation of a college for them to handle. Augustus W. Smith, John Johnston, and Daniel D. Whedon, three of Fisk's first collaborators, two of them graduates of Hamilton and one of Bowdoin, were severally called to the Chairs of Mathematics, Science, and Ancient Languages. Himself a graduate of Brown, he held the chief Chair of Philosophy. Surely never youthful college started forth with a more brilliant and capable faculty. They all became early eminent outside of their college, and retained the eminence to the last. Only one remains, and he has not been least in fame.

As a professor of Greek, to instruction in which he soon became exclusively devoted, he was very popular. We well recollect his sharp style, fearful to Freshmen, admired of Seniors; for that was a day when this grandest of languages was not confined to the two lower classes, as it is now by the system of electives, whereby every Junior and Senior, except a few strenuous students, carefully selects a series of studies that require no study, and whereby the strongest of all mental stimulants, mathematics, and the richest, the classics, are quietly avoided by both college curriculum and undergraduate selection. There is no "survival of the fittest" in the present American collegiate system. In those days the upper classes read Greek with an instructor who made them see and seize the beauty and the force of those undying masters of human thought and speech. Still, popular as he was in his department, though severely exacting, no higher pleasure could be given a class than, in the temporary arrangements of the Faculty, to have him assigned to the care of them in philosophy. Here, after all, was his most befitting sphere, and in it he shone pre-eminently. He taught his students to think and reason, and that with such force and felicity that reminiscences of it are common among those older classes to this day.

At the Commencement of 1842 he resigned his professorship, and in December following closed his relations with the college, with the purpose of entering the pastorate. As a preacher he had been a great favorite with the students; he was rich and rare; he *thought out* his sermons. "Caviare to the general," lacking or despising the sham gifts of mere manner and voice, the tricks of a pulpiteer, he shone in clearness, freshness, potency of thought, and richness of expression, that were unsurpassed and unequaled even by such mighty masters of the pulpit as Fisk and Olin. It was a treat to the hard-hearted, sharp-witted student when the tall, thin form of this master of logic, rhetoric, and sarcasm stood behind the little chapel desk. The same rare eloquence was fully appreciated in many a country church in the vicinity of the college, and the best congregations of our cities hung delighted on his lips. He entered with delight upon the duties of his new relation; yet he was probably more at home in the professor's chair than in the parsonage. After a couple of years thus employed, he accepted the Chair of Rhetoric, Logic, and History in the University of Michigan, and for seven years discharged its duties with great credit to himself and honor both to the institution and to the Church which he represented. Ann Arbor was, in these respects, but Middletown over again. But the times were troublous; and the popular professor, preacher, and lyceum lecturer, who had seventeen years before been roundly denounced as an apologist for slavery, was suddenly dismissed from his professorship by the State Board of Regents of the University for having dared, in public lectures in several places, but always outside of the college, to give utterance to a manly, Christian protest against the machinations of the slave power, whose devout and humble worshipers they were. He himself has furnished the key to any apparent contradiction in his course in relation to slavery. "For its *existence*," he said, "I did, and would, apologize; but never for its *extension*. I would deal gently with the hereditary sin of its being; but I abhor the stupendous volitional crime of its propagandism." He foresaw with a singular prescience, and predicted, the onward course of proslavery aggression; and for the crime of free speech on the great question which occupied all minds, he was ruthlessly struck down.

After the General Conference of 1852, of which he was a member, he soon finished his work at Ann Arbor, and, leaving behind him hosts of the warmest friends of his life, returned to his old home in the New York East Conference. It was soon evident from his studious habits, his purely college style, and, above all, his increasing deafness, that in the pastorate he was not in his sphere. He was perceptibly out of place. But the Church could not afford to spare from its service this man of wide learning and profound culture while yet in the early years of middle life.

At this hour his friends and old college students conceived the idea of placing him in charge of the Quarterly. They could not elect him *to* the General Conference of 1856, but they did elect him *in* that General Conference, against a most able and accomplished incumbent—not as a re-

flection on the editor that then was, for, though he was deservedly popular for his rare abilities, even his own friends, in some instances, gave their votes for the new nominee. He received the election, and has held the position almost without question for over twenty years.

As this office has opened the way to his real career—that of a writer—it is well to note a novel fact concerning those who secured his election to it. His first writings in the public press, or those, at least, that first drew attention to him, were of a controversial sort, and were on the opposite side from those which won him place and name. The antislavery conflict began properly in 1832 with the publication of the "Liberator." Ardent friends of that journal, of its editor, and cause, sprang up every-where, and nowhere were they more numerous or more ardent than among the Methodists of New England, though Mr. Garrison has never yet acknowledged publicly this obligation. His fine sense of honor should lead him to give this deserved recognition. They did more with him and for him and his cause than all his non-evangelical supporters. In Professor Whedon's own college were students who went out lecturing against slavery, and received the then common reward of mobs and abusive epithets, and sometimes the harder arguments of stones. One of them is the now and long well-known Dr. R. S. Rust. Dr. Fisk, in his genial temperament, disliked the strong though needful words of these abolitionists and their stronger acts. Professor Whedon fleshed his maiden sword in that controversy early in 1835, in a series of articles in "Zion's Herald," in reply to Orange Scott, then leader of the immediate abolitionists. He was also author of the famous "Counter Appeal," signed by Dr. Fisk and others, expressive of the sentiments of the conservative Methodists of New England of that day; a document much maligned, but never refuted, and whose main positions are assented to by the sober sense of the present time. George Thompson was then in this country as a "missionary," and the Professor took him to task for his interference in American politics. Thompson replied with some severity, and added a prayer for his conversion. The prayer was unanswered. But the twenty years that followed were years of rampant slavery aggression: it split the Church in twain; the free North was made the broad hunting-ground of the slave-catcher; and slavery was demanding, as its right, our vast territorial domain once solemnly consecrated to freedom. In the entirely new issues thus brought before them, Whedon and Rust were found standing side by side, and that student who had been sarcastically rebuked by his professor for his antislavery zeal, was one of the chief promoters of his election to the first editorial chair in the Church.

His career in that chair, and in lines of literary and religious work outside the chair, is before the Church and the world. He has made the Review the arena of free Christian thought, never insisting on a rigorous conformity to his own conceptions, though, when needful, uttering a word of caution or dissent. Beyond the contributors of the time of his election, he early began to search out and bring forward the young schol-

arly men of the Church, many of whom have since attained a wide and enviable reputation as writers, and he has thus done much toward the creation of a high literary republic in the denomination. But while contributors have written with brilliancy and power, the productions of his own pen have from the first possessed the most commanding interest. He never speaks to his large audience without something to say, and what he says is said so clearly that the most casual and unlearned reader knows, as well and as delightedly as does the thoughtful and scholarly, precisely what he means. No living writer is master of so trenchant and incisive a style. He penetrates the heart of the matter in hand with a word, and swiftly lays open its beauty and truth, or its deformity and falsity. His book notices, in which he is especially brilliant, frequently condense a volume into a page, or furnish, which pleases him best, a full review of the subject involved. In this department the Quarterly has deservedly attained the highest fame. His own papers have reinforced the theology and polity of the Church with new and most powerful weapons, as well as built them up and defended them against all assailants from whatever quarter; while sometimes stinging almost to madness those who merit castigation, or erecting "a white marble statue of words" for those who deserve fame, probing error to its last hiding-place, and dragging it forth scornfully to the gaze and contempt of his readers. That he is always wise, who can say? that he is never dull, none can doubt.

In 1864 he gave the world his treatise on "The Freedom of the Will as a Basis of Human Responsibility and a Divine Government"—the fruit of twenty-five years of study. He expected it to be the great work of his life. It will surely outlive Edwards's, for it is founded on the spiritual philosophy, and not on that of matter and fate. Its definitions are clear and its logic unanswerable. Difficult of reading, demanding severest study, it is a masterpiece to those who wish to think rightly on this deepest theme. When Calvinism shall cease to boast, and shall dare be philosophical, it will surrender unconditionally before this argument.

The "Commentary on the New Testament," the fifth and final volume of which is now near its completion, is from its nature more widely known than the work on the "Will," and on it his fame with the great body of the people will chiefly rest. It is not, perhaps, generally known that when it was undertaken, some twenty-five years since, it was intended by the Publishers to be simply a "Tract Testament," a single volume with brief notes. But when it was nearly completed, through the urgent solicitation of many well fitted to judge, the whole plan was changed, and the work begun anew. How this man of broken constitution and frail health should have been able, even with his indefatigable industry, to accomplish so much outside of his official duties, and do it so well, is truly a marvel. The same characteristics of style already noted in the Quarterly are abundantly apparent here. "Intended for popular use," as it is, it supplies the ordinary reader with what he needs in clear, compact diction, whose expressiveness he cannot fail to admire,

while the more learned reader is struck with the peculiar felicity and force with which grave problems are solved in a sentence, and difficulties settled at a stroke. The latter knows with what elaboration and care those clear interpretations are produced which, to the former, are so easy and intelligible. No writer has penetrated more deeply into the spirit of the fourth Gospel—the most wonderful of them all—or more beautifully developed the history of the early Church as found in the Acts. On the Epistles, the comment is finely blended with both argument and text at the same time; and it is pre-eminently rich in Romans and Ephesians, the metaphysical epistles. Without parade of scholarship, the most scholarly results are every-where visible; and not a few much-debated questions are solved in an original manner, as well as most conclusively. Indeed, the critical student often finds it clear and decisive on passages and topics where far more pretentious works are obscure or silent. The Commentary stands in the front rank in its department of literature; and some of its highest critical commendations are from across the water, where it appears in a London edition.

His features, as our readers can see, are after the metaphysical type. Were portraits of Calvin, Watson, Arminius, Edwards, and Whedon placed alongside of each other, their heads would all be found to have been built after the same law—narrow, long, high, a steep-roofed house, where the brains are crowded in and up, and are not spread out wide or pressed down low in front. The last are scientists, observers, (if pressed down low behind they are villains, but still scientists, of the most materialistic sort.) The wide heads are literary, high-finished, but not high-thoughted. These peaked brains are penetrative of the secretest on-goings of the mental world. When both broad and high, as in Shakspeare and Bacon, they are masters at once of both thought and expression. These high-roofed brains wrestle together "on *a hill* apart." Among these metaphysical theologians Dr. Whedon will hold very high rank. As he himself says of Agassiz: "He has made scratches on the granite of thought that will not be erased." He has given the highest debate on man, so far as his nature is concerned—a category that future students of these mysteries must respect and accept in its essential idea.

Of his other and literary work we have no space to speak. We presume the space alloted us by the publishers is more than full. The portrait of one whom the Church has long delighted to honor is given the readers of the work they have long delighted to read. They will rejoice to see him at last in his outward guise. May it be long ere that mortality puts on immortality!

Methodist Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1879.

Art. I.—WESLEY AND MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

[ARTICLE SECOND.]

It was shown in our last article that Wesley's scheme of philosophy had contributed no less than the other forces generated by him to the change of English thought from materialism to spiritualism. The state of English philosophy was, also, considered, when he began to preach and to teach—its slavish subjection to the hardest bound materialism under the successive rule of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume; and the like slavish subjection of the Church, both evangelical and ritual, to the same system in its theologic form. The utter prostration of all reformatory and progressive life followed in consequence of these fatalistic beliefs, and brought on "the dead waste and middle of the night" of English thought and action. Well does Dean Stanley call it a barren century. Its barrenness was confined largely to England, and was caused by materialism and fatalism there in school and Church. Not for centuries had England been as lethargic as under these morphitic doses of false philosophy and false theology.*

* Hutton portrays the terrible prostration of all soul force which Calvinism produces in these vigorous words, found in his essay on Hawthorne: "Calvinism, with all its noble features, can never keep its eyes off of that one fact, as it thinks it, of God's calm foreknowledge of a wide-spread damnation; and this gradually encroaches on the attention till the mind is utterly absorbed in the fascinating terror of the problem how to combine the clashing emotions of love and horror which its image of Him inspires."—Vol. ii, p. 45.

The question naturally recurs, How did Wesley, a metaphysician and logician of high rank, a popular student of the first College of Oxford, a popular Fellow and next to the rectorship of another college, get clear of these fetters, and gain the liberty which he has given to the world?

His philosophic change began in the experience which made him an ardent and joyful Christian. This is in itself a transcendental influence, a light above the brightness of the sun, a glory and a mystery: God speaking to the soul and through the soul, and after the language and nature of the soul—not through sensations, nor outward impressions, nor through reflections, whose very name suggests a merely mirror-like character, and no original source and fountain of power. "The strange warmth" was an influence direct from God, without intervention of body or mind. The "visitation of the living God" is what the poet of this experience, in its philosophic mood, happily calls it. That was Wesley's visitation in that hour in Fetter Lane, when, after a night of struggling, this "Sun of Righteousness arose, with healing in his wings." No reader of the "Wrestling Jacob" can fail to see the outbreak of this glory from the highest heavens. It was the dawning of the new day in him and through him to a world sitting in darkness. It was the heavens descending into human hearts, the putting of new life into the race. To describe this feeling is as impossible as to describe any other emotion. Those that have it know it, and those that have it not, cannot know it. "The carnal mind cannot discern the things of the Spirit, for they are spiritually discerned."

But it may be said, Have not others attained this state who have not affected society in the line of spiritualizing philosophy? Yea, verily. And have not others sprung forth in English history professed possessors of this highest grace, and preachers of this highest experience? Hardly. There is something peculiar about the Wesley expression, as though a sunburst had shot upon his soul that never struck his predecessors' experience. Luther's joy in justification is less jubilant; Calvin's hold on the truth is without emotion; Augustine's passion of devotion is more profuse, but not as penetrative. Bunyan's "Pilgrim," had Wesley written it, would have been of a more joyful type. In fact, the Methodist warmth began immediately

to glow in song: such jubilant, almost hilarious song, that for the first time in the history of the Church, it would seem as if James' order was being verified, "Is any *merry?* Let him sing psalms." Luther was joyful and merry, but with a mirth that seemed to have often more of wassail than salvation. His famous distich expresses the key of his social life, and shows that the German people need Methodism to complete what his independency began. Never in all Wesleyanism could such a distich have found place, no, not for an hour. What would the Church and the world say if they should see hung up in saloons, beer-gardens, and drinking dens, Wesley with his pipe and pot of ale and bottle of wine or whisky, and underneath,

> "Wer liebt nicht Weib und Wein und Sang,
> Bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang."
>
> "Who loves not wife and wine and song,
> Stays a fool his whole life long."

That picture, and its utterly impossible counterpart, show the unmeasurable difference between the Lutheran and the Wesleyan revolt and reform. The one broke outward chains, the other, inward. The one was a justifying, the other a sanctifying, grace. The one was a happy earthly state, lapsing into frivolity and fleshliness; the other a beatific, rapt, heaven-dwelling fervor, which made its recipient exclaim, with a boldness that amazed angels,

> "O would He more of heaven bestow,
> And let the vessel break,
> And let my ransomed spirit go
> To grasp the God I seek!"

Fortunate it is for the Church that that powerful cry of ecstatic desire has replaced in the new Hymnal the tame "when," which its former revisers substituted for "let." Strange that "grasp" was not changed to "see," or some such tameness.

Luther never got much above his foe. He was a little more spiritual than Leo and Loyola, and but a little more. Germany through his influence has been held down in its ecclesiastical and social condition, and too often become earthly, sensual, and even devilish. Its present conflict is on the line with those that preceded it. It resists a carnal and material Christianity with carnal and material forces. Perhaps it may wrestle itself

into higher moods. But this is not probable. Such grace comes only of a higher generation. "The new celestial birth" that came upon Wesley in that wrestling hour must come upon the German people through the channels by which it descends to us, even Methodism applied to Fatherland. That is the touch to higher and holier issues which shall lift that strong people out of the slough of sensuousness in which they are now wallowing. As Wesley got his light through a German and mystic Church, the Moravian, so can he properly bestow it upon the German people.

It may be said that Wesley's "strange warmth" is akin to that of Thomas à Kempis, the inner light of the Quakers, and other such *illuminati;* that William Law was its author, and that it rose no higher than its origin. There is one great difference: Their inner light was a cold, dry light. It did not possess warmth. It was a vision, serene, spiritual, divine. But it was a *vision.* It was not a sun, filling the whole heavens with warmth. It was rather a moon, clear, cold, fruitless. Wesley's spiritual state necessitated activity. It was fruitful from the start. The sun was in the soil. It must burst forth in a great harvest of joyous testimonies and more joyous workings.

But this divine light and heat combined, which made the sun of this new system in Christ, was connected with another quality that brings it into the realm of acknowledged philosophy—the freedom of the human will. How John Wesley came to the acceptance of this principle not one of his biographers that we have seen has thought it worthy to declare. And yet this was hardly less influential in his relation to the philosophy of the times, present and to be, than that moment of experience when he felt the stirrings of the life divine in his renewed soul. This doctrine struck deep into consciousness, and at one leap abandoned all the low-bound, sensuous metaphysics of Locke and Hobbes, and abandoned them forever. There is nothing in common between a sensational philosophy and the freedom of the will. If the world without is the author of the world within, then freedom of the will is an absolute impossibility, for the will must be created by the objects of sense, and what they have made they must control. There is no real volitional freedom, possible or conceivable, in a sensational philosophy. There may

be an affirmed freedom, but none that is actual. Hobbes contended that he was a Christian, and perhaps he was, philosophically, as much as Edwards. Edwards had the "strange warmth," but he had no conscious liberty philosophically considered. His system was as hard bound as an iron stove that holds the fiery coals. It was incapable of diffusion. It repressed diffusion. Freedom has no place in his system. It is talked about, but it does not exist. Hence Edwards has never affected the Church spiritually. Most spiritual himself, his unspiritual system destroyed his power.

One can easily see from Locke's writings how little of freedom of choice there was in his theory of the will. He says concerning the question whether man's will be free or no: "It is as insignificant to ask whether man's will be free as to ask whether his sleep be swift or his virtue square, liberty being as little applicable to the will as swiftness of motion is to sleep or squareness to virtue." The editor of his life and works declares that this view agrees with that of Hobbes, who writes against Bishop Bramhall as follows: "In the following of one's hopes and fears consisteth the nature of election; so that a man may both choose this, and cannot but choose this, and, consequently, choosing and necessity go together."* Thus Locke and Hobbes and Edwards are one.

Here, too, Whitefield failed. He is said to have lacked organizing force. He lacked philosophy. He preached with wonderful fervor, but he did not affect the reason. He caught many of Wesley's ideas and developed them; but he ruined all by his morbid Calvinism. How could he preach a free salvation to those whom he believed, according to his dreadful creed, were foreordained from all eternity to damnation or salvation, irrespective of their choice or even desire? It was a burden grievous to be borne by such a minister.

John Wesley may have gotten this center of his theologic or doctrinal system from his intuitions, whence Mr. Isaac Taylor suggests he drew most of his power. If so, his higher reason stood him in good stead. He may have gotten it from Henry More, from William Law, from Boehler and the Moravians; he never got it from Locke or the ruling philosophy. In fact, it has no being in their creed. Mr. Lewes does not find it

* Quoted in "Life and Writings of Locke," vol. ii, pp. 119, 120.

necessary to express the views of these philosophers on this theme, and yet it is the *fons et origo* of all spiritual philosophy. *Cogito, ergo sum*, is Descartes' affirmation of personal existence. This is the source of real philosophy. It can never be found in an empirical, sensational scheme. "*I* think, therefore *I am*," is down deep below all outward surface facts, independent of them, perhaps opposed to them. *I* think, is the grand egoism that is the *primum mobile*, the seed-vital, from which all consciousness, all responsibility, all morality, all humanity, arise. Without this I-ism none of these could *be*, much less grow.

Wherever Wesley may have got this central principle of spiritual, as opposed to material, philosophy, one thing is certain, it grew rapidly in his mind, and became the center of his whole system of faith and philosophy. The absolute freedom of the will was his complete cleaving of all Calvinian knots. They can never survive that descending blade. Such freedom makes man the arbiter of his fate, and not God. It makes religion as simple as eating and drinking, as seeing and hearing. We are not compelled by instinct to eat distasteful food, nor to see disagreeable objects. We are not compelled to be good or holy, or sinful and hateful. Freedom is something more than a name; it is a reality. It is a necessity that it be unnecessitated.

This liberty relieves God. He does not have to father a gigantic brood of shames and crimes. It is impossible on the system of fatalism to avoid making God the author of sin. The machinist who invented Frankenstein was responsible for the horrors of its nature and deeds. How much more God, if he be a machinist who creates every creature, and ordains them to a certain course of conduct. We hardly know the awful nightmare which rested on the human soul under the reign of Edwards and Calvin. As soon as persecution ceased, the horrors of fatalism crushed and crazed many a soul. No wonder it was thrown off as soon as the true light appeared, and the victims of the horrible strangulation were able to catch their breath and get into the life of nature and of God.

Wesley saw that this principle was the key of his system, and he clung to it with unyielding tenacity. Around it he made his whole theology to revolve. If absolutely, honestly, uncondition-

ally free, then must God treat every one after this perfect law of liberty. There must be no discrimination in his arrangements for the salvation of man, nor in his application of these arrangements. The atonement must be universal, otherwise there is partiality, and freedom of the will is a lie; for universal, personal freedom of reception or rejection of this grace cannot exist if this atonement is not prepared for every one. An entertainment cannot be opened to every body equally, if some are not endowed with appetites adapted to the feast. It is a mockery to say to a blind person, "Light is made for every eye." He will well retort, "Why is not every eye made for the light?" A perfect system requires perfect equality in eye and light.

The atonement, if limited, makes liberty of choice of none effect. Why say, "I can have religion," when religion has not been gotten up for me, or really offered to me? To deal squarely, the preparations for salvation must include every soul, and every soul must feel that it has power to freely accept or reject these royal bounties.

But universal atonement must be attended by universal influence. The Holy Ghost must be no respecter of persons. He must not go into the market-place of mankind and select certain favored ones to be influenced unto regeneration, and only partially and powerlessly, or not at all, affect the rest. That is the worst conceivable caste that the wit of man or devil ever devised. No man nor devil ever approached in subtilty of aristocracy such distinctions; for no man nor devil had such gifts in his grasp. It was immortal life, all heaven and for all eternity, he was to thus eclectically parcel out. Not a bit of England for a century, nor a throne in Europe for a dynasty, but all Paradise and forever. Nay, not only was this electing God to thus make a Doomsday-book for the chosen ones—not chosen, as were those of the Conqueror, for their valor and services, but of his good pleasure alone—but he was equally active in reprobating the rest, and that a great multitude, to an endless hell of fire and blackness, and that for no good or evil which they had done, or might or could do. Surely, the fatalism of Hobbes and Calvin, of Locke and Edwards, could not find a more horrid consummation, could not utter a more Satanic blasphemy. One can almost pardon Ingersoll his loud-mouthed

profanities when he learns that his youthful soul was fed upon such diabolic theology. To break that yoke, and let its oppressed go free, was the highest deed and duty of John Wesley —was the magnificent result of his experimental assurance of faith and his spiritual philosophy of the reason.

Against this absurdity of abominations he brought forth the truth conveyed in man's absolute freedom of the will, which is no freedom if the Creator affects some volitions at the start more potentially for holiness and heaven than others. He must be impartial, or the heavens fall into hell.

Thus Wesley was led by this philosophic principle to the Christian and Bible doctrines of universal atonement and universal call of the Spirit. No two Scripture truths have more powerfully affected modern society. How it broke suddenly from its ice-bound state!

> "O for a trumpet voice,
> On *all* the world to call!"

was its ringing cry, repeated as multitudinously as the notes of a bugle reveille. Charles Wesley dares the enemy with many a taunt and shout of defiance. How these words, and thousands like them, rang through England and New England, fast bound in the slavish chains of Locke and Edwards; through New York, crushed under the mountain of the Dutch Synod of Dort; and New Jersey, imprisoned in that iron mask of the Westminster Confession.

> "Lord, I believe were sinners more
> Than sands upon the ocean shore,
> Thou hast for all a ransom paid—
> For all a full atonement made."

How these notes sprang, and flew, and echoed round the world! They are not merely theological utterances. They are in their deepest meaning and force philosophical. They involve the new departure in the schools as well as the Church. They are most of God, most of man. Every provision is made; every body is invited; you all are free to come; you are responsible if you do not. Human nature is opened to the divine.

Hence sprang the joyous experience. Every bounding heart felt the mighty comfort. It was personal, individual, mutual between God and the soul. It was exultant. The strange

warmth, and the strange liberty, and the strange joy, all came together. They burst forth into song, speech, story, shout, even to the momentary slaying of the body under the exaltation of the soul. They ran, like swiftest lightnings, over land and sea, from continent to continent, from heart to heart, from generation to generation.

How did this affect philosophy? Philosophy did not presume to know of its existence. The people by scores of thousands flowed like gigantic rivers to their preaching places; hymns and songs grew and were multiplied, till every humble and haughty home was filled with their strange melody. Organizations, sermons, pamphlets, books, every sort of intellectual life, burst forth wherever the waters went. Churches sprang up over all the earth, traced directly to this source; and colleges, and periodicals, weekly, monthly and quarterly, publishing houses, and libraries. The whole lump was being leavened.*

But what cares philosophy? Is she disturbed in her meditations? Can she leave the abstract and the analytic, where it is said the highest qualities only appear, and condescend to note the noisy intruder? Let us see.

Hume was the pupil of Locke, and began his philosophic career about the same time Wesley began his theologic. A jump of half a century brings us from Hume to Jeremy Bentham, his child in materialism, infidelity, and fatalism. Bentham was born in 1749, Hume did not die till 1776. So they were contemporary for nearly thirty years. Buckle succeeds Bentham, who reduces every moral sentiment to laws of calculation; and Mill follows Buckle, who abolishes even the family tie in the grinding mills of his sensational materialism. And Lewes writes up a history of these heresiarchs, among whom not a spiritualist finds mention, and confesses, as his conclusion of the whole philosophic matter, that "skepticism, gulf-like, yawns as the terminal road of all consistent metaphysics," which is true of his sort, as Tyndall, Spencer, Huxley, Fiske, and such pure materialists and skeptics, confess to this day.

But is this all of English philosophy? Has Henry More,

* See Green's "History of the English People" for proof of this immense influence. Leckey also confirms it.

like Abel, no successor? Is there none to arise who shall defend the spirituality of man, and show the charmingness of divine philosophy? There could be none under a Calvinistic system. "Skepticism, gulf-like, yawns as the terminal road" of all such theology. Never has it, never can it produce a spiritual philosophy. Hamilton has limited God by remanding him to realms beyond our cognizance, so that even Mill, out of his blocks of earth, was able to build a tower of argumentation high enough to over-top Hamilton's half-atheistic conclusions. Mansell, Hamilton's pupil, is more fatalistic than his master. Hume was the child of Augustinian theology, and Hobbes—and legitimate children, too.

Whence shall come relief? Strange enough to haughty eyes, natural enough to humble eyes, this counterpart appears in the influences and atmospheres generated by Wesley. His affirmation of the absolute, unconditioned liberty of every man breaks forth within and without. Within, in schools of thought, philosophic and spiritual, clinging to the personal *ego* as the center of philosophic speculation. Without, in every scheme conceivable for the amelioration or betterizing of that *ego*.*

The first man who undertook to put this into philosophic form was S. T. Coleridge, and it was of him that the words quoted in our last paper as to Wesley's spiritual revolution were placed as a preamble. He gave this Methodistic, this Wesleyan principle philosophic form and expression. He was in contact with minds that had been affecting England for two thirds of a century. He looked within the veil, discerned the absolute in man as a creature of God, and proclaimed it as a law of philosophy. He made firm as a truth of metaphysics that which Taylor sneers at Wesley for having in immense degree—intuitions. He was the father of modern intuitive philosophy. He called it by a grander name, perhaps, the reason, in imitation of Kant's Pure Reason, but herein he copied exactly

* Says Sir James Stephens: "The noblest result of the religious revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation, of the profligate and the poor. It supported Burke in his plea for the Hindu. . . . The passionate impulse with human sympathy, with the wronged and afflicted, raised hospitals," etc.

Taylor's critique on Wesley: "He *reasoned* more than he thought."

He was world-wide in his opposition to the utilitarian theory, and put this system of transcendent, interior, egoistic metaphysics on a permanent basis in the English mind. Though, as one has said, the practical mind of this people inclines it to the outward and material, and so gives a certain solidity of power to even such monstrosities as Darwin, because they seem to be solid and visible monstrosities; yet over against these is set, as an ever-working, ever-potent influence, the spiritual, immaterial, immortal forces of the soul, of which Coleridge is the greatest English philosophic expounder.

It may be said he owed his thinking to Kant, who owed his to Spinoza, who owed his to Descartes. But none of these had footing in English thought, nor could have had but for an English interpreter, and that interpreter was influenced from Clapham, which was the child of Wesley. Wilberforce in faith, Granville Sharpe in works, with Macaulay, Clarkson, and others, got hold of the young Coleridge, fed his fancies, but, also, built up his philosophic mind, and from that atmosphere came forth the Platonist of this century, perhaps of many.

His biography gives some traces that go far to show how powerful was this new atmosphere about this new-comer. He was educated near Wesley's school in London. His first prize in college was for an essay in Greek against slavery. Every collegian will understand that no student advocates an unpopular reform unless his soul is imbued with its influence. Coleridge was a reformer before he was a philosopher. His reform gave birth to his philosophy. He was an enthusiast for the French Revolution, when, as Wordsworth, of like ardor, says:—

> "Bliss was it at that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven."

He sought, with Southey, to get up a Pantisocracy on the banks of the Susquehanna, a model State, perfect in reform. These strivings of the youthful giant show what impression the Clapham sect had produced upon his plastic mind.

But this tendency to reform took on it, also, in his mind,

the shape of philosophy. Kant had just appeared in Germany, and German was received as an English study by Coleridge, who was drawn to philosophical pursuits by the bent of his nature, and drawn to high ideas as to the divine in man by the associations and influences that made him so early in his career an abolitionist and a reformer. This high appeal of the German recluse against the materializing dogmas of England and France, this new light from the old heavens, affected and controlled the spirit of Coleridge. He broke at once and forever from all the outer schools of philosophy, and became the pupil and interpreter of intuitional truths to a people who had been "fast bound in sense," but whom Wesley had already emancipated. Kant had not thus inspired him had he not been made ready for it by the spiritual influences that had been pervading English society for more than half a century. Since 1739 the soul of that society had seen and felt the new light. Wesley had been welcomed back to Oxford by crowds of reverent and listening youth. Courts and palaces had felt the inspiration. Its philosophic recipient and exponent naturally appeared. Kant kindled the pile prepared and ready for illumination.*

But Coleridge was not alone. As Wesley had his singer, so had Coleridge his; and as Wesley could write almost as well as his associate—some thought better—so Coleridge was esteemed by many as above his companion. But as John Wesley confined himself largely to other lines, while his co-ordinate built up his sacred songs steadily, marvelously, into a book of prayer and praise, so Coleridge's broken hymns and occasional won-

* It will be seen by the following that Coleridge was not altogether a pupil of Kant, but of the English and Methodist spirit: "Some who are deep in human lore tell us that Europe has produced but one power really counteractive of the tyranny of mere understanding, and that is, the philosophy which began with Kant and ended with Hegel. Nevertheless, at the turn of the century there did arise men nearer home who felt the defect of the preceding age, and did much to supply it; who strove to base philosophy on principles of universal reason, and who, into thought and sentiment dwarfed and starved, poured the inspiration of soul and spirit. The men who mainly did this in England were Coleridge and Wordsworth. They are the native champions of spiritual truth against mechanical philosophy." —*Shairp's Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, p. 93. As these "men" were "champions" before they were Kantians, which Wordsworth never was, it shows that they drew their first influence from home fountains; that is, from Methodism; that is, from Wesley.

der-bursts of song were dropped for long essays on spiritual philosophy, while his co-ordinate built up steadily the philosophic song. And, lastly, as we can learn the Wesleyan theologic system more easily, fully, and forcibly in the hymns of Charles than in the sermons of John, so we can see the scope and force of the Coleridgean ideas more completely in the poems of his counterpart than in his own essays.

Wordsworth and Coleridge are more closely united than any two other names in English literature, and especially than any two names of like merit. They are a double sun, and a sun of superior glory and increasing splendor. They are the active champions of spiritual truth against mechanical philosophy. Wordsworth was the philosophic poet. He saw, he spoke. He is the steady antagonist of all materialism. No poet was ever so spiritual. He spiritualized nature. "There's a spirit in the woods." He spiritualized humanity. He felt

> "A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

Every commentator realizes this. Stopford Brooke, in his "Theology of the British Poets," elucidates it with much novelty and force. Hutton affirms it. Nobody can fail to see it. As Shakspeare is the seer of the every-day man, drawing with wonderful accuracy and power the best motives and the worst of the man of this world, so Wordsworth stands alone among literary men in the gift of seeing every thing, and every event, and every creature, in the realm of pure spirit. Says Hutton: "He catches up his theme into his high spiritual imagination, and makes it yield a totally different fruit of contemplation to any which it seemed naturally likely to bear."

This quality of spirit, which makes him the inevitable and unceasing antagonist of matter, as such, was, also, combined with freedom of the will. Says Mr. Hutton:—

> The poet must live alone in order to consciously bathe all that he touches with a new atmosphere, not its own. We are most alive when we most distinctly feel the boundary-line between ourselves and the world beyond us. In acts of free will the sense of human solitude is always at its height; for in them we distinguish *ourselves* from all things else. And in the world of imagination

this spiritual freedom is especially remarkable. *There* one has always heard that freedom is not, that genius is undisputed matter of the will. Wordsworth's poetry is the living refutation of this assertion. He is so solitary because his spirit consciously directs his imagination, and imposes on it from within influences stronger than any it receives from without.

> "The outward shows of sky and earth,
> Of hill and valley, he has viewed,
> But impulses of deeper birth
> Have come to him from solitude." *

This quality of spirituality and freedom of spirit, dominating all things, but dominated by itself, is the very soul of the Wesleyan movement, viewed in the light of philosophy. Put God, the Holy Spirit, here, and you have the whole of Wesleyanism. Every thing filled with the Holy Ghost; every thing looked at from the heights of holiness; the whole world food for this appetite; rhapsody, experience, perfection, all in spirit, but spirit free.

Wordsworth, too, resembled Wesley in that plodding conformity to outward law. "Stern Duty" he commends in some of the finest lines ever penned by man. Each was most methodical. Each was humdrum of humdrum to pure ecstatics. Wordsworth's poetry was "buckled with the belt of rule." It was sturdy and prosaic, even as Wesley organized conferences, classes, collections, in a word, arrangements for bottling and preserving these high wines of the soul. Wordsworth's verse and Wesley's Discipline were the thick, dull-looking bottles that were necessary to contain these fine and fiery spirits. Hutton says, "Wordsworth was like Wesley in highest spiritual ecstasy and homeliest practical duties. 'True to the kindred points of heaven and home.'" †

We need not follow this stream to its mouth and to its ocean. We can see this ocean from this height. Wordsworth and Coleridge are the poetic and philosophic fathers of modern spiritual thought. They are the sternest foes of Stuart Mill and all his fleshly school. Every modern writer of the antiutilitarian school is their pupil. Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, Thackeray, are all sons of these sires. They put soul above sense, the free spirit above its enslaved body. Shairp is their child, though of Scotch origin and culture, and his essays are

* Hutton's Essays, vol. ii, p. 108. † Hutton on Hawthorne, p. 415.

their ablest exponent and defense. Even the fires of Carlyle's genius are fitly fed from these urns. Arnold, father and son, and Stanley are partly spiritual and partly of grosser mold, and so partly of Wesley and partly of Locke. Emerson draws his spirit-life hence, but his lack of faith makes him in conflict with himself. He is thus driven by his disbelief to associate with such anti-spiritualists as Thoreau and grosser souls, when his transcendental and deepest nature receives all its strength from their high and real fountains. Had he been a Christian, he would have been the most spiritual and Methodist of thinkers. Over-soul was his craving; but true over-soul cannot exist long out of the atmosphere of faith.

Thus this chief of American idealists owes his gifts, or culture of them, to John Wesley, who, first of Englishmen, resisted Locke, first proclaimed the independence of spirit from matter, became the head of a counter revolution, and gave the English-speaking peoples an atmosphere and a soil whence spring and grow all the sweetness and light of modern English literature and philosophy.

One thing more: If the materialism which prevails to-day is to be subdued at all, it is to be done by the forces brought into action by Methodism. That it is not entirely subdued is painfully evident. It stalks into high places of thought, and gives itself "airs e'en in devotion." It enters the pulpit and the cathedra of instruction. It claims to sit in judgment on the Bible and Christianity. It evolves creeds and dogmas, and even asserts its dominion over faith. Greg professes to solve doubt by greater doubt; Lewes gives us a book of mathematical divinity which not only evolves but eliminates Christianity; and Fiske, in bulky volumes, tells us exactly how easily faith and Christ and salvation and heaven roll forth from the ever-weaving web of materialistic organism. Huxley goes so far as to call his most material of lectures lay sermons, stealing the very arms of the livery of heaven in which to serve that most material of beings, the Prince of the power of the air.

How shall we conquer this sacrilegious host, this body of unbelievers, who are not so much professors of science, falsely so called, as of religion, falsely so called? By setting spirituality over against their materiality; by putting Wesley's "intuitions," his "energy of the intuitive reason," his "galvanic

instantaneousness of the intuitions," against their mob of materialized sensations. That "irresistible force," as Taylor calls it, can alone overcome this material and most powerful force. It is of God the Holy Ghost. He and He only can conquer this spirit of evil, who bewilders our minds with his materialistic powers; who sometimes in the lower manifestations chooses to call himself spiritualist, but who assumes this disguise of words only the more easily to dupe his disciples with their physical propensions; who makes these persons in their low estate perform gymnastic tricks with shadowy hands and tipping tables and other gimcrackery of matter, and still fool themselves with the fancy that the manifestations are spiritual. From such spriitualisms, good Lord, deliver us! The devil laughs at their trickery. His higher worshipers, also, mock at them. The high-priests of his temple never delude themselves or their disciples with such folly. They are consistent. Be it Tyndall or Huxley, Fiske or Draper, Spencer or Buckle, Hume or Hobbes, Mill or Bentham, they are all ready to affirm with their first and still greatest master, "Every thought of man is a representative or appearance of some quality without us."

What shall overcome them? Faith and free-will; God and your own consciousness of God; God in Christ and your will in Christ. Fight not carnal weapons with carnal, or you will be spoiled of all your powers; fight carnal with spiritual. You can never answer these foes on their own ground. You can only answer them from your ground. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." "Ye have an unction from the holy One, and know *all* things." They are masters of the lower sphere. Some younglings in theology, not always younglings in years, fancy they can answer them from their own stand-point; that they can take evolution and make it serve Christ the Lord; that they can concede blurs, blunders, misconceptions, ignorance, every thing weak and false in the Word of God, and still hold on to the Bible; that they can accept protoplasm and the first chapter of Genesis. Vain effort. You are their prisoner, their slave, the moment you enter their circle. Faith, spirit, unseen forces, conquer them, and they only. "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen

were not made of things which do appear." That is the war cry, that the war weapon. By it conquer.

Thus, too, we see how every revival is an utterly insoluble problem to a materialist. Wesley is the father, under God, of these mightiest of miracles. What know Spencer & Co. of Moody and Sankey? What knows the most astute of them of the least act by which the soul is changed from nature to grace, from the power of sin and Satan unto God? They cannot understand this mode of spiritual life. Until they are transformed by its power they never can. It is the highest reason in its highest act. It is the soul of man in conjunction, deepest and most vital, with God, the Soul of souls. It is the fountain-head of all philosophy, the source of Platonism, of Descartism, of Coleridgism, of the best and truest in Emersonianism. All these are lower branches of that lofty experience which cries out in more than Coleridgean, Wordsworthian, or Socratean power:—

"What we have felt and seen
With confidence we tell;
And publish to the sons of men
The signs infallible.

"Exults our rising soul,
Disburdened of her load,
And swells unutterably full
Of glory and of God!"

Thus descends the mighty river of grace upon all the thought of the world; from God out of heaven, upon its highest philosophies, upon its deepest necessities, upon its poetry and dogma, upon its politics and philanthropies, upon its business and homes, upon education and invention, upon literature and art, upon colonization and civilization, upon all and every the thoughts, sentiments and deeds of mankind.

See Leckey confessing this marvelous life in the philanthropies, creed, and politics of England and the world. John Wesley, he declares, after much false and foolish belittling, "has had a wider constructive influence in the sphere of practical religion than any man who has appeared since the sixteenth century." He might have said since the sixth, and in theoretical religion, and all else beside.

The realm of philosophy, to which Wesley has given the last:

and best law, still struggles against his mastery. Its prominent representatives are to-day too often of the school of Hobbes rather than of More, of Bentham than of Coleridge. But if Methodism is faithful in preaching its founder's truths of "divine realities;" if it still continue to lead "the great spiritual counter movement" which he inaugurated, it will certainly bring down those high heads, as it has leveled all inferior towers. If Brougham brings parliamentary reform; Sharpe, and Clarkson, and Garrison, (who was Wesley's pupil, though he confess it not,) abolitionism; Neal Dow, prohibition; Cary, the missionary movement; Cowper and Wordsworth, and all their followers of to-day, the poetic power, and lay them all at this apostle's feet; if all these, as well as many other masters of men and ideas for the last hundred and fifty years, accept, as they must, John Wesley as their master, then, too, will the scientist, last of rebellious thinkers, because most materialistic, immersed in the matter which he seeks to know, "subdued to that he works in, like a dyer's hand," and his co-ordinate, the materialistic philosopher, also make like acknowledgment, break their wands of mere naturism, and accept the sovereignty of soul in man, of God in nature. Thus shall Plato and John become one in the Spirit and in every believer. Thus shall all thought accept with gratitude the service wrought out for it by this Oxford scholar and tutor, who, when his seat of philosophy brought him into bondage to the sensational school of thought, left it, to find the true light and the true heat in humble faith in the divine Saviour. And when he had thus found this pearl of infinite price, he sold all that he had, and for joy went preaching and teaching every-where the central truths of Christianity and philosophy, until all the world has heard, and much of it has obeyed. So shall it be preached and taught till all the world shall receive of its fullness, grace for grace, and truth for truth, to the uplifting of all thought to its true position and power in Christ Jesus our Lord.

We have thus endeavored to show the relation of modern intellectual activity to John Wesley. That literature which concerns itself with religion and reform can be traced clearly and directly, on the best authorities, to this fountain head. All confess that religion was revived through this instrument. The highest names in literature are his. Macaulay's zeal for

liberal English politics was due to his father's influence, who was a direct descendant of Wesley. So are Dickens and his school. The later poets all fall at Wordsworth's feet, and Wordsworth is Wesley.

Spiritual philosophy, which is the only "divine philosophy," alike recognizes Wesley as its restorer. Only as all philosophy accepts his central principles will it be accepted of men. The gross reign of material philosophy has come to an end. The world is revolting from Spencerism, the last utterance of Hobbesism, and our own schools are leading the battle for intuitionalism, which is Wesley. The most pungent and potent defender of Wesleyan philosophy is in the chair of metaphysics in our youngest university. Not unnoticeable is it that the chief representative of the opposite opinion, the philosophy of unfaith and anti-reason, is seated close at hand in the chair of the oldest Calvinistic university. Though it has revolted from Calvinism, it has not from fatalism. It yet lacks faith, and, therefore, has no real philosophy. The leading defender and the leading opponent of Spencer are thus set over against each other to wrestle for the man-soul in its deepest goings. May the professor of the intuitions reign till he sees the overthrow of the hostile, sensuous, mechanical system, and the making of all philosophy by the confession of all its professors, common sense, spiritual, Wesleyan, Christian.

Let us not err nor despair. The good and perfect gift of God, guessed at by Plato, is revealed unto us. Let the old experience still be preached, not of flesh, but of the Holy Ghost. By that our fathers did "attain to more than a prophetic strain." So shall all earthly thoughts be lifted up to the same empyrean; and he whom we have followed, and after whom we have fought and won this hundred and forty years, will stand forth more and more the deliverer of modern thought in its deepest seekings from a philosophy "fast bound in sense," its uplifter into the realm of faith in God the Spirit, and of sight in faith, and of joy in sight, leading every mind and every soul to our only Center and Source, the eternal Spirit, the Lord our God.

Art. II.—SOME OBJECTIONS TO THEISM.

A Candid Examination of Theism. By Physicus. English and Foreign Philosophical Library, Vol. XIII. Boston: Houghton, Osgood, & Co. 1878.

The first impression which this book makes upon the critic is that criticism is useless. Its fiat science and fiat logic are such as to convince him that the author is beyond the reach of argument, and that discussion with him would be as fruitless as with certain sectarians who base their dogmas on a few obscure texts which no one else has ever noticed. Its fiatism further convinces the critic that criticism is needless, for no thoughtful person will be any more likely to be influenced by it than by Millerism or spiritualism. From another stand-point, however, an extended criticism may be excused. The work sums up in a short space a great many current objections to theism, and, as such, furnishes a good text for some general exposition. Finally, too, criticism may be regarded as a duty. Ignorance alone may be excused, for it often results from causes, subjective or objective, for which the person is not to blame. Modest ignorance, even when dense, should be tenderly dealt with. Insolence, also, may be excused, when it is based on a respectable amount of knowledge. But ignorance and insolence combined make a nuisance which it is a positive duty to abate; especially when they claim to be philosophy and science.

Some authors are said to suffer from excessive self-depreciation. The author of the "Candid Examination" is not of this class. He claims for his work great logical rigor and scientific precision. Finally he expresses his own estimate of it as follows:—

> At a time like the present, when traditional beliefs respecting theism are so generally accepted, and so commonly concluded, as a matter of course, to have a large and valid basis of induction whereon to rest, I cannot but feel that a perusal of this short essay, by showing how very concise the scientific STATUS of the subject really is, will do more to settle the minds of most readers as to the exact standing at the present time of all the probabilities of the question, than could a perusal of all the rest of the literature upon this subject.

This occurs on page 112, in a general summary which begins on page 102. Hence the author has succeeded in condensing

into one hundred and one pages the gist of all that theists and atheists have ever said. A work of this kind is certainly deserving of the highest praise, and must fill every thoughtful person with eagerness to know what the author has done. That something terrible has happened is evident from another passage:—

> Never in the history of man has so terrific a calamity befallen the race as that which all who look may now behold advancing as a deluge, black with destruction, resistless in might, uprooting our most cherished hopes, engulfing our most precious creed, and burying our highest life in mindless desolation. Science, whom erstwhile we thought a very angel of God, pointing to that great barrier of law, and proclaiming to the restless sea of changing doubt, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed," even science has now herself thrown down this trusted barrier; the flood-gates of infidelity are open, and atheism overwhelming is upon us.—P. 51.
>
> Man has truly become in a new sense the measure of the universe, and in this the latest and most appalling of his surroundings indications are returned from the infinite voids of space and time by which he is surrounded, that his intelligence, with all its noble capacities for love and adoration, is yet alone—destitute of kith or kin in all this universe of being.—P. 63.

These passages have in them something of the cry of a wild beast at bay, and certainly they must cause the theist great heart-searching. At one fell swoop, in less than a hundred pages, theism is utterly demolished, and "atheism overwhelming is upon us." It hardly relieves the matter to know that the author himself professes agnosticism, for no rational theist would care to keep his faith after all rational ground for it has been overthrown. It is, therefore, with fear and trembling that we approach the arguments which support this awful conclusion. But before beginning specific criticism, we make one or two general statements, which, however, will not be without bearing upon the later argument.

In the course of our reading we have often remarked that most objections to the theistic argument depend upon attributing to theists views and purposes which they do not for a moment accept. By thus forcing them into a false position, and by assuming that they mean to do what they expressly disclaim, it is easy to convict them of failure, and to denounce their arguments as worthless. For example, many objections are based on the failure to distinguish between demonstrating

a theorem and solving a problem. It is assumed that the theist means to demonstrate the divine existence; and when it is shown that a proper demonstration of this fact, as of all facts, is impossible, the claim is set up that theism is a failure. But the demonstration of theorems belongs only to the formal sciences; all the sciences which deal with reality aim only at the solution of problems. They find their problems in the facts, and then they raise the question how we must think of the backlying cause, or causes, or antecedents, in order that the facts should be as they are. The geologist finds traces of fire in the rocks, and he explains them by assuming that the earth was once molten. Now, even if we allow this conclusion to be just, he would not pretend that he had demonstrated the original fluidity of the earth, but only that he had given a rational solution of the problem furnished by the igneous rocks, etc. So, too, the astronomer who holds the nebular theory would not claim to have demonstrated the nebula, but to have solved the problem contained in the arrangements of the solar system. The same is true for the evolution theory, and for every other scientific hypothesis. Now, it is conceivable that some one should set out to determine the "logical value" of all these hypotheses, and he would find no difficulty in showing that they are all sadly illogical, as tested by the canons of formal logic, or, at least, that they cannot be regarded as proved. But if, on the strength of such a showing, he should conclude that scientific hypotheses deserve no credit, he would certainly be regarded as a fool. But when identical reasoning is applied to the theistic hypothesis, which is just as scientific as the atomic, or evolution hypothesis, it is viewed as a very serious attack, and the word is passed around that theism has no "logical standing."

Now, the theistic theory, so far as it is based on the design argument, is very simple. Like all scientific hypotheses, it does not aim to demonstrate a theorem, but to solve a problem. This problem consists in the order and intelligible character of the universe. The theist observes harmony and the adaptation of means to ends; and the more he studies the system, whether in the organic or the inorganic realm, the more wide-reaching he finds the reign of law, and the more intimate and accurate the universal balance and adaptation.

He thinks upon the problem, and speculates as to its solution. He observes that all order and adaptation in a manifold which we can trace to a beginning, originate in thought, before they stand forth in fact. But the world, also, is a manifold of things and activities which conspire together to produce order and purpose-like results. Thought is the only assignable source of order and adaptation in a plurality of things or effects; and the theist concludes that the natural order, also, has its origin and explanation in thought. This view, he says, is not far-fetched or violent. It is level to the plainest intelligence, and it is the only view which really satisfies the mind. It is in harmony with common sense, and is adequate to the facts. It makes the system, at least in its outlines, luminous and intelligible. On any other view, nature is perfectly opaque and impenetrable to intelligence. On all these grounds, therefore, he holds that the visible order has its root and explanation in thought.

To this entirely simple position, it is now common to object that there is no proof that all order is designed order, and, therefore, the theistic conclusion cannot be allowed. The reply is that, put in this abstract form, the objection may be allowed; but when a highly complex order is found in a manifold, an order involving most intricate intelligible relations, and issuing constantly in myriad products which are compact of seeming purpose, the human mind is such that it cannot regard such an order as self-existent. An order of this kind constitutes a problem for explanation; no one is content to rest in it as a mere fact. Most atheists admit this, and attempt to explain it as an outcome of unintelligent activity. The theist says that thinking men are generally agreed that the order of the system constitutes a problem for explanation. We must, then, view it as founded either in intelligence or in non-intelligence. A certain class, which we shall consider farther on, regards the essential order of the system as eternal, and hence an ultimate fact which admits of no explanation; but for all those who view it as derived or produced, there is no alternative but to view it as issuing either from intelligence or from non-intelligence. No amount of shuffling with such terms as natural law, evolution, persistence of force, and the like, can affect this alternative. The theist, therefore, decides for intel-

ligence as the only natural explanation of the natural order. The atheist must believe either in one universal mechanical agent, or in a plurality of atoms. In the first case, he believes that an unintelligent being can work at an infinity of points, correlating its activity at every point to its infinite other co-existent activities, and can further co-ordinate its activities so that the result is intelligible as a whole, and, also, in its smallest parts; yet all the while it is supposed to have no consciousness, either of itself or of what it is doing. It both founds and follows the most complex intelligible order, yet without intelligence. If the atheist accept the atomic view, he then believes in an indefinite plurality of infinitesimal agents, each of which must respond to every other with just that action which its peculiar position demands. The atheist further believes that all these elements cannot only do this, but can work together according to an intelligible order, and as if animated by a common purpose; while all the while they are utterly unconscious either of themselves, or of their fellows to which they are constantly responding, or of the order which they are constantly following. This difficulty cannot be dodged by talking of natural law, for the law is but an abstract from the order to be explained. Now, the theist does not aim to prove that all order is designed order, nor even that the natural order was designed. But as he must choose between these explanations, he thinks it far more natural to refer the infinitely complex intelligible order of things to intelligence than to accept the atheistic alternative.

Now, the atheist does not like this putting. His tactics are always to pick flaws in the theistic argument, and thus divert attention from his own views. In particular, the alternative of viewing the source of nature as either intelligent or non-intelligent is especially displeasing; and accordingly he proceeds to raise a dust, as follows. It is said that though we cannot conceive any explanation of order in a manifold but intelligence, there may well be other explanations. The author under review makes much of this objection. We are bidden to think of the vast unknown, and especially of the vastness of the possible; and who can tell what the awful and unsounded possible may contain? It is mere hardihood, therefore, to say that intelligence is the only explanation of complex intelligible

order. To this the theist replies with great cheerfulness, that when it comes to dealing with the awful possible, he must be allowed to give it up. He admits that we shall always have to use those terms which our reason and experience furnish. But the aim of all explanation is to satisfy the reason we have, and hence, reason being as it is, and our knowledge being as it is, it is more rational to refer the system to an intelligent, than to a non-intelligent source. It will always be possible to object to knowledge on the basis of some possible unknown, but no rational being will long consent to be imposed upon by such logical buffoonery. One might say that heat is, indeed, the only explanation of the fire rocks, but it would be great hardihood to assert that they have really been modified by heat, because of the vastness of the unknown possible; but the geologist would class him with circle-squares and spirit-rappers. Yet a principle which would be repudiated with mental loathing in the sciences, becomes wonderfully acute when applied to theism. Here the atheist further objects that intelligence and non-intelligence do not form a complete disjunction; they do, indeed, for our thought, but the limits of thought are not the limits of being. He holds, then, that we are not compelled to choose between intelligence and non-intelligence as the source of things, for there may well be orders of being as far above intelligence as that is above mechanism. It does, indeed, sound well to say that the limits of thought are not the limits of being; and if by thought be meant imagination, or proper comprehension, the statement is true; but in the present case the doctrine, though it seems to say something, is empty of the slightest content. It is only logical sound and fury. This notion of a something which is neither intelligent nor non-intelligent is a mere phrase, to which there is no corresponding thought. The theist, therefore, is not in the least disturbed by it. The aim of both science and philosophy is to explain and comprehend a definite set of facts, and it is no explanation to refer them to a phrase; that is rather an abandonment of the problem. Hence the theist declines to pay any attention to these vaporings about the possibilities of being until such phrases are made intelligible, and until these ineffable modes are proved to exist in fact. Until this is done, intelligence or non-intelligence is the only possible explanation of the system. An atheism which is

based on appeals from what we know to what we do not know, or on the notion of something which is neither intelligent nor non-intelligent, will never do thoughtful people much harm.

Another objection may be noted. Every doctrine, it is said, must be capable of verification; and whatever cannot be verified must be rejected as unscientific. This formula has been made very prominent by Matthew Arnold, and is supposed to be fatal to theism. Its force may be broken, however, by asking what is meant by verification. The most of scientific theories admit of no verification beyond a showing that the facts call for them. Such are the atomic theory, the original fluidity of the earth, the doctrine of evolution, the ether theory, etc. If the theist can show that the facts of nature point to intelligence as their cause, then the theistic hypothesis has just the same kind of verification which most scientific hypotheses have. To insist upon any other kind of verification indicates either mental confusion or a willingness to discriminate against theism.

We proceed now to deal with the work in hand. The author opens with a chapter on illogical theistic arguments. Among these he mentions that from the law of causation. It is useless to examine this. His theory of causation is the common empirical doctrine of antecedence and sequence. No empiricist has ever consistently held this doctrine, and none ever will. But it is very useful in polemics; and so long as one may have the advantage of the doctrine and be defended by uncritical common sense from its destructive consequences, it will not lack adherents. If the empirical philosophy were forced to accept its consequences it would not stand for a day; but as those consequences are extreme, crude common sense is invoked to save it. There is logic of a sort in this procedure; but it is the logic of the "heathen Chinee," as he laid down the right bower. We cannot, then, examine the author's objection to the argument from causation, as that would involve an examination of empiricism. We will only remark in passing that his doctrine of experience has not prevented him from learning somehow that matter and force are necessary and eternal. This doctrine is the great pillar of his atheism. Of course, this is an abandonment of empiricism, but there is good ground for it. The atheistic argument demands the assumption. If this should not seem reason enough to the benighted

theist who is not versed in the odd, yet genial, ways of the advanced thinkers, we can only have compassion on his innocence.

The author has no insight into his own principles. Hence he says: "The argument from the general consent of mankind is so clearly fallacious, both as to facts and principles, that I shall pass it over."—P. 6. Yet the author is an evolutionist, and is not a philosophical skeptic. Now, on the evolution theory of knowledge, all our beliefs are made for us. It has, and can have, no other test of truth and probability than universality and persistence. If all knowledge is not to be swamped in skepticism, this theory more than any other must view any general belief as having a very high probability. And the evolutionists do this when dealing with the laws of thought. These are declared to be the deposit of the universe in us; and in their universality and constancy we have the highest evidence that they are parallel to reality. But the same universe has, also, wrought into the human mind a belief that nature is founded in intelligence. In the various distortions which the belief has undergone, this factor has survived. As mental evolution has advanced, the belief has grown stronger and firmer. The few atheists furnish no more exceptions to the general belief than idiots do to the general common sense. We look, then, to the evolutionist, of all men, for an acceptance of theism; but to our surprise, and in the teeth of all logic, he declares that the common consent of mankind furnishes no ground for belief whatever. He also suggests that theism is probably born of fetichism, and, at all events, originated in a savage state; while his own theory is the product of modern enlightenment. If the theist should suggest that on evolution principles a belief which began in the earliest dawn of manhood, and has grown stronger ever since, must be more probable than the late opinion of a little clique, he would be blandly told that it is not for him to know the mysteries of evolution reasoning. He must consent to take what is given him, and if the distribution seem at times a little unfair, why, he must grin and bear it.

The argument from human freedom is dismissed with equal curtness. The author settles the question by saying: "I, for one, am quite persuaded that I never perform any action with-

out some appropriate motive, or set of motives, having induced me to perform it."—P. 25. The believer in freedom does not hold that we act without motives, but only that motives are reasons, and not causes. Yet the author says he is candid, and we are bound to believe him. But we cannot estimate his candor and intelligence highly at the same time. Such criticisms force us to affirm an inverse relation between them. Yet such babble is supposed to give more light than all the rest of the literature on this subject.

The author, also, examines the argument from the existence of the human mind. This argument is essentially that personality and intelligence cannot be the product of agents which are unintelligent and brute. The author's criticism is mainly his irrelevant appeal to ignorance. He asks: "What is our warrant for making this assertion? Where is the proof that nothing can have caused a mind except another mind? Answer to this question, there is none. For aught that we can ever know to the contrary, anything within the whole range of the Possible may be competent to produce a self-conscious intelligence."—P. 14. A single gleam of common sense appears in the following sentence: "Is not that which is most conceivable, most likely to be true? and if it is more conceivable that my intelligence is caused by another intelligence than that it is caused by non-intelligence, may I not regard the more conceivable hypothesis as also the more probable one?" But the author proceeds at once to extinguish the gleam by saying that this argument "is still to an indefinite degree valueless, seeing that we are unable to tell how much more it is likely that the more conceivable should here be true than that the less conceivable should be so."—P. 18. The author then skirmishes a little with the "conceivable," and concludes: "Upon the whole, then, I think it is transparently obvious that the mere fact of our being unable to conceive, say, how any disposition of matter and motion could possibly give rise to a self-conscious intelligence, in no wise warrants us in concluding that for this reason no such disposition is possible."—P. 20.

There is here an appearance of great logical rigor, and of hitting the nail squarely on the head. Nevertheless, the principle of reasoning here laid down would plunge all science into skepticism. One can always appeal from what seems rational

to the unknown possible. One can always urge that there is no proof that what we regard as the only rational explanation of a set of facts may not be contradicted by the "inconceivable existent." But as this method would not be tolerated in an argument against a physical theory, we protest against using it against theism. The belief in God may be unwelcome to many minds, but we insist that it shall be judged by the same standards which we apply elsewhere; or shall we erect it into a supreme logical canon that anything is justifiable to save atheism? The author's method certainly savors more of the philosophical pirate and assassin than of the impartial reasoner. We repeat once more that the theist does not aim to demonstrate a theorem, but to solve a problem; and his conflict is not with the "inconceivable existent," or with the sum of the "possible," but with such other theories as are intelligible, and are based on actual knowledge. Moreover, he does not meet these opponents in the deep night of the unknowable, but in the daylight of rationality; and his claim is that the facts and reason being what they are, a substantial soul and an intelligent Creator are the only rational explanation of the facts. He is ready to listen to any explanation which is intelligible and which is based on known facts, but he declines to pay any attention to arguments based on inarticulate imaginings about the "possible."

But it is not our purpose to discuss materialism. We merely state our belief that this doctrine is possible only to mental immaturity, or to a time of philosophical decadence. We pass to notice an argument which is common on the relation of matter to theism and spiritualism, and which rests on great philosophical crudeness. The author appeals largely to the law of parsimony. We are not to assume more causes than are necessary. But in matter and force we have a true cause, and hence we are not to posit other causes until we are sure that these will not account for the phenomena. But this makes it necessary for the theist to prove a negative before his own view can claim acceptance. This argument, in principle, is a very common one in atheistic discussions; and at first glance it seems conclusive. Thoughtless common sense is quite able to understand it, and views it with approval. In this way, the impression is made that atheism and materialism

are based on facts; while theism and spiritualism are only theories invented to explain such outstanding facts as cannot be explained by matter and force. But the realm of the latter is ever growing; but thus the need both of God and the soul is ever growing less. Both must finally be displaced by advancing knowledge.

Convincing as this seems, its innocence is really such as almost to disarm criticism. As thus used, matter is as much a hypothesis as either God or the soul, or, rather, it is as metaphysical as either. The average atheist or materialist fancies that he has a direct perception of noumenal matter as the cause of phenomena, although upon occasion he loudly proclaims the phenomenal character of all knowledge. But, in fact, the character of the agent or agents behind phenomena is purely a matter of inference. That matter, as defined in works on mechanics, or as capable only of motion, form, and position, cannot be the cause of life and mind, is simply a matter of definition. The absolutely unlike cannot be identified, except by an act of volition. To make matter all-inclusive, we must include all in its definition. Professor Tyndall proposes to define matter by observing what it can do; but this is to contend for a name. It makes no matter what the agent or agents which produce phenomena are *called:* what we want to know is what attributes we must give them. If we are determined to call them matter, we must enlarge our definition of matter and make it something mystic and transcendental. But since these mystic properties are not objects of perception, but purely of inference, it is plain that we should infer such as will be of use after they are inferred. Now, among the whole list of mystical properties by which we seek to explain the finite mind, and the natural order, there is no one which is so effective and satisfactory as intelligence. Again, matter must be either one or many. It is often spoken of by the atheist as if it were one and universal, like the one of Parmenides, or the being of Hegel. Matter, in this sense, is entirely foreign to the vulgar notion of matter; and the content of the notion is purely formal. What is in it must be determined by what comes out; and if it be found to work intelligibly, the only rational conclusion is that it is intelligent. There is no objection to calling it matter, except that the term is misleading; but the content of the notion is that of mind. The atheist

must either allow this, or admit that a being which is essentially unintelligent can work at every point in space with constant reference to all other points, and with reference to a plan, and can, also, produce self-conscious, intelligent beings, yet all the while without the least knowledge of what it is doing. If, on the other hand, the atheist regards matter as many, he cannot explain the unity of consciousness, the facts of memory, the possibility of reasoning, or even of consciousness. The materialist is fond of defining mind as a series of states of consciousness, and fails to notice that a series cannot exist except for the truly one. Successive states become consciousness only as they are gathered up by a substantial and unitary subject into the unity of self-consciousness. Mind, then, cannot be the product of the many; and the contrary proposition is unintelligible even in statement, except as we implicitly deny it. Applied to the world, this theory of matter assumes a multitude of self-existent, yet not independent, infinitesimals, (a contradiction,) which are in constant and intimate correspondence with every other throughout the system, and in such a way that an intelligible order, and myriad products compact of seeming purpose, result; but all the while they know nothing either of themselves, or of their neighbors, or of the order they regard, or the intelligible products they are bringing forth. We repeat once more that neither matter nor mind are perceived to produce any thing; but certain effects are perceived, and we reason to causes. The character of these causes must be determined entirely by observing their effects. Hence atheism *versus* theism, or materialism *versus* spiritualism, is not a case of fact against theory; but of theory against theory, with reason to judge between them. To overlook this fact is impossible to one with the least knowledge of philosophical criticism. The question, then, is not what we shall call the ultimate reality, but how we shall regard it; as we must view it as either intelligent or non-intelligent, no appeals to the "possible" shall shake our conviction that an intelligible order and universal adaptation point to intelligence in their cause. Much dust may be raised by these appeals, but the clear mind does not allow them to obscure the alternative of intelligence or non-intelligence as the cause of order and adaptation. They are simply philosophical

hasheesh, or the devices of whirling dervishes for rendering the mind dizzy and an easy prey to sophistry.

Curiously enough, the author, in spite of his great backer, the "Possible," allows that until recently the argument from order and intelligibility was practically conclusive. He says: "Had it been my lot to have lived in the last generation, . . . I should have concluded that there was an overwhelming balance of rational probability in favor of theism; and I think I should, also, have insisted that this balance of rational probability would require to continue as it was till the end of time."—P. 47. Elsewhere he brings the validity of this argument down to a very recent date. "For this argument assumes, rightly enough, that the only alternative we have in choosing our hypothesis concerning the final explanation of things is either to regard that explanation as Intelligence or Fortuity. This, I say, was a legitimate argument a few months ago, because up to that time no one had shown that strictly natural causes, as distinguished from chances, could conceivably be able to produce a cosmos."—P. 159. But such a principle has at length been discovered. It is not natural selection nor the nebular hypothesis which has wrought this mischief. Both of these theories, the author allows, are irrelevant in theistic argument. But there is another principle which has at last removed all need of the theistic hypothesis; and this is what he is pleased to call the persistence of force. "The self-generation of natural law is a necessary corollary from the persistence of matter and force."—P. 57. "In these previous chapters, the proposition was clearly established that, just as certainly as the fundamental data of science are true, so certainly is it true that the theory of theism in any shape is, *scientifically* considered, superfluous; for these chapters have clearly shown that if there is a God, his existence considered as a cause of things is as certainly unnecessary as it is certainly true that force is persistent and that matter is indestructible."—P. 72. "The hypothesis of mind in nature is as certainly superfluous to account for any of the phenomena of nature, as the scientific doctrine of the persistence of force and the indestructibility of matter are certainly true."—P. 113; see, also, pp. 144, 161–163, 168.

This argument is identical with that of Herbert Spencer;

and hence the author feels called upon to say that it is, also, original with himself. (P. 52.) Both writers seem unable to conceive of mind as working through nature. They regard it as a demiurge upsetting all natural law, instead of founding law. Both writers also seem to imagine that they are talking science; they identify their principle with what is known among physicists and mathematicians as the conservation of energy. But both make such grotesque blunders, allowing them to mean this, that we must suppose they have some other thought in mind. Both make it the fundamental *datum* not only of science, but even of experience. Spencer declares that it cannot be proved, because it is the *a priori* basis of all proof. He says of it: "Deeper than demonstration—deeper even than definite cognition—deep as the very nature of mind, is the postulate at which we have arrived. Its authority transcends all other whatever; for not only is it given in the constitution of our own consciousness, but it is impossible to imagine a consciousness so constituted as not to give it." * The author uses similar language, declaring it to be an *a priori* truth, etc.; although in a single passage he seems to have a suspicion of the absurdity. If these writers imagine that they are dealing with the physical doctrine of the conservation of energy, then we must agree with Spencer, that the doctrine is "deeper even than definite cognition," at least on their part; for no absurdity can be greater than to call a doctrine a necessity of consciousness, which not one mind in a thousand can formulate, and which neither Spencer nor Physicus has understood, in spite of their consciousness. It is equally absurd to call that an *a priori* truth which is purely a product of induction, and which is not true at all, except under certain definite conditions. It must be some other doctrine which they have in mind; and there are many passages which support this view. Accordingly Spencer says: "Thus, by the persistence of Force, we really mean the persistence of some Power which transcends our knowledge and conception. . . . In other words, asserting the persistence of Force is but another mode of asserting an unconditioned Reality, without beginning or end." † The author follows in his wake and says: "Whenever

* "First Principles." First edition, p. 258.

† "First Principles," p. 255.

throughout the following pages I speak of force as persisting, what I intend to be understood is, that there is something—call it force, or energy, or x — which, so far as experience or imagination can extend, is in its relation to us ubiquitous and illimitable."—P. 52. Elsewhere he identifies it with the law of causation, the uniformity of nature, and "Permanent Existence."—Pp. 191, 192. But in these quotations we have no scientific doctrine of any kind, but simply the metaphysical doctrine of necessary and permanent being. The physicist would waver between a smile and impatience at being told that his doctrine of conservation means only that there is "an Unconditioned Reality, without beginning or end," and one which transcends our knowledge and conception. Just as little does he mean to affirm the existence of something "ubiquitous and illimitable." If it be said that the absolute truth of the doctrine implies these transcendental notions, the reply is that the physicist knows better than to confound the conditions of a formula with the formula itself or with its consequences. The doctrine in question is a hypothetical judgment, and even the school-boy knows that the antecedent cannot be proved by assuming the consequent. Moreover, the doctrine has nothing to do with metaphysics; but is a definite *result of* dynamical reasoning on assumed data, and these assumptions are in the main justified by induction. Yet both Spencer and Physicus constantly appeal to their doctrine as the great doctrine of science. In truth, their knowledge of physics is purely hearsay and verbal, and hence they understand scientific formula only through verbal exegesis. In this way the definite meaning of the terms and the limitations which they always have in the *formulæ*, are ignored; and the *formulæ* themselves are swelled out to mean anything which their argument happens to require. Meanwhile, as no verbal absurdity is reached, both authors fancy that they are on the high road of science. But if we are to speak the truth here, we must say that neither of them shows a shadow of intelligent comprehension of what the physical doctrine means, and that, too, in spite of the fact that "it is impossible to imagine a consciousness so constituted as not to give it." Yet on the basis of this ghastly ignorance, they affect to speak in the name of science, and to proclaim the final overthrow of theism so far as it is based on the intelligible order and nature

of the system. It is on such scientific soil that atheism especially flourishes.

There is a modest doctrine of much interest, called the conservation of energy, which a great many of us accept, and in which we find nothing hostile to theism. This doctrine is not the affirmation of "an unconditioned reality," or a "ubiquitous power." It assumes a multitude of physical elements, and assumes the laws of their actions. It neither assumes to deduce the elements nor their laws, nor the qualities whereby they react differently under different conditions. These are the data. It next declares that if these elements fulfill certain conditions, none of which are necessary, there will be no loss of energy in the system. The mechanical doctrine of heat, electricity, etc., is of especial interest as showing how molar energy may give rise to molecular energy, and conversely. The vulgar notion that there is one all-embracing power, of which all action is a particular manifestation, is totally foreign to the physical doctrine. Equally foreign is the notion that energy is a substantial something which undergoes constant transformation, yet always remains itself. These are merely the verbal renderings of the ignorant. Energy is the energy of something, and that something is the elements. Energy is transferred only as motion is transferred; that is, not at all. A given motion may be exhausted in producing a new motion, but in no proper sense can it be transferred. Energy is transformed only as motion is transformed. A thing in motion may give rise to another kind of motion in some other thing, but the truth is not that motion has been transformed, but that one phenomenon has been succeeded by another, unlike the first, but its dynamical equivalent. So, also, a thing in action may cause another to pass into a different phase of activity, and we improperly call this a transformation of energy. Neither motion nor energy can be transferred nor transformed, and for the simple reason that they are nothing substantial, but states of a subject. The fact is that the physical elements are so related to one another that interaction is possible, and that the energy of any element, or set of elements, cannot be exhausted without awakening in other elements an equivalent energy, dynamically considered. This simple truth, which under the assumed conditions is really a direct inference from

the third law of motion, or the equality of action and reaction, is swelled out by ignorance and hearsay science into the affirmation of an unconditioned and unknowable reality, ubiquitous in time and space, a veritable Proteus, etc.; and then it is tortured into denying creation, freedom, the soul, and God; and, finally, we are told that it binds nature fast in fate in a most adamantine fashion. So terrible are the ravages of words without knowledge. So devastating is hearsay science.

The physical doctrine of conservation is proved only for a physical system whose elements fulfill certain conditions. Whether there be other agents whose activity is of another kind, or follows other laws than those which the doctrine contemplates, the physicist determines by observation and experience. He leaves to men who think the doctrine of an *a priori* truth and an unfailing deliverance of consciousness, to erect it into an absolute principle which excludes every thing disagreeable to themselves. So far as the doctrine has any cosmological applications, it points to the temporary character of the present system. Physicus parries this by his stale device of appealing to the unknown. We are not prepared to accept the conclusion which Thomson, Tait, Clausius, and others have drawn from this law, namely, that the present system is temporary; but all must admit that the known facts point in that direction. This fact ought at least to warn atheistic speculations against fumbling with a doctrine which they rarely understand. But we leave this question, and point out that the doctrine, as the physicists understand it, certainly contains no explanation of the teleological aspect of things. The actual system depends as much on the differentiation of energy as on its conservation. If all energy had the form of heat, or any other single form, there would be simple meaningless uniformity, and yet the law of conservation would be as absolute as now. This differentiation, however, depends, first, on certain primary and irreducible qualities in the elements, which the doctrine assumes, without attempting to explain; second, on the relations of the elements one to another. Physicus seems to imagine that the atoms themselves must be evolved, and he takes Clark Maxwell severely to task for saying that they are natural constants. This statement, he says, "cannot leave two opinions in any impartial mind concerning his competency to deal with such

subjects."—P. 156. To which we reply that all theoretical physical science is either molar or molecular, and, as such, assumes its molecules and all their laws and properties. Now the members of the same class are all alike, and hence, as Herschell said, have all the marks of a manufactured article. To this Physicus objects, declaring that they may have been evolved, and he seems to think this would remove the mystery. In truth Physicus belongs to that unfortunate class of confused minds who fancy that every thing can be evolved from nothing. It has never occurred to them that every process involves a definite agent or agents with definite nature and laws, as its fundamental condition. These, as the founders of the process, can never be explained by the process. If Physicus could only master this simple consideration, he would see that evolution is totally unable to remove in any way the need of intelligence to explain the intelligible. Now, the conservation of energy no more explains the intelligible character of the system than does the allied doctrine of the indestructibility of matter. The latter doctrine is as compatible with phenomenal chaos as with order, and, therefore, it does not explain order. The intelligible laws and collocations of matter must find their explanation in some other principle. In the same way the conservation of energy is compatible with a dead uniformity of energy, or with the most meaningless and chaotic applications of energy. What the theist wishes to know is, why energy should be so differentiated and applied that an intelligible and purpose-like system should result; and to this the doctrine of conservation has no answer. Physicus does attempt such an answer, (pp. 52-57,) which for dreary scientific Tupperism is unsurpassed by anything in literature, unless it be Spencer's chapter on the Instability of the Homogeneous, and the other chapters immediately following, together with his exposition of the formula that intelligence consists in the "adjustment of internal relations to external relations." These lucubrations, perhaps, deserve the first place. That any presumably rational persons should ever have found in them any thing but vague and meaningless generalities is an extremely striking illustration of the possibility of the inconceivable. Physicus apparently imagines that any nebulous mass of matter must necessarily develop into a system like the present, and he fancies that

he has the nebular theory to support him. We beg leave to assure him that this is a mistake, and that his understanding of the nebular theory is as verbal as his understanding of conservation; and we further assure him that his opinion that conservation is an *a priori* truth "cannot leave two opinions in any impartial mind concerning his competency to deal with such subjects." The same might be said of his claim concerning gravitation, that "its peculiar quantitative action necessarily follows from the primary qualities of space."—P. 54. This blunder is, probably, due to his servile following of Spencer, who, however, has abandoned the claim in the third edition of his "First Principles." For the rest, the argument amounts to this: This visible order of nature depends on an invisible order among the elements. Now, the visible order changes, and may even pass away or be completely reversed. But the underlying agents are, so far as we know, eternal. How they came to have their laws and relations we do not know; but they have them, and, having them, their outcome is a necessity. Hence, matter being as it is, both in law and relation, every thing finds its explanation in matter as it exists. Physicus has now and then a glimpse of this argument, but he nowhere develops it with any clearness. The argument reduces to this: When dice are loaded so as to fall in a certain way, we find a full explanation of the peculiar results in the fact of a peculiar loading. Now matter is loaded, so that events must fall out just as they do, and this loaded matter is an eternal fact. This is the view to which we referred at the start as possible, namely, that order is eternal, and as a first fact it admits no explanation. The theist holds that this loaded condition points to a loader; the atheist that there is no going behind it.

This view once more assumes that matter is known directly as a noumenon instead of being a metaphysical inference. In judging it we must bear in mind the distinction we have so often insisted upon between demonstrating a theorem and solving a problem. Of the real agent or agents underlying phenomena we know nothing, except by inference from the phenomena. The name by which we shall call it is quite indifferent; we seek to know how we shall think of it. No one denies, as Physicus seems to imagine, that there is "Permanent Existence;" the dispute is as to what is permanent, and what are

the attributes of the permanent. Now, the view which regards the underlying order as a simple fact, back of which we cannot go, is necessarily involved in the dilemma to which we have referred. The permanent must be either one or many, intelligent or non-intelligent. If one and unintelligent, we are forced to assume a being which works rationally without being rational, which works at an infinity of discreet points with constant and exact reference to its antecedent and co-existent activities, and which further combines all these activities, so that intelligible and purpose-like order results; but all the while without knowing any thing of what it is doing. If we regard the permanent as many and non-intelligent, the case is still worse. If any one thinks this view more rational and satisfactory than the theistic doctrine, which regards the permanent as absolute intelligence and reason, we differ entirely as to the nature of the rational. But no gasconade about the "fundamental data of science," and the "persistence of force," etc., must be allowed to obscure this alternative. Plain common sense is often overawed by a false show of science; all the more, therefore, must it assert itself against mere make-believe knowledge. Physicus' interpretation of the persistence of force as meaning "Permanent Existence," is only an odd rendering of Hamilton's false theory of causation, as the eternal self-equality of existence, and throws no light on the really important question concerning the nature of that existence.

We believe it easy to show that fundamental being is one and not many; and that, therefore, it is strictly impossible to rest in any atomic theory as ultimate. But we do not propose to argue this question at present. It is concurred in by all distinguished thinkers, and, finally, even Physicus allows it. We claim, in conclusion, that there is just as much proof of the intelligence of this being as there is of the intelligence of any of our fellow-men. All are agreed that this being acts intelligibly and as if it were intelligent. There are the same rational order and consistency in its action, and the same subordination of means to ends which are the general marks of intelligence. The theist, seeing these, says, Here is intelligence. He does not, indeed, claim to prove its presence, but to recognize it; and he insists that if these marks do not indicate mind, nothing does. At this point we are often the dupes of a very shal-

ow delusion. We fancy that we have direct knowledge of finite minds; we know that our neighbors are intelligent. But in truth we know only our own minds; all others are inferred. I know that I am conscious, that I plan, contrive, etc.; but I have no such knowldege of any one else. It is solely a matter of inference, based on the fact that others act as if they were conscious and intelligent. At first sight this will seem absurd to the thoughtless, but whoever will be at the pains to reflect on the matter, will see that no one has, or can have, any immediate knowledge of any mind but his own; and the only data for inferring other minds are the intelligible and purpose-like activities which are seen to issue from human forms. But how do we know that they are not *automata* which mimic conscious reason? If the construction of the human body indicates no purpose but only a blind power, it is easily conceivable that bodily action should, also, be only the outcome of a blind mechanism. The activity of the ultimate being is intelligible and purpose-like to a far higher degree than any human activity; but this, we are told, indicates no intelligence and purpose on its part. Much less, therefore, must the activity of a human body be an indication of intelligence. The thoughtless will uneasily urge that we have experience of human intelligence, but we have none of divine intelligence; but this only proves that the term thoughtless is rightly applied. We have experience only of our own intelligence. Since the time of Descartes this difficulty has pressed the mechanical theory, and there is no escape. The same argument which disproves mind in nature, disproves it also in man. And not even thus does it escape. The theory with which we are dealing claims that the ultimate is non-intelligent and without purpose; yet upon this theory human activity is but a phase of the activity of the ultimate. But human activity is conditioned by consciousness and purpose, and hence it follows that the activity of the ultimate is, at least in the realm of human action, conditioned by consciousness and purpose. The original denial of purpose must be withdrawn, and it must be allowed that the ultimate does at times act with conscious purpose. But this being allowed, the question of the extent of this conscious and intelligent activity becomes purely a matter of evidence. Now, we have just the same proof that its extra-human activity is intel-

ligent as that its human action is. It maintains rational order and subordinates means to ends as well in nature as in man; and its rationality cannot be denied in one realm without overthrowing it in the other. This conclusion can be escaped only by breaking down consciousness altogether, and denying that consciousness and purpose in any way condition our action. Consciousness must be reduced to a powerless and illusive attendant upon the underlying mechanical processes, which are entirely independent of any thing external to themselves. That is to say, we escape the conclusion by plunging all science into utter skepticism. Some speculators have gone to this length, and repudiated consciousness as delusive. That they fail to see the suicidal nature of this position is a striking illustration of the blindness which a speculative mania produces. A singular delusion masters most atheistic cosmologists. They forget that man is a part of the system, and must be explained by it. But when they come to explain man they involve themselves in a contradiction of their own first principles. They set out to explain the intelligent by the unintelligent, and make all fundamental action mechanical. Of course, they deny the substantiality of the intelligent, and reduce it to a phase of the universal activity. But they cannot deny without mental suicide that our activity is conditioned by conscious purpose, and hence that the ultimate acts with conscious purpose in human action. Hence the being which acts only mechanically is allowed to be one which can foresee results, form plans, and arrange means for their execution. But such activity, though called mechanical, is precisely what is meant by conscious and rational activity. Thus the doctrine, by its inner contradiction, passes over into its opposite and cancels itself. The only alternative is to break down consciousness and plunge into hopeless skepticism. Even if consciousness were allowed to stand, no science could live on the principles of the no-design argument. All objective science is based on the assumption of the openness and fairness of nature. Light and heat act as if there were an ether. The fire rocks look as if they had been exposed to heat. Matter behaves as if it were composed of atoms. The visible system looks as if evolution had been the method of the development. Animals act as if they were sensitive, in spite of Descartes and Huxley. Our neighbors act

as if they were intelligent. The power which underlies all things, also, acts as if it knew what it is doing. The argument is identical throughout. We hold, therefore, not that theism is demonstrated, but that it is the only rational and satisfactory solution of the problem of the universe. The alternative is now, what it always has been, intelligence or non-intelligence; and when we consider what the latter implies, we decide for theism.

We have confined ourselves to the author's alleged scientific arguments. Nearly half the work is composed of appended criticisms upon one thing and another, which call for no examination. Indeed, there is a sense of humiliation in having to consider arguments of the kind which form the staple of the book. But we cannot take leave of our author without expressing our opinion, that for swaggering ignorance his work is unsurpassed. In this respect it is one of the signs of the times. A large and growing herd of scientific and philosophical quacks is making itself prominent in speculation. Already they have become a serious infestation in current literature. Without the slightest claim to either scientific or philosophical knowledge, they yet affect to speak in the name of both, and to give us the latest results of "advanced science" and "modern thought." In this way science and philosophy are debauched by the camp-followers and bummers of both. We think that scientists and philosophers owe a duty both to themselves and to the public in this respect, which has been too much neglected. They must meet these insolent pretenders with deserved rebuke, and unmask the shallowness of their claims. Doubtless their feeling is that truth itself is mighty and must prevail; but, honorable as the sentiment is, we think it susceptible of abuse. There are pachydermatous minds, which are opaque to truth, unless error be visited with deserved severity and exposure; just as there are persons who are impervious to the dictates of decency, unless those dictates are reinforced by a possible cowhiding. It would help to abate the nuisance if the quacks were given to understand that their manifestoes will be promptly and vigorously dealt with. Irreligion is a great recommendation to a work; but it cannot be allowed to serve as logic, science, philosophy, and advertisement all at once.

Art. III.—POPULAR ASTRONOMY.

Popular Astronomy. By Simon Newcomb, LL.D., Professor in the United States Naval Observatory. With One Hundred and Twelve Engravings, and Five Maps of the Stars. Octavo, pp. 566. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

We are prepossessed with this volume at first sight. We like the theme: "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein." Astronomy is the science of grand ideas. It deals with vast magnitudes, immeasurable distances, and inconceivable durations. The author names it Popular Astronomy; that is, knowledge for the people; and for all the people, not merely the select few. Certainly, and emphatically, among the American people, and measurably throughout the broad earth, the spirit of the age demands light on all possible subjects, and the universal diffusion of light. Nor can we complain that science is slow to respond to the call. She comes out of her cell. "Wisdom crieth without; she uttereth her voice in the streets; she crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates."

And astronomy is not only among the most fascinating of the sciences, but is even better adapted than some others for general cultivation. Mathematics, for instance, deals in abstract numbers and quantities; it requires intense application, and few minds grow enthusiastic over its problems. Chemistry requires costly apparatus and materials. Botany is loaded down with names and definitions, and demands meadow and marsh and forest, and leisure to explore them. But the glorious heaven is over all heads, and open to all eyes. The deep things of astronomy, indeed, involve study such as few are able to devote to them. The time is probably somewhat distant when every village lyceum will own a telescope of twenty-six inch aperture, and the arithmetic class of every country school calculate eclipses. Nevertheless, the sun in its glory, and the moon in its beauty, and the stars in their far-off realms of silence, shine for all; the wandering comets, and the auroral flames, the marvels of the day and the night, and the revolving seasons, are visible to all that look upon them; and the mind must be slow to perceive, and the heart slow to feel, which are not moved by the wonders of earth and sky.

When we hear the Psalmist exclaim: "O Lord, how wondrous are thy works; in wisdom hast thou made them all," we think of the author not as the wise king reigning in Jerusalem, but rather as the simple shepherd-boy, watching his flocks by night in the fields of Bethlehem the Fruitful. In this our day any man of average mental power, and as ignorant on the subject as any such man can be, and yet willing to listen for an hour to a lecturer like Dr. Newcomb, or devote an hour to the thoughtful perusal of a book like his, will go from the lecture, or rise from the book, a larger man, with more of thought and more of mental breadth than he before possessed.

Professor Newcomb divides his work into four parts. The first, entitled, "The System of the World Historically Developed," traces the growth of astronomy as a science. China puts forth claims to the greatest antiquity, asserting that two thousand years before the Christian era the science was cultivated there to such an extent that the Government maintained astronomers, whose duty was to note the motions of the heavenly bodies, and give timely notice of any unusual phenomenon, that the religious ceremonies proper on such occasions might be performed; and that two of these scientific officials, whose names were Hi and Ho, gave themselves up to riotous living, and neglected their duty; and that an eclipse of the sun came which had not been announced, and religious rites were not performed, and the whole empire was consequently exposed to the wrath of the gods, and that the royal scientists were put to death for their crime. This tradition may possibly be authentic. If true, it is the earliest of its kind on record. The Hindus, also, claim to have cultivated astronomy in very ancient times, but their records are vague and unreliable. The Chaldeans and the Egyptians were close observers of the heavenly bodies, and it is surprising to see how much was learned without the aid of telescopes or other instruments now indispensable.

It is, in fact, difficult to tell where or when the science of astronomy originated. As we follow the line back through the ages we find Copernicus learning of Ptolemy, and Ptolemy of Hipparchus, and Hipparchus of Pythagoras, and Pythagoras of Egyptian and Chaldean priests, until all traces are lost in the shadow of wild tradition and fable. Ptolemy, an Egyp-

tian astronomer of the second century after Christ, taught a theory which was universally accepted for fourteen centuries after the death of its author. His system describes the Earth as the center of the universe, and the Sun, Moon, and other heavenly bodies as making a daily revolution around it. In 1543 Copernicus, a Prussian astronomer, published a work entitled, "The Revolution of the Celestial Orbs," in which he attacked, somewhat timidly, the Ptolemaic theory, and advocated another, which places the Sun in the center of the system, and reduces our world to the position of a planet circling about it.

The new view met with great opposition. Every body has heard how Galileo was arrested by the Inquisition, compelled to recant, and to promise, under oath, to teach no more the dangerous doctrines of Copernicus. A fact not so well known is that the opposition was not confined to the reactionary guides of the Romish Church, but was found, also, among scientists and the adherents of the Reformation. Years after the death of Copernicus his theory was debated and opposed; one mighty reasoner among the rest stoutly arguing that the earth cannot revolve daily on its axis, else all manner of confusion would follow; for instance, the sky-lark, rising on its wings to sing its morning carol, would never find its nest again, the revolving surface having meanwhile borne it miles away. The discovery of Newton, that all the worlds of the family to which the Earth belongs are bound together by one law, that of universal gravitation, may be said to complete the theory of the solar system, considered as a piece of enginery. This is the mysterious force which marshals the worlds "in order infinite," and attunes their motions to a harmony which is the true music of the spheres.

Part second treats of Practical Astronomy. Under this head the author discusses the telescope and its uses, also the motion of light, and the spectroscope. When Galileo, in the year 1610, discovered the moons of Jupiter, the instrument which he used magnified objects only thirty times, and was a mere spy-glass. Now the astronomer scans the heavens with telescopes which magnify a thousand times or more. There is, indeed, no theoretical limit to the size of the telescope, and its magnifying power. Herschel is said to have employed

a power of 6,000 times in one of his great telescopes; but practically it is found that the disturbing influences of the atmosphere are magnified even in a greater ratio when we go beyond a certain limit. A night in which celestial objects appear clear, distinct, and steady under a telescopic power of 400, is regarded as a favorable time for observation, while nights in which a power of 1,000 and over can be employed to advantage are of rare occurrence.

A list of the "Principal Great Telescopes of the World" is given, from which it appears that there are forty-three worthy of mention. Nine of these are reflectors, that is, telescopes which magnify by means of concave mirrors. The largest of these was built by the Earl of Rosse, in Ireland, in 1844, and has an aperture of six feet. The only American instrument of this kind named in the list is of twenty-eight inches aperture, and belongs to Professor Henry Draper, of Dobb's Ferry, New York. Of the thirty-four refractors, magnifying by means of lenses, the two largest in the world are, one in the United States Naval Observatory at Washington, and the other in the Imperial Observatory at Vienna. These have an aperture of twenty-six inches. Of the others, seventeen are in Europe, fourteen in this country, and one in South America. Two of the American telescopes are among the apparatus of the universities at Middletown and Ann Arbor.

One of the chief uses of the telescope, and practically the most important of all, is in measurements, celestial and terrestrial.

> Should the reader ask what Practical Astronomy is, the best answer might be given him by a statement of one of its operations. Place an astronomer on board a ship; blindfold him; carry him by any route to any ocean on the globe, whether under the tropics or in one of the frigid zones; land him on the wildest rock that can be found; remove his bandage, and give him a chronometer regulated to Greenwich or Washington time, a transit instrument with the proper appliances, and the necessary books and tables; and in a single clear night he can tell his position within a hundred yards by observations of the stars. This, from a utilitarian point of view, is one of the most important operations of practical astronomy. —Page 103.

The determination of the distance of the Earth from the Sun is the great problem of astronomical measurement. This

distance, whatever it may be, enters into almost all calculations in regard to the Solar System, and becomes the unit of measurement, when we attempt to estimate the distance of the fixed stars. Till this is ascertained, therefore, we cannot determine the magnitude of the Sun, or the planets, or estimate, with any pretense of probability, the depths of the stellar universe. Aristarchus tried a solution, two thousand years ago, and his clumsy methods indicated a distance of only five millions of miles. Ptolemy tried another imperfect method, and reached about the same result. This huge mistake remained unchallenged for fourteen centuries after Ptolemy. Huyghens, two hundred years ago, tried the problem in still another way, and estimated the distance to be ninety-nine millions.

One modern method is based upon observations of the parallax of the two planets which from time to time approach nearest the Earth. The first trial of this method was made by French astronomers in 1672, observations of Mars being taken in France, and, also, in South America, by an expedition sent thither for that purpose. The result showed a distance of about eighty-five millions of miles. This estimate was far from being accurate; yet for a hundred years it was regarded as probably near the truth. Meanwhile astronomical instruments and methods were steadily improving, and the attention of scientists was directed to an approaching transit of Venus, as furnishing the means of a solution of the difficult problem. When the transit of 1761 occurred, observations were made in various parts of the world by parties sent out for that purpose by the principal European Governments; but the results so differed that the problem seemed as far from final solution as ever. Another transit of Venus occurred in 1769, and still more extensive arrangements were made for its observation, the Americans, this time, taking part in the work, under the lead of Rittenhouse.

The results of the observations of 1769 agreed better than those of 1761; and yet to utilize these results in fixing the distance of the Sun required the solution of so many intermediate problems that it was not until 1824 that the calculations were completed in a satisfactory manner by Encke, of the Royal Observatory at Berlin. Fixing the value of each observation, and assuming that the average result was nearest the truth,

the distance of the Sun from the Earth was determined to be 95,370,000 miles. This was accepted as correct; it went into school books and general literature, and remained unquestioned for thirty years.

But Hansen, another German astronomer, after long and careful study of the perturbations of the Moon, announced, in 1854, that the lunar phenomena cannot be explained on the basis of the observations of 1769, and the calculations of Encke, and that an error existed equal to about one thirtieth of the whole distance of the Sun. This statement has been amply confirmed; and to correct the error requires a reduction of the assumed dimensions of the entire solar system. Still, a problem of such importance is worthy of repeated efforts; modern science is content with nothing which falls short of absolute certainty.

In December, 1874, another transit of Venus occurred; and preparations more extensive and elaborate than before were made to observe it. Observations were made by American astronomers at eight different places, all of which are in foreign countries, the transit being invisible on the American continent. Doubtless valuable results have been secured, and will soon be added to our current knowledge; but so much of time and labor is required for comparison of observations, and for mathematical calculations, and so great the honorable ambition of each corps of scientists to do accurate and reliable work, that, so far as we know, no authoritative and final report has yet been made.

Meanwhile the great question has been attacked in two other ways. One is the method indicated by Hansen, which depends on the gravitating force of the Sun upon the Moon. The other seeks to ascertain the velocity of light, which is known, by observations of Jupiter and his moons, to pass from the Sun to the Earth in eight minutes and eighteen seconds. The results of investigation by these two methods do not wholly agree with each other, yet they approximate, indicating an error of about three million miles in the distance of the Sun as calculated by observing the transit of Venus in 1769.

If the recent transit should confirm this correction, quite a long list of new figures must be substituted for those which older scientists have been quoting all their lives. If we are

three million miles nearer the Sun than we calculated, then the Sun's diameter is about thirty thousand miles less than we concluded it; and Mercury and Venus, and all the planets, are nearer the Sun and all are smaller than we thought them, except the Earth, whose magnitude is ascertained by other methods. The reduction of one thirtieth goes through the whole column. Professor Newcomb regards the new measurements as more reliable than the older, and accordingly adopts them in his description of the solar system.

One of the most interesting applications of the methods of celestial measurement is in the attempt to ascertain the distances of the fixed stars. This problem is far more difficult than the one already described. Professor Newcomb states that, "so far as is known, and beyond all reasonable doubt, the nearest fixed star is *α* Centauri," a constellation of the Southern Hemisphere. The conclusion from a long series of the most careful observations, made with the best instruments, is that the pair of stars which are marked *Alpha* on the maps of the constellation named are distant from us two hundred and twenty-six thousand times the distance of the earth from the Sun. Stated in miles, this is more than twenty millions of millions. Assuming that the investigations of the French scientists have really discovered the velocity of light, estimating it to be one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles in a second of time, this double star, the nearest neighbor of the solar system, is so far away that the rays which enter our eyes as we look upon it have been three years and one hundred and fifty-five days upon their stupendous journey.

The disciples passing out of the magnificent temple which crowned Mount Moriah, and turning to admire and wonder, said, "Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here!" What language shall utter our thought as we survey the vast proportions of God's universe?

A traveler, making a journey by night, looks out of the window of the car, and sees a light some distance from the road, but how far he does not for a moment know. But he knows that the track runs for miles in a straight line. As the rapid train advances, the light seems to swing around toward the rear of the train. The rapidity with which it swings toward the rear furnishes a criterion by which to judge of its dis-

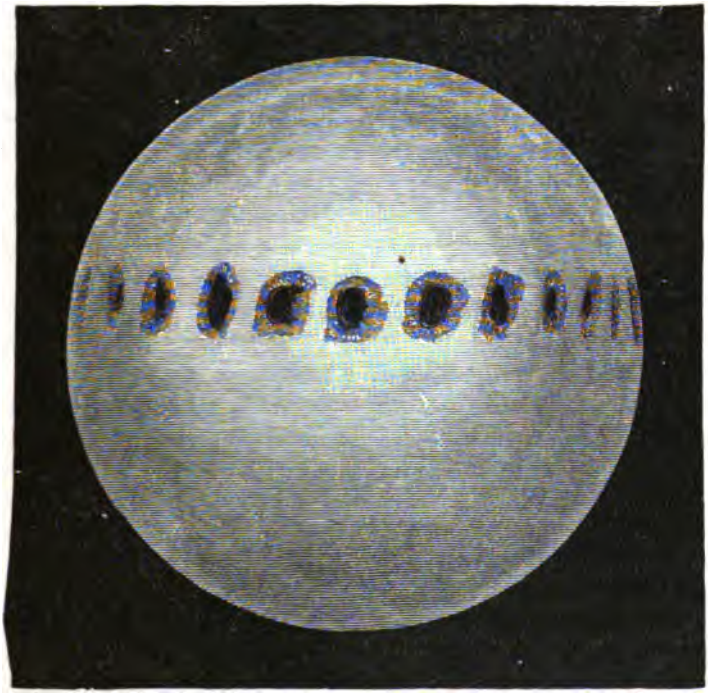
tance. If a few seconds send it out of sight, the light is not far from the railroad. If at the distance of a mile from the first point of observation the traveler still sees it plainly, and almost in the same direction that it was at the beginning, he knows that the light, whatever it may be, is miles away from the line of the road. Give him the proper instruments, and the time and skill to use them, and let him take an observation at each of the mile-posts, and he can tell just how far away the light is which he is watching.

This is the way in which the civil engineer measures his way along from point to point across a continent. This is the way in which the astronomer essays to fathom the depths of space. The Earth is his train. He notes, with his instruments, the exact direction of a star, and six months thereafter looks at the star again. The Earth, meanwhile, has made half its annual revolution, and is now one hundred and eighty-five millions of miles from its former place. This immense distance becomes the base line of his triangulation. And yet, of the myriads of stars visible in these United States, all but about a dozen, when observed with the utmost accuracy, and with the aid of the best telescopes that modern skill can produce, seem not to have changed their apparent direction a hair's breadth.

Part third describes the Solar System, the little family of worlds, numbering two hundred, and probably more, to which our earth belongs. In this comparatively narrow field scientists have found problems which tax their powers to the uttermost, and some of which are still unsolved. In fact, so many of the older statements have been found clearly incorrect, so many things found doubtful which were once considered settled, so many new questions come up which as yet have found no answer, that the astronomical publications of even twenty-five years ago need corrections and additions on almost every page.

THE SUN.—In regard to the central body of our system modern investigations disprove much and explain little, and the mysteries of this burning mass are denser than ever. In the ages before the invention of the telescope the highest science claimed little beyond what any untaught eye can see. The idea naturally occurring to the mind of an inquirer was that the Sun is an immense orb in a state of intense ignition, perhaps molten;

and that what wesee is the dazzling surface of this fiery ocean. But the telescope reveals spots darker than the surround-



ing spaces, and sometimes many thousand miles in diameter. Figure 67 shows how a spot may be traced from day to day, as it traverses the disk of the Sun from east to west, its changes revealing the fact that it is a real depression in the luminous surface. These spots were at first conjectured to be *scoriæ*, masses of dross, floating on the burning sea. But closer observation showed that they have a dark center, and lighter borders, and as the Sun revolves assume the different aspects of vast excavations.

To explain these facts the theory was adopted by Herschel and others, that the body of the Sun is invisible, and that the light and heat come from a luminous atmosphere, the spots being temporary openings in this atmosphere, disclosing the darker surface of the Sun itself. And astronomers that were devout as well as scientific have fancied that under this glow-

ing canopy of flame, and defended from its fervors by intervening spaces filled with some ethereal fluid that does not permit the intense heat to pass downward, is the home of the redeemed, *the city that hath foundations.*

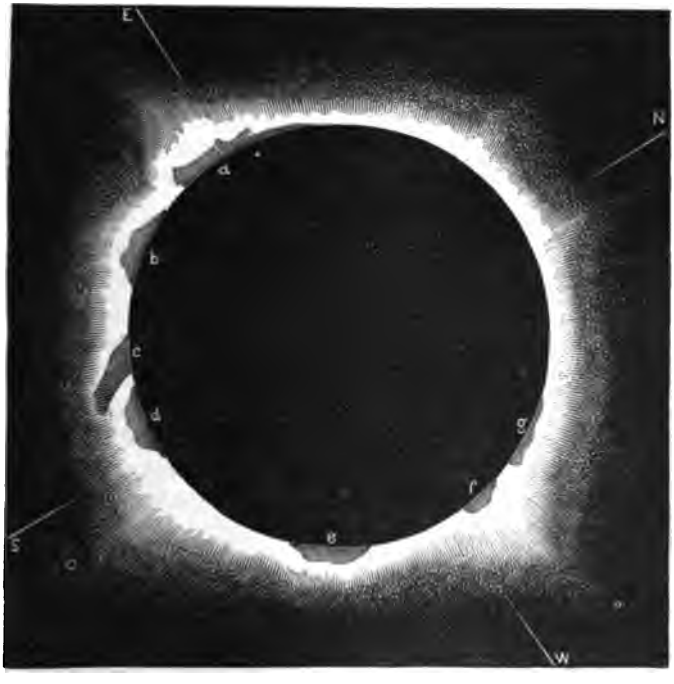
Another advance was made, and this dream faded into thin air. It became an axiom in science that no force operates unspent. The Sun evolves every moment enormous amounts of light and heat, which, on all the principles that science teaches, no mere stratum of fiery clouds could send forth from age to age without diminution. Meanwhile instruments and methods continued to improve; the spectroscope began to reveal its wonders, errors were detected, and new phenomena discovered, until, at the present hour, we are justified in saying, in paradoxical language, that we know more about the Sun and know less about it than ever before.

Modern methods treat of the Sun under three heads: the photosphere, the chromosphere, and the corona. The photosphere is the disk of the Sun, visible with or without the telescope. To the unaided eye it seems a round, smooth, shining mass. Seen through one of the larger telescopes the surface presents a mottled aspect, which has been compared to the appearance of rice grains floating in water, or leaves of the willow-tree, interlacing each other in all directions. Traversing this surface, as the Sun revolves, are the spots already described, often enlarging, or diminishing, or even disappearing as they go. What causes them we know not; science may safely multiply conjectures, because proof and disproof are alike hard to discover.

A few years ago the spots were regarded as furnishing the means of ascertaining the time of the Sun's rotation on its axis; but later observations have demonstrated the surprising fact that the regions nearer the poles revolve more rapidly than the equator. Moreover, the equatorial belt does not seem to rotate always in the same period of time, the variation being sometimes twenty-four or even thirty-six hours. For the cause of this there is not even a plausible conjecture. Faye's idea of ascending and descending currents only originates new questions in regard to the nature of the strata, and the cause of the currents. And then there is something in the color of the lighter portion of the spots which is inexplicable. Instead

of a gradual shading off from the surrounding brightness to the dark center, the border is marked with parallel lines, which give it an appearance like that of the lower edge of a thatched roof.

Besides the wonders on the very surface of the Sun, observations made with powerful instruments in the time of total eclipses have discovered new marvels. At the moment of total obscuration the dark disk of the moon is found to be surrounded with a halo of silvery light. This halo is sometimes seen extending on all sides to the apparent distance of half the diameter of the Sun. What this *corona*, as it is called, is composed of, no one can tell. It is not an atmosphere in any degree like that of the Earth. A stratum of any kind of



gas, held in place by gravitation, would maintain a uniform height from the surface; whereas the corona presents a very irregular outline.

There are, also, visible during total eclipses appearances which have received various names, "prominences," "flames,"

"protuberances," etc. These sometimes rise to the enormous height of fifty thousand miles above the surface of the Sun.

When astronomers discovered them, the first thought was that they are clouds of some sort, floating upward from the fiery deep, and reflecting its rosy light. The spectroscope shows that this is an error, and that these enormous columns, fantastic and variable in their forms, are masses of hydrogen gas, so hot as to shine by their own light. And nearer the body of the Sun, close above the burning surface, there seems to be a stratum of this same gas, intensely heated, from which shoot up, from time to time, these mighty tongues of flame. This is called the *chromosphere.* The spectroscope reveals another fact. While it shows that hydrogen, iron, and some other substances well known to us, enter into the composition of the Sun, there are many lines in the spectrum which are not recognized as belonging to any element of this earthly creation. What they are none can even conjecture.

In short, the sun is the scientific *crux philosophorum.* To the unaided eye it seemed calm, silent, powerful, shining upon the worlds in its stillness and strength. Viewed through the lenses of the astronomer, it is an ocean of flame, swept by currents compared with which our Gulf-stream is only a ripple in a summer brook, and tossing perpetually with wilder tempests than earthly oceans feel when wrecked navies strew the shore. From time to time, here and there, from the hot deep there open wide mouths, as of volcanoes, into which a world like this might fall, and from them issue masses of flame that leap upward thousands of miles, and throw their light to the stars. What fuel feeds this fiery furnace; what power within bursts forth in these floods of light and heat; what winds sweep these seas of flame, no mortal can tell. Science can only watch from afar the rush and rage of the storm, and realize the narrow limits of human knowledge.

Is it possible to present in language any adequate idea of the scale on which natural operations are here carried on? If we call the chromosphere an ocean of fire, we must remember that it is an ocean hotter than the fiercest furnace, and as deep as the Atlantic is broad. If we call its movements hurricanes, we must remember that our hurricanes blow only about a hundred miles an hour, while those of the chromosphere blow as far in a single second. They are such hurricanes as, "coming down upon us from the

north, would, in thirty seconds after they had crossed the St. Lawrence, be in the Gulf of Mexico, carrying with them the whole surface of the continent in a mass, not simply of ruin, but of glowing vapor, in which the vapors arising from the dissolution of the materials composing the cities of Boston, New York, and Chicago, would be mixed in a single, indistinguishable cloud." When we speak of eruptions, we call to mind Vesuvius burying the surrounding cities in lava; but the solar eruptions, thrown fifty thousand miles high, would ingulf the whole earth, and dissolve every organized being on its surface in a moment. When the mediæval poets sung

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favilla,

they gave rein to their wildest imagination, without reaching any conception of the magnitude or fierceness of the flames around the sun.—P. 262.

With this eloquent passage from the author we leave the vast problem. What science may hereafter achieve we know not; nor is it safe to say at what point its victories must cease. We can only say that in the present state of science the solar mysteries are not solved. Professor Newcomb gives the views of four distinguished students of the Sun, Rev. Father Secchi, of Rome; M. Faye, of Paris; Professor Young, of Dartmouth College; and Professor Langley, of Allegheny Observatory; to which the still later theory of Dr. Henry Draper, of New York, is appended, stating his discovery of glowing oxygen in the Sun, by means of the spectroscope. These theories differ one from another in some degree, and from some of the views expressed by our author; but these differences only reveal more clearly the magnitude of the difficulty. The spirit of all these able men is well expressed in a single sentence of the closing paragraph of Professor Young's paper: "Such, in brief, are my opinions; but many of them I hold with little confidence and tenacity, and anxiously await more light." This modesty distinguishes the true scientist from the pretender. A quack knows every thing.

THE PLANETS.—As has been already stated, investigation has found an error in the former measurements of the Solar System, and we are compelled to reduce the figures all along the line. These later investigations have detected some other errors, and made important discoveries, and achieved great advances; and yet, as regards the sum of what we think we

know, it is a question whether the new facts added, or the old supposed facts to be thrown overboard, are the more numerous.

Mercury was formerly supposed to give indications of an atmosphere. At the beginning of the century Schröter thought he saw mountains twelve miles high on this planet; and, by watching them from night to night, figured out the time of Mercury's daily revolution, computing it to be twenty-four hours and five minutes. More modern astronomers, with better instruments, have not found these lofty mountains, nor seen signs of an atmosphere; nor do they know certainly the length of its day. From time to time, for the last hundred years, publication has been made of the discovery of one or more planets revolving in orbits between Mercury and the Sun. The best observers of the present day have not discovered them, and we can only conclude, at present, that there are none.

Venus has long been supposed to be surrounded by an atmosphere; and the observations of 1874 are held to establish the fact. Some other suppositions of the past have not stood the test. Schröter thought that he proved the existence of mountains twenty miles high on the surface of this planet, and, watching them from day to day, concluded that Venus revolves on its own axis in twenty-three hours and twenty-one minutes. Astronomers of our own day, aided by better instruments, fail to discover these lofty mountains; nor can they fix on any thing by which the time of rotation may be ascertained.

Cassini, two hundred years ago, fancied that he saw a satellite of Venus. During the next century several observers imagined that they, also, saw it; and one astronomer proceeded to compute its orbit. It cannot be found now, and seems to have been nothing but a myth at any time. About the only real addition recently made to our knowledge of this body is the fact, shown by the spectroscope, that its atmosphere is composed of materials similar to the atmosphere of our Earth. If this is so, the supposition is not an extravagant one, that Venus is a world much like our own, perhaps peopled by similar living beings.

In regard to the Earth, the principal new fact is the one already given, the conclusion that the distance from the Sun is not as great, by three millions of miles, as former figures stated

it. The results of the observations of 1874 will soon be at hand, to confirm or modify this estimate. On a certain question, which is geological rather than astronomical, and yet bears directly on the theory of the formation of the Solar System, Professor Newcomb is quite explicit. He accepts the theory that the interior of the earth is intensely hot, perhaps molten.

It is well known that as we descend into the solid portions of the Earth there is a uniform rise in the temperature, equal to one degree of Fahrenheit for every fifty feet, or one hundred degrees to the mile. The author says that "we have every reason to believe" that this increase "continues many miles into the interior. Then we shall have a red heat at the distance of twelve miles; while at the depth of one hundred miles the temperature will be so high as to melt most of the materials which form the solid crust of the globe."—Pp. 299. Hot springs, volcanoes, and earthquakes give strong evidence to sustain this view. Still, there is evidence adverse to the idea of a wholly molten interior. If the entire globe, with the exception of a crust fifty or a hundred miles in thickness, were liquid, the tides would effect the whole mass, and not the oceans only. The solid crust would rise and fall, the land as well as the sea, and no tides be seen along the shore.

In discussing things pertaining to the Earth, the author treats of the Aurora Borealis. The number of comparatively new facts in regard to it is not large, yet they are interesting. Observations made at the same time from distant points show that the visible phenomena take place from four hundred to six hundred miles above the surface of the Earth. They are rarely seen near the Earth's equator, but are most frequent, not at the extreme north, but in the region of the Arctic circle. It may be regarded as certain that the Aurora is electric in its nature, and is closely connected with terrene magnetism. The auroral light has been examined with the spectroscope, and is found to exhibit some new lines, which wait, and may wait long, for explanation.

To our knowledge of the Moon modern researches seem to have added little. There is no evidence of the existence of an atmosphere, no indications of change of any kind upon its surface. We are indebted to it for its silvery light; it heaves the

ocean tides. The question is raised whether, by its attractive force upon the molten portion of the Earth's interior, it may not have an influence upon the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions; but this is about all we can attribute to it. Careful observation has established the fact that the Moon's influence on the weather is not appreciable.

Mars assumes new prominence at the present time from the discovery of its moons. On the night of August 11, 1877, Professor Hall, of the Naval Observatory at Washington, was searching the neighborhood of Mars with the great telescope, and discovered near it a small body, which repeated observations showed to be a satellite of that planet. On the following night another satellite was discovered by the observers at Washington. These moons are the smallest, the nearest to their primary, and the swiftest in their revolutions, of all that are known. In the largest telescopes they appear only as mere brilliant points, and their size can only be guessed at from the amount of light they give.

The inner moon is, perhaps, twenty-five miles in diameter, is about four thousand miles distant from the surface of the planet, and revolves around it in seven hours and thirty-eight minutes. The outer one is smaller, perhaps twelve or fifteen miles in diameter, and revolves about its primary in thirty hours and fourteen minutes. The smallness of these bodies, and their proximity to the planet, rendered their discovery the more difficult, and its achievement the more creditable to the astronomer to whom this honor has fallen. It should be stated, also, that the discovery was not accidental, but that Professor Hall was looking for the very objects which he found. As an American, and as such by no means indifferent in regard to the reputation which Americans maintain in the world of science, we are happy here to put on record one of the most remarkable astronomic discoveries of the age, and point to it as proof that American scientists hold a place among the leaders in the march of intelligence.

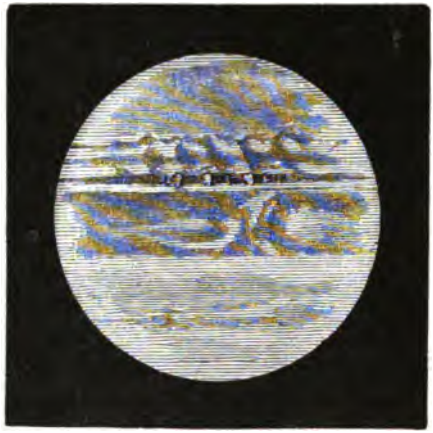
The Asteroids, a group of small bodies, which are invisible to the unaided eye, and whose orbits lie between those of Mars and Jupiter, have been found within a few years to be a far more numerous family than had been suspected. Taking the Solar System as it appears to the eye, Mercury revolves at a

distance of forty millions of miles from the Sun, Venus sixty-seven millions, Earth ninety-two and a half millions, Mars one hundred and forty-one millions; and then, across a great gap of three hundred and forty millions of miles beyond Mars, we find the planet Jupiter, at the distance of four hundred and eighty millions. For two hundred years after Copernicus astronomers pondered over this vast wilderness of space, and wondered if it could be as empty as it seemed. It was conjectured that there must be a planet which had not yet been discovered; and in the year 1800 an association was formed to search the heavens for it.

On New-Year's Day, 1801, the first day of the nineteenth century, Piazzi, an Italian astronomer, discovered a new planet, which traverses the spaces that had seemed to be void. This new world he named Ceres. Within seven years three others were found, and named Pallas, Juno, and Vesta. In 1845 another was discovered, and since then discoveries have followed in rapid succession, until one hundred and seventy-five asteroids have been found and named, while indefinite possibilities remain. Of the asteroids discovered within the last ten years nearly half have been found by American astronomers. These planets are remarkable for their small size, which is estimated from the amount of light which they reflect. The largest cannot be more than three or four hundred miles in diameter, while the smallest seem no larger than the satellites of Mars.

Jupiter, under the new measurement, is eighty-five thousand miles in diemeter, and four hundred and eighty millions of miles from the Sun. As in the case of the Sun, recent investigation has raised more questions than it has answered. The Moon has a variegated surface, which seems to remain the same from age to age. Mars has darker and lighter shadings and spots, which appear to be permanent. Jupiter, on the other hand, changes its appearance under the telescope almost from night to night. Broad bands, darker than the general surface, and parallel with its equator, stretch across the disk of the planet. These belts are most distinctly marked ten or twenty degrees on each side of the equator; and the intervening spaces sometimes assume a rosy tinge. Dark spots, which are less changeable, are, also, seen at times.

These varying appearances indicate that we seldom or never see the solid body of Jupiter, but only the surface of an ex-

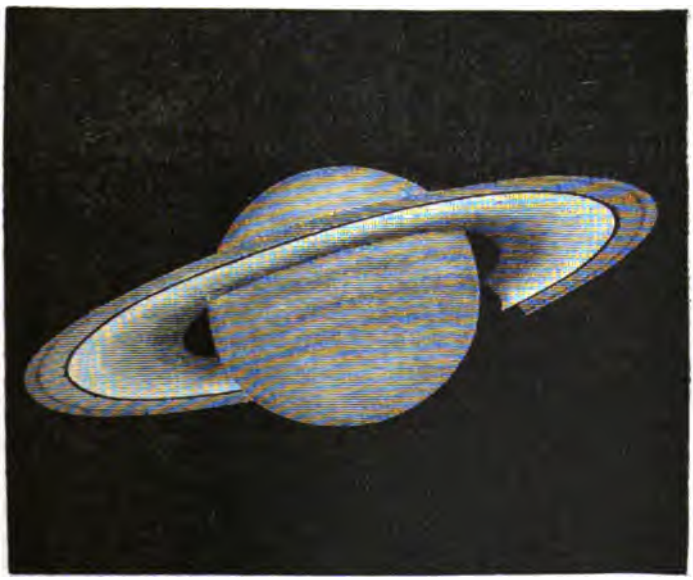


ceedingly dense atmosphere, filled with vapor, and subject to action of some kind which keeps it in a state of constant agitation. Its density, that is, its weight in proportion to its size, is small, only about one sixth of that of the Earth. These changes from white to a reddish hue in the equatorial regions, with the occasional appearance of bright spots here and there, have suggested the idea that Jupiter is still intensely hot on the very surface, and in places incandescent. Thus, on a reduced scale, its phenomena seem to resemble those of the Sun; and, like them, are beyond the reach of explanation. From the motions of the more permanent spots, the time of rotation has been estimated at 9 hours 55½ minutes.

One of the most puzzling phenomena of the Sun is seen, also, in Jupiter; the equatorial regions rotate irregularly, and in less time than other parts of the disk. Jupiter has five moons, the smallest about the size of ours, and the largest nearly twice the diameter, which revolve around their primary in periods varying from two to seventeen of our days. The new and surprising discovery in regard to them is, they show great and sudden changes in their brilliancy. The best explanation offered is that the surface of the moons is not uniform in material or color, and, therefore, some parts reflect light better than others. They are so distant that our best telescopes have

thus far furnished no grounds for either the establishment or the rejection of this conjecture.

Saturn, with its immense magnitude, its broad rings and eight moons, would be the most magnificent object in the solar family, were it not so far away that its glories are invisible to the common eye. Recent investigation has resulted in the discovery of a few new facts, and, as usual, in the overthrow of some older supposed facts. The rings of Saturn are its grand distinguishing mark. Galileo discovered with his imperfect telescope something peculiar in the form of this planet; and succeeding observers tried in vain to discover exactly what it was until Huyghens, in 1655, showed that the various apparent shapes could be explained by assuming the existence of a broad, thin ring surrounding the planet. The next discovery was that what had been deemed one ring is in reality two, the inner and the outer being separated by an interval some thousands of miles wide. In 1850 Professor Bond, of Cambridge,



announced the discovery of a third ring, within the other two, and not so bright. In 1851 Struve claimed to have ascertained that the rings are steadily contracting, the inner edge gradually approaching the planet.

These rings were at first supposed to be solid, but it was soon shown that solid rings could not be held in place by gravitation. Then came the inference that they must be fluid, but this theory is, also, unsatisfactory. The final conclusion is that the rings are composed of myriads of minute satellites, too small to be visible singly, and so numerous as to assume the appearance of solid and continuous rings. Saturn revolves on its own axis in ten hours and fourteen minutes, and around the Sun in twenty-nine and a half of our years. If it has intelligent inhabitants, its evenings, in certain seasons of its year, must be to them beautiful beyond description, its many moons shining in the sky, and the rings spanning the heavens with their broad arch of silvery light.

In regard to Uranus, advancing science has taken away more than it has imparted. Its distance from the sun, one thousand seven hundred and seventy millions of miles, is about sixty millions less than former estimates, and of the six satellites, whose discovery Sir William Herschel announced in 1787, three have no existence. In the year 1846 a fourth satellite was discovered by Lassell, of England, nearer the planet than any of the imaginary moons of Herschel, and, therefore, one not seen by him.

The discovery of Neptune, the outermost planet of the system, known to us, is a remarkable achievement of modern science. The planets as they traverse their orbits affect each other's motion by their mutual attraction. Uranus, till 1846 supposed to be the farthest from the Sun, showed perturbations which could not be caused by bodies whose orbits lie inside its path. This fact gave rise to the question whether there was a planet still farther away, which had not yet been seen. Leverrier, of France, and Adams, of England, in 1845 set themselves to the work of computing, from the known irregularities of Uranus, what manner of planet would produce these perturbations, and at what point of its orbit it must be at that date. The two mathematicians completed their calculations about the same time, indicating that the planet ought to be in a certain quarter of the heavens. Astronomers turned their telescope to the place pointed out, and there was the new planet, at a distance of two thousand eight hundred millions of miles from the solar center. This discovery was made in

September, 1846. The next year, a satellite of Neptune, as the new planet has been named, was discovered by Mr. Lassell, of Maidenhead, England.

From this hasty survey of the Solar System, as delineated by Professor Newcomb, it is evident that so great advances have been made by astronomy, that the facts and figures of even twenty-five years ago are no longer quotable, unless newly verified. This state of things is nothing new. The march of intelligence is steady and remorseless. Dreams are dissipated, errors fall, and knowledge grows. The day advances, and things which put on one appearance in the twilight wear another at sunrise. One great duty of the scientists of every age is to correct the mistakes of those who preceded them, and to do it modestly, in the full persuasion that their own work will be as mercilessly revised by those who come after them. In science the classic myth of Saturn's devouring his children must be reversed. The newborn ages devour their progenitors.

Our author treats of comets, meteors and shooting stars, in a manner which is not only interesting, but as thorough as the proposed size of the volume admits. One new phenomenon may here be cited in proof of the fact that the celestial enginery is not the changeless thing that some imagine it. Biela's comet, which was seen in 1772, and which was observed from time to time for eighty years, as it returned at intervals of a little less than seven years, separated into two parts in January, 1846. These were seen again in 1852, more widely separated than before, but have never been seen since, unless, as is argued with some show of proof, some of its fragments floated across the path of the Earth, and produced the meteoric shower which occurred on the night of November 27, 1872.

Part fourth discusses the stellar universe, and is so full of marvels that we know not how to select from its richness. The theories of Kant and Herschel are described, in regard to the way in which the universe was formed. The author also treats of the number of the stars, the constellations, new and variable stars, double stars, binary systems, clusters of stars, nebulæ, and the motions of the stars. "The representation which we give in Figure 104 is from a drawing made by Mr. Trouvelot with the great Washington telescope. In

that discovered truth will ever conflict with revealed truth. The multiplication table will never refute conic sections. The intelligent Christian believer hears with unalloyed pleasure of the brilliant discoveries of our age, and cherishes the hope of still greater advances in coming years.

There has never been a conflict between true science and true religion. There have, indeed, been collisions between scientists and ecclesiastics; but this does not prove the charge. The collisions of scientists among themselves have been far more numerous and far more bitter. When Galileo published his discovery of the moons of Jupiter, there was at first a general expression of incredulity; and one astronomer refused to look through the telescope, lest he should see and be convinced. Men become famous for their acquaintance with the science of their times; and when some advance is made which calls upon them to retract, and reconstruct, and become learners again, they are slow to surrender their honors.

It is said that when Harvey, in 1628, published his discovery of the circulation of the blood, no physician forty years old at that time ever believed it. The professors in the medical colleges of the Continent attacked him, and in London itself, notwithstanding court favor, his professional practice declined. When Jenner, in 1796, introduced vaccination as a preventive of small-pox, he was treated with derision; a medical society with which he was connected threatened to expel him; and the medical profession generally, both in England and the United States, vigorously resisted all attempts to introduce the "diabolical" device.

Professor Newcomb nowhere directly avows his belief in the Hebrew Scriptures, but he takes positions which can in nowise be reconciled with atheism. The idea that the whole Solar System once existed as an immense volume of glowing gas, and became what we find it by a process which occupied a million ages, is not irreconcilable with the first two verses of Genesis. If it can be shown that the germs of the various forms of life now existing were gradually evolved by forces working in the primordial atoms, the next twenty verses do not deny it. And the idea that the Creator made the worlds by gradual process, first calling into being the glowing mass of vapor, and clothing its myriad atoms with all the possibilities of the com-

pleted work, is really an exalted conception of His boundless intelligence and infinite power.

We count these evolution theories "the stuff that dreams are made of;" but, whether verities or dreams, they are logically theistic. To be eternal, things must be changeless. If the visible creation is the product of lengthened processes, it surely had a beginning. Prove any sort of process which advances by successive stages, and you prove a beginner as well as a beginning. The teachings of science are very significant in another direction; they assure us that, left to itself, and as controlled by the laws of matter only, the whole visible universe must come to an end.

All modern science seems to point to the finite duration of our system in its present form, and to carry us back to the time when neither Sun nor planet existed, save as a mass of glowing gas. How far back that was it cannot tell us with certainty; it can only say the period is counted by millions of years, but, probably, not by hundreds of millions. It also points forward to the time when Sun and stars shall fade away, and nature shall be enshrouded in darkness and death, unless some power now unseen shall uphold or restore her.—Page 489.

The progressive change exhibited by the operations of nature consists in a constant transformation of motion into heat, and the constant loss of that heat by radiation. As Sir William Thompson has expressed it, a constant "dissipation of energy" is going on in nature. We all know that the Sun has been radiating heat into space during the whole course of his existence. . . But it is now known that heat cannot be produced except by the expenditure of force, actual or potential, in some of its forms; it is, also, known that the available supply of force is necessarily limited. . . . Hence, this radiation cannot go on forever unless the force expended in producing the heat be returned to the Sun in some form. That it is not now so returned we may regard as morally certain.—P. 500.

That which approaches an end must certainly have had a beginning. If it had existed from all eternity, then the processes which bring it to an end would have been completed, and the end reached, a whole eternity ago. We have, then, as the result of the boldest research, and the severest logic of modern science, the conclusion that the visible universe had a beginning, and, unless sustained by a power above itself, must end in universal darkness and death. Spencer himself admits that nature tends to universal equilibrium, and that universal equilibrium is the cessation of light and heat, and all the

forms of life which depend upon them. Thus science and religion, so far from being hostile to each other, are seen to be in perfect accord, science laying her trophies at the feet of religion, and religion crowning science as a true interpreter of the divine workmanship.

But if this is so, it may be asked, Why do we not find the language of revelation clearly adjusted to the facts of modern science, or even some of those facts incorporated into the Scripture itself? This, for many reasons, would be unwise.

1. The word of God is not given to teach the whole circle and sum of human knowledge, but only one branch of it, which transcends in value all the rest. What we most need to know, in addition to what every man's senses teach him, is the being and nature of God, our origin and immortality, the fall, the plan of salvation, the true standard of right living, and the nature of the life which lies beyond death. These we need to know now; the joys of scientific research we may learn hereafter. One volume suffices to show us God: whole libraries are needed to explain the work of his hands.

2. If the word of God had contained statements of things, as modern science knows them, those statements would have been for centuries worse than useless. Some would long remain words utterly without meaning to them who read them, and, in the hands of dreamy interpreters, a fruitful source of wild and fantastic doctrine. Others would have been cited by opposers as proof positive that the Scriptures are false. To say that the Earth revolves around the Sun is to contradict what the Hottentot sees, or thinks he sees, with his own eyes. If the psalmist, "considering the heavens," had said, as our author does, that the stars visible to man number, perhaps, fifty millions, all the infidels for twenty-five centuries would have flatly contradicted the statement, and triumphantly pointed to the sky for proof of its falsehood. And when Galileo and his telescope came upon the stage of action, and the existence of the starry myriads is demonstrated, how triumphantly would modern infidels show that the telescope is a recent invention, that David never saw these millions of stars, and, consequently, the Psalms of David are a modern forgery!

3. The fact that the word of God nowhere makes a definite statement which modern science contradicts, is no small proof of

its divine origin. Written, as it was, in an age when the foundations of the sciences were scarcely laid—written by men many of whom were not learned, even according to the low standard of their times—if their pens had not been guided by the Author of nature their errors would have been so numerous and so palpable that their claims to inspiration would have found abundant refutation in their own pages. Every general reader knows that the cosmogonies of the heathen are mere childish fables, hardly up to the level of the nursery story of Jack and his Beanstalk. The sacred books, so called, of the Hindus contain statements so utterly absurd, so fatally at variance with modern knowledge, that every native graduate of the English college at Calcutta leaves the school an unbeliever in the religion of his fathers. They state, for example, that the earth is a circular plane one hundred and seventy millions of miles in diameter, and that there are mountains sixty miles high. The Koran tells of "the seven solid heavens," and of Mohammed's splitting the Moon. If the Bible contained one such childish conceit, how endlessly would skeptics harp upon it! John Bunyan, in one of his religious treatises, gravely informs the reader that the stars are at a prodigious distance from the earth, some of them at least thirty thousand leagues. If Job, speaking of Orion and the Pleiades, had said that, what would be the inference?

A recent instance of the same kind, immeasurably ludicrous because immeasurably pretentious, is found in the writings of the great prophet of spiritism, Andrew Jackson Davis. The introduction of his volume states that in 1845 Davis, then a wholly uneducated young man of about twenty-one years, fell into the trance state, and was inspired by "the spirits" to deliver lectures describing the Sun, Moon, and stars, and the whole system of nature; that an amanuensis wrote, as the spirits inspired, and Davis uttered this supernatural wisdom. Describing the planets in their order, and giving the facts as they were set forth in every school-book of the day, he at length comes to the Asteroids, the *four* Asteroids, and proceeds to assign reasons why there should be just four of them, and no more. His worthless octavo was hardly in type before Hencke, of Dresden, discovered a fifth. Since then, about one hundred and seventy have been discovered, and no one can

conjecture how many more there are. It is not to be supposed that the faith of the dupes of this shallow imposture will be at all weakened by this huge error; but what would be the effect of such a blunder if found in the books of Moses?

In fine, we regard Professor Newcomb's Popular Astronomy as an admirable work, without an equal in the field of popular scientific literature. The author's style is clear, correct, and often eloquent. The one hundred and twelve engravings are unusually good, as may be seen by the five kindly furnished by the publishers for this article, at the request of the writer. The five star maps will aid those who desire to study the heavens for themselves. A glossary of astronomical terms and technical phrases will assist the general reader, while sundry tables of the elements of orbits, parallaxes of fixed stars, etc., will gratify experts. The mechanical execution of the book is all that could be desired, even by those who are growing somewhat critical in such matters. We commend the work to all, and especially to the younger ministerial readers of the Quarterly, who may not have previously traversed this field, as one that will give them a larger idea of God than they ever had before.

ART. IV.—ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Life of Alexander H. Stephens. By RICHARD MALCOM JOHNSTON and WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

TEN or twelve years ago the speeches and political letters of Mr. Stephens were gathered into a volume and published, with a brief biographical sketch of his life; but the only elaborate biography is the book which stands at the head of this article. It is neatly printed, the paper is good, and the mechanical execution in all its parts such as to give it a very attractive appearance. The literary work has, also, been well done. The authors were sufficiently familiar with the stirring events connected with the long public career of Mr. Stephens to enable them to give a clear and comprehensive narrative, holding the interest of the reader to the end.

It could hardly be expected that the biography of such a man, written during his life-time and with his concurrence and

aid, should be free from sectional colorings; and it is not extraordinary that these personal friends should look at the public life of Mr. Stephens from a Southern stand-point, and construe all public measures according to the accepted standards of Southern opinion. The future historian will not be embarrassed by these prejudiced views, and they will not seriously detract from the interest or value of that great mass of information contained in Mr. Stephens' abounding private correspondence—so rich in biographical material, and on which the authors have drawn with a liberal hand. They have given us a volume full of interest, and which, without perpetual attempts at eulogy, sets their subject before the public in a very favorable light.

Mr. Stephens came into public life just as the craze about slavery had seized on the ruling class of his section, and at once became an earnest champion of the slave interest, which he defended and exalted with great ability, till it grew into such strength as to venture on rebellion. But he tells us in one of his recent speeches that he does not now desire a restoration of the old *régime*, and is rather seeking the best interests of his people on the new social programme made inevitable by the war. Without conceding that his former position was erroneous, he recognizes the fact that there are changed social conditions, which lay on his people new duties, and call for new courses of action. Like the apostle, he exhorts to a forgetfulness of the things that are behind, and a pressing forward to those that are before.

His early years present a very instructive example to young men struggling with adversity, and his personal history is as full of interest as his public life. Born in 1812, at the place which he now occupies, near the little town of Crawfordville, in Georgia, he became motherless after a few days, and at the age of fourteen lost his father and his second mother, who died within a few days of each other, making it necessary to break up the family and sell the place. He found a temporary home with an uncle, who occupied a farm some miles away. His father was a straightforward, industrious, Christian man of integrity and solid worth, whose death he felt as a terrible calamity, and who left only a small property, the portion falling to Alexander being about $450.

During his residence at home he had attended school a little,

but the occupations of the farm were very exacting, and left him but little time for even such schooling as the neighborhood afforded. But he was diligent and "apt to learn." On his removal to his uncle's home he found a Sabbath-school, where he was at first an eager scholar, and soon a punctual teacher, attracting attention by the interest which he showed in his work, and his steady attendance on all the religious services. His uncle had arranged with his elder brother to work on the farm, giving him a satisfactory compensation, and had generously proposed to make a similar arrangement for him. But his desire for knowledge had been awakened, and he was so slight of form and so frail in health that he thought he should never be able to endure farm work, and asked if he could not be sent to school. After a little consultation the suggestion was approved, and he was sent for a quarter to the Locust Grove Academy, where he made astonishing progress. On his return to his uncle's, and while looking for a place as clerk, he resumed his work in the Sunday-school, thinking that his school days were over. But one day Mr. Mills, the manager of the school, and a man of property, astonished him by asking if he would not like to study Latin. In short, Mr. Mills proposed to send him to school at his own expense; and when, in due time, the matter was arranged, that gentleman came with his own carriage, and took the boy and his "bundle" away, and went with him and provided for his board and tuition. But when Alexander came home on the occasion of his first vacation Mr. Mills allowed it to be known that he had his eye on the young man for the ministry, and that, if he continued at school, it would be at the charge of the Georgia Education Society. This changed the aspect of the case materially, and gave young Stephens a good deal of uneasiness; but he returned, completed his preparatory studies, and entered college on that arrangement. Before completing his course, however, he became satisfied that his life-work did not lie in the direction of the pulpit, and his implied obligations troubled him so much that he recalled from his uncle his little patrimony, and devoted it to repaying the money that had been expended on his education by the Society; and, with a little further help, he struggled through college, and was graduated in August, 1832, when he was twenty years old.

In this country it is the rule, rather than the exception, that the distinguished leaders of public opinion "come up through great tribulation." The people of the old world look for leadership among those who have been trained under the most favorable circumstances; but in a democracy we dwarf descent and magnify character. Abraham Lincoln and Henry Wilson started up, as it were, from the dust, to stand foremost in the great battle for human rights; and such men as Silas Wright, Daniel Webster, Salmon P. Chase, William H. Seward, and Alexander H. Stephens, who had better advantages, were obliged to make their way, more or less, by teaching school. But as soon as Mr. Stephens had earned a little money by his teaching he resolved to go back to the old place where he was born, and make an earnest effort to begin life on his projected plan. In one of his letters he says: "O, what pains and agonies of spirit it would have saved me if I could have had in hand when I left college the amount I had at the end of this toil."

Mr. Stephens has always had a wonderful veneration for his father; and the memory of the pleasant days spent at home under his affectionate guidance now came over him like the protecting wing of a guardian angel. He loved the old place; the fields where he had toiled; the woods where he had rambled; the places where he had listened to the words of warning or instruction that fell from his father's lips, and all the nameless things that were associated with those days of love and joy. One of his first ambitions was, therefore, to repossess the old place; and, now that he was to begin life, he proposed to begin it there. So, turning away from several tempting offers, he went back to the old house, and took board with Rev. W. Bird, the Methodist preacher who owned it, obtained a room in the Crawfordsville court-house, two miles distant, for his study, and thus alone, without the help of any guiding mind, undertook to prepare himself for an examination at the next meeting of the court, that is to say, in about three months. It was a rash and hazardous attempt, and cost him many days of sadness and misgiving; but, by dint of hard work and a wonderful memory, he accomplished his purpose, and was admitted to the bar on the 22d of July, 1834, at the age of twenty-two years.

Young Stephens was apparently an unpromising candidate for legal distinction. He was very thin and light, weighing only about eighty-five pounds. His eyes were dark, and his voice peculiar, his complexion was sallow and unhealthy, and his whole appearance that of a half-grown boy. So far as speaking is concerned there is no evidence in his biographies that he had won any special notice, while in college or while teaching, as an orator or a debater, and he had had no preliminary practice in the office of any lawyer. But there was something about him to inspire confidence, and on the third day after his admission to practice he was engaged in a case of considerable importance, with a prospective fee of $180. Two weeks later he received his first fee in the shape of a note for $25. In about a month (September 1) he made his first speech before a court, and got his first cash fee, which was, however, only $2. On the 10th of the same month he was employed in a case for which he took a fee of $20, and which proved to be an opening to his future career. The circumstances were these:—

Uriah Battle had, by his marriage with Amanda Askew, an only daughter, which, on his death, was left with Battle's father, who took out letters of guardianship. Subsequently the mother married James Hilsman, and thereupon took the child away from its grandfather, greatly to his disgust, as he knew Hilsman to be a dissipated fellow, and not, as he thought, a fit person to have the charge of the child. Hence he sent a man to recover the child by stratagem, believing that he had a right to its possession by virtue of his power of guardianship. Hilsman, finding that the elder Battle would not give the child up, employed Mr. Stephens, and determined to make an appeal to the power of the law. But the interesting point about it was that Battle, on the other side, had secured the services of Mr. Jeffries, the best known and most distinguished lawyer in the county, who had just removed to Columbus on account of his enlarged business. The parties to the suit were all well known, the trouble had been the leading scandal of the neighborhood for some time, and when the suit came on for trial there was a great crowd.

Of course, the ambition of young Stephens was aroused. He had studied the case laboriously, had spoken to imaginary

courts in the woods, had gathered his authorities from nature as well as from books, and was well prepared for the argument, but was without any personal consideration—a thing which is sometimes of more importance than the argument or the law. When he arose to speak, his appearance was so boyish, and his personal presence so inferior to that of "the gentleman on the other side," that every body was taken with surprise, and the deep and curious silence that prevailed was evidently from a feeling of sympathy, commingled with pity. But, beginning with a plain statement of facts, so clear as to keep the attention which had been given him for other reasons, he went on with his case and his illustrations until his audience lost sight of the man in their intense interest in his case; and when he warmed into a glowing eloquence it soon became clear enough that the court was with him. The next day Dr. Cullen Battle, a relative of the grandfather, in speaking of the matter to one of the family, said:—"When that little fellow argued that even among the beasts of the forest the mother, by the law of nature, was the keeper of her own offspring, and would fight for them to the death, and all the judges fell to crying, I knew that Isaac would have to give up Martha Ann."

This speech and its complete success gave the boy-lawyer a start, and at the end of the year he had paid his way and saved about $400, to be expended in books for his office. This was not done, however, without the most rigid economy. In this regard Mr. Stephens presented an example which might be studied to advantage by some of the young men of our own time. He did not spend other people's money, and not much of his own. A few days after his examination the court sat at Washington, in the next county, and Stephens very much desired to be present, and, as he had no horse, he walked ten miles to his uncle's, where he borrowed a horse, with which he made the journey. Another incident of this long and toilsome journey on foot and on horseback in the heat of summer was the method adopted to make his toilet, that he might be presentable among the lawyers and judges. He carried in his saddle-bags a suit of clean cotton goods, and, just before reaching Washington, dismounted in a retired and leafy wood, where he made the needful change.

Thus it was in all his affairs. If he could not afford to have a horse he went on foot; if he had not means to get broadcloth or linen, he made his way in "everlasting," or cotton. He blacked his own shoes, made his own fires, swept his own office, lived on $6 a month, and spent all else in books. His ambition to buy the old place was soon gratified, and now on the shelves of his library there are about fifteen hundred volumes relating to law, and five thousand volumes relating to history, poetry, and other matters. These habits may strike the reader as indicating a narrow-minded parsimony; but nothing can be further from the fact. On the other hand, his house is celebrated through the State for its plain, but generous, hospitality; his purse is open to all who are in distress, and his own struggles with poverty have warmed his heart toward that large class of young men who are in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. It is understood that he has assisted some fifty or sixty young persons in obtaining an education, and that about one third of the number have been taken from the common school and put through college.

After his first year Mr. Stephens grew rapidly in professional fame, and found constant employment, either in his own county or the counties adjoining. But the current of his life from the first ran toward public affairs, and in 1836—two years after his admission to the bar—he was elected to the State Legislature. On taking his seat, a stranger, there was nothing about him, except his extremely youthful appearance, to attract attention, and he was only one among many till a particular occasion called him out. This was an important debate on a bill for making preliminary surveys in the interest of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. Railroads were then new to the country, and the information in regard to them was small. But it so happened that they had been brought to the notice of Mr. Stephens two or three years before; and whatever attracted him was sure to get a thorough investigation. He was, therefore, probably better prepared for this debate than the older members who had spoken. Still he remained a quiet observer while the debate went on, bringing out, to the fullest extent, the speaking ability of the House. But the debate had become rather dragging and tiresome, and a new speaker was a relief, and, also, as it seemed, a curiosity; for as soon as

he arose there was a dead silence, and his boyish form was the focus for every eye. How he went on is told by one of his colleagues, Hon. J. L. Harris, in a private letter written some years later. He says:—

> The debate on the "Main Trunk" lingered for days, and every body was tired and worn down, when a clear shrill voice was heard saying, "Mr. Speaker!" Every eye was turned to the thin, attenuated form of the mere boy, with a black, gleaming eye and a cadaverous face. The attention at once became breathless, and the House was enchained for half an hour with new views of the question, such as had not been discussed or hinted at by others, and when he sat down there was a burst of applause from a full gallery, and many of us on the floor joined in the full chorus.

He was returned to the Legislature each year for the next four years, (1836 to 1840,) but his health, for the greater part of the time, was so wretched as to make his public duties burdensome, and in 1841 he declined the nomination, and was for a year out of public service. He was taken up the next year and elected to the Senate, but held his seat only for a single term.

It was in 1839, while he was a member of the House, and only twenty-seven years old, that he made his first sensation outside of the State, at the Charleston Commercial Convention. He was entirely unknown to the great body of the delegates, and had no reputation beyond his own State. The convention was to advance Southern interests, and especially to open a direct trade between England and some Southern port. South Carolina, which was represented by her ablest statesmen, had differed with Georgia as to the port most eligible for this proposed trade, and had brought all her ability to bear on this point. General Hayne, who soon after had the famous passage-at-arms with Mr. Webster; Hon. James Hamilton, then member of Congress, and afterward Governor of the State; Hon. William C. Preston, claimed by many to be the most eloquent Senator in Congress, had all spoken, and the preponderance of ability was largely on the side of South Carolina, when Mr. Stephens, to the surprise of every body, thrust his boyish face before the chair, and commanded the attention of the House. "It was amusing," says his biographer, "to watch the incredulous astonishment of men who could hardly believe their eyes, at the extraordinary spectacle of one who seemed a puny youth, not yet grown to man's

estate, entering the lists against the foremost orators and debaters of the South. But his speech was generally considered a triumph for the Georgia side of the question. Hon. John Savage, who was present, says that "no one who heard that speech can ever forget the electric effect produced by it. It was a bold proceeding in a stranger to measure swords with such antagonists; but it was a still more remarkable exploit to obtain, as he did, the victory over them."

Georgia now began to be proud of her boy statesman, and to think of his promotion. The way was not open immediately, but he did not have to wait long. In 1843, when he was thirty-one years old, he was nominated with others on the Whig ticket. The State was in the hands of the Democrats. The election was by general ticket, and the Governor and all the members of Congress depended on the result. Mr. Stephens was in good condition for the campaign, and spoke in all parts of the State. His biographers duly recount the interest that he excited, the victories that he won, and his skill in assault and defense. It is sufficient, perhaps, that the State was carried, and the whole Whig ticket elected. This brought him on the arena of the nation, and he was thenceforward a conspicuous leader of public opinion. He was successively re-elected down to 1858, just before the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion, when he tired of the turmoil of his position, and declined to be a further candidate. He took his leave of Washington public life, after sixteen years of arduous service, on the fourth of March, 1859, as he then supposed forever.

Mr. Stephens took his seat in Congress just as the question of slavery began to assume an intensely sectional aspect and to thrust itself into all public questions; and he was, from the first, one of its leading champions. His biographers take great delight in setting forth his various tilts with the "abolition fanatics," and his victories over them, and follow him, as we shall not, through all those years of turmoil and tempest in which the country was steadily drifting toward disunion and war. But we should say, perhaps, that, while his biographers look at Mr. Stephens from a sectional stand-point, and interpret his acts and all public measures according to the sectional views of Southern politicians, they furnish to the public a rare

supply of biographical facts; and that the book which they have given us is rich beyond most biographies in that class of material which lays open the inner life, and completely exposes the man in all his various aspects. Whatever may be their opinions or prejudices, therefore, the facts which they give us will speak for themselves.

One of the most beautiful traits in the character of Mr. Stephens is his fidelity to his personal friendships. His dog, his household servants, his poor neighbors, are always among his cares, and seem to share his life-long affections. Mr. Toombs, who was among his earliest professional friends, is cherished still, notwithstanding many causes for estrangement, with the feelings of a brother. And his love for his half-brother, the late Judge Linton Stephens, may be justly said to have "passed the love of women." This half-brother was a child at the death of his parents, and as soon as he was grown to boyhood Mr. Stephens took charge of his education, sent him to school, then to college, then provided for his professional studies, and watched over the early days of his professional life with all the solicitnde of the tenderest parent, and made him his confidant in every thing.

During all these years his letters to this brother were like a rain-fall in May. They flowed out as waters flow from a full fountain; and they treated of family affairs, of public affairs, of public men, of political events, of his own heart's yearnings and his own hopes and fears. Linton died in 1872, and this great mass of familiar correspondence, containing the outbreathings of the writer's heart, was turned over to his biographers; and the profuse extracts contained in this volume make up its chief interest.

We are at no loss, therefore, to know exactly his position on every public matter. To this dear brother he exposed his most private thoughts and purposes, and they are here turned over to the public without much regard to discrimination. When, therefore, his biographers represent him as acting generally with great independence, and quite above party considerations, we have the amplest means for forming a correct judgment as to the accuracy of their view. We concede that what they claim is largely true, and that there is much on this score to excite our admiration. But on one point Mr. Stephens

would be called by all the opposers of oppression an intense partisan. For the interests of slavery, or, as he would call it, for the South, he could bear and forbear to any possible extent. He was as true a partisan as the South had, and the epithet of "fanatic," so freely bestowed on the assailants of slavery, could have been more truly retorted upon himself. For these interests he could break over party lines, abandon the Whigs or join the Democrats, make constitutional law or stimulate a rebellion. In one of his letters to Linton he says: "The most dangerous enemies to our country are the Freesoilers and Abolitionists. To crush *them* out I would join with any honest man, be he Jew or Gentile, American-born or adopted citizen."

It was this dire partisanship that for awhile drove him headlong toward the war. What there was about slavery that won him so entirely to its side is not for us to say. The whole caste of his mind was toward justice and kindness; he had no personal interests in slavery that could weigh a feather in its favor; he was fully conscious of the beneficence of liberty; he loved to extend a helping hand to the poor; he took great delight in lifting men and women forward to better conditions, and he believed in the universal Father and in the brotherhood of his creatures. But the fact remains that he held the system of slavery to be right and God-ordained, and to touch it was certain to draw his fire. He says:—

> Liberty always had charms for me, and I would rejoice to see all the sons of Adam's family in the enjoyment of those rights set forth in our Declaration of Independence as "natural and inalienable," if a stern necessity, bearing the marks and impress of the Creator himself, did not, in some cases, interpose and prevent. Such is the case in the States where slavery now exists.*

Why could not the transparent mind of Mr. Stephens see that every case of cruel despotism is, in the despot's view, however he may chant the praise of liberty in the abstract, just the one exceptional case, sustained by necessity and justified by "the Creator himself," while the victim is, in every case, of just the reverse opinion, with the verdict of the highest impulses of humanity on his side?

* Speech on the admission of Texas.

Entering Congress with such views, and at an age when the blood flows freely and the passions are in their full strength, Mr. Stephens was soon in the midst of the fray. In the Presidential election of the next year (1844) the Abolitionists cast some sixty thousand votes, and it was every-where evident that the feeling against slavery was rapidly increasing. There was a demand for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the forts and other properties controlled by the Government, and it began to be the view of the North that, while they should continue to carry out the obligations claimed to be in the Constitution in regard to fugitives and the right of the States to hold their slaves, they should resist the extension of slavery to any new territory. Then there were some who thought they saw that the new zeal of the slaveholders was not on account of the utility of slavery as a domestic institution or a means of producing wealth, but because it was an instrument in the hands of political leaders for obtaining and maintaining political power.

In Congress the pro-slavery men were just what Mr. Stephens charges against the North—they were "insolent and unyielding." John Quincy Adams, having spoken some plain words on the subject of slavery, was threatened with expulsion. Joshua R. Giddings, who had offered a petition for the dissolution of the Union on account of slavery, had to encounter a vote of censure, and indignantly resigned his seat. But "insolence" and intolerance did not suppress the mischief. The thorns that were thrust in the side of slavery continued to increase. John P. Hale, six years older than Mr. Stephens, was a Democrat from New Hampshire, who entered Congress at the same time with him, and soon began to develop unmistakable tendencies against slavery, together with an eloquence and independence of character that made him very formidable. David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, took his seat soon after Mr. Stephens, and when the contest arose about Texas, produced a storm in the House by introducing his famous proviso, that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory." Then came the troublesome questions which arose about organizing new territories that were calling for Governments, and, worst of all, the proposition to admit California as a free State.

Through all these excitements Mr. Stephens was an active and zealous supporter of the slave interest, and his conflicts and triumphs in the arena of debate only served to strengthen and deepen his prejudices. In the Presidential campaign of 1848, which resulted in the election of General Taylor, the advocates of "free territory" polled nearly three hundred thousand votes; and when the new Congress assembled, in 1849, Mr. Winthrop, the Whig Speaker of the previous Congress, who came from a free State, (Massachusetts,) was renominated by his party, and Mr. Cobb, who was from a slave State, (Georgia,) was nominated by the Democrats. The contest between them was long and bitter; but Mr. Cobb was finally elected through the help of Southern Whigs, who had more fidelity to slavery than to party. On the 2d of December, just after the caucus, Mr. Stephens wrote from Washington to his brother as follows:—

The indications of most boisterous times are looming up on the horizon. I never saw greater sectional feeling exhibited. The North is insolent and unyielding. What is to be the result I cannot imagine. . . . I quitted the meeting, as did Toombs, Cabell, Morton, Hilliard, Owen, and some others. I told them distinctly that I would have no connection with a party that did not disconnect itself with these aggressive abolition movements, and I intend to abide by what I have said. I think the Northern Whigs intend to pass some obnoxious measure in reference to slavery. My Southern blood and feelings are up, and I am prepared to fight at all hazards, and to the last extremity, in vindication of our honor and our rights.—Page 237.

Two days after, December 4, he wrote again in the same strain:—

If the South intends really to resist the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the forts and arsenals, it is time they were making the necessary preparations in men and money, arms and ammunition. I speak plainly and frankly. It is no time for humdrum resolutions or gasconade. No step should be taken unless we intend to stick to the *Constitutional Union*, at every hazard. . . . I hesitate not to say that, in my opinion, the maintenance of our honor, to say nothing of the vindication of our rights, requires us to resist this aggression. In my course here, while I shall pursue the policy which I believe will be most likely to avert such a result, I shall yield nothing to the aggressor. It is becoming bootless now to quarrel with ourselves about who contributed most to the present state of things. *I believe the*

agitators of the South, for several years, have done more to effect it than all others. But, as Southern men, we must look things in the face as we find them.—Page 238.

Mr. Stephens, of course, regarded all the active opponents of slavery as "fanatics," and seems never to have had the thought cross his mind that there might be fanatics in favor of tyranny as well as fanatics in favor of liberty; but he must have been a little on that stretch, as the sailors say, when he wrote the following:—

It is better to fall in a manly struggle than to live and fatten in inglorious ease; and I would rather, to-day, see the whole Southern race buried in honored graves than to see them insolently trampled over by such canting, whining, puling hypocrites as are now setting themselves up as our judges and reformers.—Page 239.

During the month that the contest for the speakership was going on his letters held the same tone. On the 5th he writes that the "feeling for a dissolution of the union is becoming more general;" on the 17th, that "they have scotched the movement for abolishing slavery in the District." On the 18th he is in despair about the election of a speaker, and cannot tell when one will be chosen, but adds: "If the South would follow my lead—*never*, until the North came to terms with us upon our rights."

When Mr. Cobb was finally elected the South was appeased and the excitement quieted, but Mr. Stephens brooded over the events that had taken place with gloomy forebodings; and on the question of admitting California as a State, without the preliminary formula of a territorial Government, he writes:—

Will the slavery question be settled in this way? I think not. My deliberate opinion is that this will be the beginning of the end, which will be the severance of the political bonds that now unite the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. When I look at the *causes* of the present discontent, I am persuaded that there will never again be harmony between the two great sections of the Union. . . . If I were in the Legislature (Georgia) I should introduce bills for reorganizing the militia, for establishing military schools, for the encouragement of volunteer companies, for the creation of arsenals, an armory, and an establishment for making gunpowder. In these lie our defense. I tell you, the argument is exhausted, and if the South does not intend to be over-

run with antislavery doctrines, she must, before no distant day, stand to her arms. My mind is made up. I am for the fight, if the country will back me; and if not, we had better have no resolutions and no gasconade. . . . *We must ultimately submit or fight.*—Page 245.

On the 29th of January, 1850, Mr. Clay brought in his celebrated measure known as the omnibus bill or compromise, which was for the healing of the "five bleeding wounds of the country." After a protracted debate the omnibus failed, but its distinguished author bravely gathered up the fragments and brought them forward in separate bills, and they were all passed, Mr. Webster coming to their support in his famous speech of the 7th of March. They embraced the admission of California as a free State, territorial Governments for Utah and New Mexico without any slavery proviso, the settlement of the boundary between Mexico and Texas, the inexpediency of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and a more effectual law for the return of escaped slaves. The passage of these measures, and the principle of non-intervention which they seemed to recognize, put a better face on Southern prospects, and the letters of Mr. Stephens are never again so fierce *for the fight.* On the other hand, while he regarded the repeal of the Missouri line as right, and in accordance with the compromise measures, and was thoroughly with his section through all the Kansas outrages, he complained that there was a strong element in the South that was demanding too much; that they did not desire to have the North make concessions, and were in favor of a rupture, whether the North abided by the compromises or not. There was, also, another cause that operated to moderate his fervor. The reader has already noted a quotation in which he says he would join with any honest man to crush out abolitionism. The word *honest* in this quotation has a deeper meaning than it expresses. The heat of a contest so selfish as this for the aggrandizement of slavery naturally brought to the front the worst elements of Southern society, and Mr. Stephens did not quite like his associates. On the 11th and 12th of January, 1858, after being defeated in a vote on one of the preliminary questions relating to Kansas, he says:—

How shamefully the South is represented! Some of them were too drunk to be got into the House. . . . I am very apprehensive

that we shall be beaten, but it will be by the South. . . . My heart is sad. If we should separate, what is to become of us in the hands of such representatives? Have we any future but miserable petty squabbles, parties, factions, and fragments of organizations, led by contemptible drunken demagogues? My country! What is to become of it? It is the idol of my life! Her glory, her prosperity, her welfare, her happiness, her renown. Perhaps it is too much my idol; but it has been the absorbing object of my life's ambition, and yet all is, I fear, about to be blasted. . . . We had all our men there, but some were so drunk they had to be kept out till they were wanted to say "Aye" or "No."—Page 331.

In the session of 1858 and 1859, during the long conflict which ended in the admission of Kansas, the labors devolved on Mr. Stephens were far beyond his strength, and the results not quite satisfactory. As one of the leaders of the House he was overwhelmed with company, was obliged to drum up his half-hearted partisans at every vote, was deprived of his regular hours for sleep, and was not altogether proud of the men that were his dependence for support and success. In short, he was pretty thoroughly disgusted with his position, and determined to yield it to some more willing hand. About a month before the close of the session he writes:—

Were you here you would pity me. I have about one hundred letters before me unanswered. But on one thing I am determined. When this session ends, with it *shall end my connection with politics forever.* Then I can follow; and, if life and strength allow, I can and will devote myself to pursuits more congenial to my tastes and nature."—Page 342.

He accordingly declined to stand for another election, and on the breaking up of Congress returned to his home at Crawfordsville, thinking that his days of public life were over. His biographer tells us that, when he entered Congress, sixteen years before, he was worth about $14,000, and that all the gain to his private fortune during these years of turmoil and labor was from the accumulation of interest, amounting to about $2,000; while in the next two years he laid up over $20,000 from his professional labors. American statesmanship would, therefore, seem not to be a very lucrative business to an *honest* man.

The election of Mr. Lincoln, in November, 1860, by a purely sectional vote, was the signal for a general revolt among the

pro-slavery leaders of the extreme South, and Georgia was soon in a state of great agitation. With divided counsels, she was hesitating whether to follow the lead of the extremists and take the "leap in the dark," or cling to the Union, as it was formed by our fathers. The questions that confronted the people were so momentous and the peril of the State so imminent that there had been a spontaneous gathering of leading men at the capital, where the Legislature was in session; and it was suggested that Mr. Stephens should be called from his retirement, and give them the benefit of his counsel and advice. Accordingly an official invitation was forwarded to him from the Legislature, and he at once repaired to Milledgeville; and, on November 14, about a week after the election, he delivered that memorable speech against secession which has been so largely quoted in all sections of the Union, and which was thought, at the time, would turn the scale against a separation.

On the previous evening there had been an enthusiastic meeting to promote secession, which had been addressed by Mr. Toombs and others, and the current was setting strongly against the North; but that produced no effect on the clear convictions of Mr. Stephens. His masterly argument did not go to the point of condemning secession as a remedy, whenever there was sufficient cause for a separation, but was based on the solid ground that no sufficient cause had arisen. The election of Mr. Lincoln, by an unquestioned majority of the electoral college, and according to the forms prescribed by the Constitution, was certainly no sufficient cause; and as to government, the South still held the virtual control of the Supreme Court, the Senate, and the House, and no obnoxious measure could be passed without its sanction. In the popular branch of Congress, notwithstanding the defeat of the Democratic candidate for President, in consequence of unfortunate divisions, it had gained members in the House, and there was no evidence that it did not hold, and could not continue to hold, its accustomed control in the Government. He also adverted to the wonderful prosperity that the country had had in the Union, to the growth of Georgia, to the respect which we had won among the nations, and to the perils which were likely to be encountered by a separation. He said:—

When I look around me, and see our prosperity in every thing—agriculture, art, science, and every department of progress—certainly, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and our posterity to do so. Let us not unwisely yield to this temptation! Our first parents were not without a like temptation. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered, that their eyes would be opened, that they would be as gods. They yielded; and, instead of becoming gods, they found, when too late, that their eye shad been opened only to discover their own nakedness. I look upon this country, with its liberal institutions, as the Eden of the world, the Paradise of the Universe. It may be that out of its embraces we may become greater and more prosperous; but I am sincere in telling you that I greatly fear, if we yield to passion, and without sufficient cause take this step, instead of becoming greater, more peaceful, more happy—instead of becoming gods—we shall become demons, and at no distant day fall to cutting each other's throats.—Page 573.

The effect of this speech was wonderful, and it was believed by many that it had effectually mastered the secession movement in Georgia. Mr. Toombs was present, and interrupted the speaker several times with puzzling questions, but they drew out only telling and conclusive replies; and it was evident that its positions could not be answered, as they certainly never were answered. At its close Mr. Toombs, who was the leader on the other side, instead of undertaking to combat its positions, arose and said: "Fellow-citizens, we have just listened to a speech from one of the brightest intellects and purest patriots that now lives. I move that this meeting adjourn, with three cheers for Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia." Whereupon the meeting broke up with a tremenduous burst of applause.

But the fever was only allayed—not quenched. The people took fire from the positive action of South Carolina, and Georgia soon followed her example, and called a convention. Mr. Stephens and his brother were both members, and undertook to stem the tide; but in vain. The ordinance was passed, and their votes were recorded in the negative, with a very small minority. While the convention was pending, he writes on various dates as follows:—

We are, I fear, in the hands of those who are bent upon dissolution at all hazards. Nothing will satisfy them but to get out of

the Union and form a separate Government. . . . I am becoming more and more confirmed in the opinion that all efforts to save the Union will be unavailing. The truth is that our public men who have taken hold of this question do not desire to continue it on any terms. They do not want any redress of grievances. They are disunionists *per se*, and my opinion is that they will carry the State with them by a large majority. . . . If I am elected, and you are, I shall go to the convention simply to share your fate and link my destiny with yours and that of our State—just as I would, if I could, in the blow-up of a steamer at sea, get on the same fragment of a wreck with you and other dear ones, that we might, in the last hour, have the consolation of going down together. . . . I have ceased to put much confidence in our public men. Most of them are destitute of principle. . . . It really seems as if Providence was on the other side. From the beginning of this movement, last spring, every incident of what is termed *luck* seems to be *against* the conservatives—I call it Providence.

Mr. Stephens was also a delegate to the Confederate Convention, at Montgomery, and seems to have attended with some hesitation. He says:—

I shall go and do all I can to prevent mischief, and if the new Government shall be successfully launched, as I hope it may be, I shall go into that retirement so congenial to my feelings. . . . My apprehension and distrust for the future arises from the want of high integrity, loyalty to principle, and pure, disinterested patriotism in the men at the head of the Government. . . . They are selfish, ambitious, and unscrupulous. Republics cannot be built up without the strictest and sternest virtues.—Page 384.

At this convention a form of Government was adopted, and Mr. Stephens was chosen Vice-President, thus becoming a leader in a movement which he had strongly disapproved; and it is sometimes quoted to his prejudice, as showing that his fondness for position overcame his scruples against secession. But this is, probably, very unjust. In one of his letters he says: "How far a man can, consistently with a proper sense of duty, abandon his country to its fate when he sees its fate inevitable, I will not undertake to say." To turn away in the hour of uncertainty and trial evidently seemed to him like abandonment, and did not consist with his straight-forward sense of duty. In the Georgia Convention, in his speech against the ordinance of secession, he said that he did not regard the causes set forth as sufficient, but if he was overruled by numbers he should go with the majority, and cast in his lot with

his State. "To obstruct or delay," he said, "would only tend to distract and divide our counsels, which ought, above every other consideration, to be harmonious." He was, therefore, with the movement if it must be made, and, probably, believed that he would serve in promoting moderation and peace.

At least this was the practical effect of his leadership. It was with him that General Sherman had his consultations in regard to peace; it was with him that the elder Blair conferred prior to the Hampton council; and it was with him that President Lincoln and Secretary Seward deliberated at the Hampton meeting. Mr. Stephens sustained the war with all his energy, made a speech to the Virginia Convention to promote the secession of that State, stimulated the raising of troops, and acted always in harmony with the Confederate Government; but toward the close of the struggle he was outspoken against the arbitrary measures often resorted to; and after the meeting at Hampton Roads refused to address the people of Richmond, because, as he says, he "could not consent to inspire hopes which he did not believe could be realized." He left Richmond on the 7th of February (1865) for his home at Crawfordville, where he proposed to await the coming catastrophe, so plainly foreshadowed. On the 11th of May he was arrested and carried to Fort Warren, near Boston, where he suffered an imprisonment of five months, much to the permanent injury of his health, and was released on his parole October 12th, and made his way back to his much-loved home.

After the war Mr. Stephens was among the most earnest of those who sought a restoration of the Union on the new basis of freedom, and in 1866 was elected to the United States Senate to promote that object, but was not allowed to take his seat. Then, with shattered health, and with his limbs drawn up by rheumatism, he turned away from all public employment, and devoted his attention to literature, writing his "War Between the States," and his "School History." His object seems to have been to redeem the South from the odium which the North was heaping upon it, and especially to vindicate it from being the aggressor in the contest. His position is that the South clung to the Constitution, while the North, by its personal liberty bills and its refusal to return fugitives, set the Constitution at defiance, and was, therefore, the aggressor.

This is not a view that is likely to meet with general acceptance. The issue was not on the failure to return fugitives, but on the enormous claims which the South attempted to enforce by reason of the "pound of flesh" which it thought it had in the Constitution. The world will hardly be able to see how the obligation to return "persons" who were "*held to service*" should authorize chattel slavery in the new territories; and when the South undertook to enforce its absurd claim it was clearly the offender. The man who commits a breach of the peace may break the law, but if he does it to protect himself from the assault of a highwayman he would hardly be held as the aggressor.

But we turn with a feeling of relief from this pardonable indiscretion to his generous and noble words spoken at the seat of Government a year after the war. We have seen him triumphant at the bar, a leader in the State Legislature, measuring swords in his youth with the veteran statesmen of South Carolina, the champion of his section in Congress, and the Vice-President of a doubtful nationality; but in none of these places does he bear himself so loftily as when, in the hour of adversity, he addresses his stricken State, and clearly points the way to recovery and future prosperity. His speech before the General Assembly, February 22, 1866, shows a wisdom and a magnanimity which make us forget the past, and which lift him up to the fellowship of the great and good of all generations. We can think of nothing anywhere more appropriate or more exactly suited to the demands of the occasion.

Georgia, so fierce for the conflict, had come out of it in her weeds of mourning, shorn of her prosperity, bereft of her slaves, and not knowing which way to look for help. It was in such an exigency that her Legislature again turned to the man whose warning words she had so unfortunately disregarded five years before; and Mr. Stephens, in his crippled condition, and in broken health, appeared before its members at their summons. The speech was delivered at the Capitol, in the presence of a large, intelligent, and earnest audience, and was so well received as to get the unanimous approval of both houses of the Legislature, and was ordered to be spread at large on the records of the State.

He did not begin by saying, "I told you so;" but after stat-

ing that "adversity was a severe school," but that there was hope where the people realized their true situation, he went on to commend to their attention several virtues as necessary for their recuperation. First, patience. "We are," said he, "in the condition of a man who has a dislocated limb, or a broken leg, and a very bad, compound fracture, at that. How it became broken is not, with him, a matter of so much importance as how it can be restored to health, vigor, and strength." He said he knew how hard it was to wait and bear, but complaint and bad temper would not hasten the desired end. The next thing that he commended to their attention was the exercise of a liberal spirit, a spirit of forbearance, and the banishment of every feeling and sentiment calculated to stir the discords of the past. Whatever differences existed among themselves had arisen from a desire to do the best thing, and secure the best ends. "It was," he said, "with this view that we tried secession; but instead of bettering our condition, and establishing our liberties on a surer foundation, it came near losing us the rich inheritance with which we set out." He believed that the surest hopes of the people were in adopting the reconstruction policy of the President. He then referred effectively to the restoration in England after the death of Cromwell in order to show how ready the people were to accept, under changed circumstances, what they had before scornfully rejected. On the subject of slavery he said: "This change should be received and accepted as an irrevocable fact. It is bootless to discuss whether the new system is better than the old. Let us give the new a fair trial with that earnestness of purpose which looks hopefully to success." In relation to the large class made free, he said that wise and humane provision should be made by law for their education, and that "ample and full protection should be secured to them, so that they may stand equal before the law in the possession and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty, and property." And, said he, "above all, this protection should be secured, because it is right. All government should have this leading object in view—the good of the governed." He acknowledged that the condition was gloomy, but his hope was in the peaceful restoration of the old Union. After referring to the fact that they had lost their slaves, and about half of the accumulated capital of the century, he said:—

"We still have left all the essentials of free government," and, in our new beginning, we shall be in a better condition than our fathers, when they laid the foundations on which we have been building.

His examination before the Committee of Reconstruction a short time after breathes the same spirit, and did much to further the work of reconstruction. And, generally, since the war his action, though not always up to the line of Northern sentiment, has been to advance the interests of peace, harmony, and restoration. Since his return to Congress he has been so much an invalid as not to share largely in the general legislation of that body; but such action as has come to the knowledge of the public has been singularly free from that intense partisanship which has been the bane of his class. When the Potter Committee was appointed his voice was strong and clear for a full and fair investigation; and his manly position brought down on him the severe denunciation of many Southern members. He was, also, arraigned by some of his personal friends, and the Atlanta "Constitution," the leading paper in Georgia, assailed him with persistent bitterness. As a consequence of this unfriendly criticism, word was passed around through his district that he must be abandoned, and another man nominated in his place. He was still in Washington when letters came pouring in on him from all quarters, informing him of the situation. But neither age nor infirmity had clouded his vision or subdued his power of prompt decision, and never, in his best days, did he show more pluck or self-reliance. He immediately wrote back from his seat that he would be a candidate for re-election, whether he was nominated by his party or not; and soon after went to Georgia, fully expecting to contest the ground, inch by inch, on the basis of his claim for a full and fair investigation. But his promptness and energy disturbed the programme of his enemies, and events soon so completely vindicated his course that, although there were loud complaints, there was no organized opposition, and he was renominated and re-elected.

One of the most pleasant incidents of Mr. Stephens' recent public life was his effort to pay a graceful tribute to the memory of the late President Lincoln. It will be remembered that Mr. Carpenter's famous picture, commemorating the event

which virtually put an end to slavery, was publicly presented to the Government by the liberal lady who had purchased it for that purpose, and that Mr. Stephens was one of the speakers on the occasion. It was not an event with which he could strongly sympathize, for he had been the advocate and shield of slavery through his whole life, and in his celebrated "corner-stone" speech had laid the foundation of the Confederate Government on slavery; while Mr. Lincoln was the man who had knocked away the foundation and demolished the building. He evidently felt the awkwardness of his position, and his speech was not one of his most brilliant efforts; but the disposition which it showed to forget the past was every-where appreciated, and his speech made up in goodness what it lacked in strength.

Goodness. That word, perhaps, comes nearer to expressing the leading trait in his character than any other. In public life he was hardly known as a man of piety, but in one of his letters he says: "I have for years made it my business to devote a portion of each day to prayer." He also refers to his early religious impressions, his subsequent lapse into infidelity, his misanthropy and dissatisfaction with himself and with the world, and how, like the prodigal, he "came to himself." He says he began to think that the trouble was with *him;* and hence he determined to adopt a new line of policy. This was, first, to cease finding fault and troubling himself about what he could not understand; and, second, to nurture and cultivate the kindlier affections of the heart, and with this, he says, "every day, at some hour, to put myself in communion with God." On this *régime* he soon became "a much more contented and happy man," and thenceforward it became the settled policy of his life. Linton, whether in college, or at the bar, or struggling in the mazes of the rebellion, he exhorts to a trust in God, and says: "For myself, I am determined to do my duty, and leave consequences to the great Disposer of events, feeling assured that all will be right."

In his public life he takes his own counsel, and endeavors, as far as possible, to "forget the things that are behind." Hence he has not committed the indiscretion, so common among his associates, of rising on every occasion to defend the action of his State or of his section in those things which were ruled down by the sword. He does not believe that the cure of the limb

that was broken is likely to be hastened by acts which serve only to increase the inflammation, and remembers always that "soft words turn away wrath, but grievous words stir up anger." He continues to extend a helping hand to those who are thirsting for knowledge, and writes: "Don't forget to let the young men have the money. If you cannot raise it, I will send it from here," (Washington.) Some of these young men, now in college, are from among the class formerly in bondage.

"Of all Christian virtues," he writes to Linton, "cultivate humility, meekness, and a spirit of dependence on the great Ruler of the universe." In another letter he says: "If I have said nothing about religion, it is not because I feel nothing. I do hope that you will not trust yourself to your own judgment, but will ask assistance from One who is able to direct you." Although he believed in the slave system, and defended it, in Congress and out of Congress, before the war, he did not defend the cruelties which it often engendered, and was himself all that was kind and generous toward those that were in his service. In relation to his mode of living at home his biographer says:—

> There was, probably, no home in Georgia where the old-fashioned virtue of hospitality was, and still is, practiced on a more liberal scale than at Liberty Hall. For many years it has been Mr. Stephens' practice, during court week, to entertain all the lawyers in attendance from other counties. As he lived on the line of the railroad, every one who passed between Augusta and Atlanta, whether previously acquainted with him or not, felt entirely free to favor Mr. Stephens with a brief call, a visit of a day or two, or a stay of several weeks, as they might feel inclined. Some came out of respect, some from curiosity, some to ask pecuniary assistance, and many from the feeling that his house was open to every body. As for the people of Taliaferro County, there was not a man, woman, or child there that did not feel as much at home in his house as in their own—free to enter at any time, and stay as long as they pleased.
>
> Rarely does a chance visitor call at Liberty Hall, at dinner time, that he does not find other guests, some of whom were as little expected as himself. But their host does not allow himself to be incommoded by these visitors. If he is occupied he welcomes his guests, and then continues what he has in hand, leaving them to take care of themselves.—Pages 453, 454.

It is generally known that Mr. Stephens was never married. Says his biographer:—

With uncommon capacity for loving, his life, outside of his public services, so unblest in its needs, desires, and yearnings, has been wholly devoted to others: first and most fondly to those nearest to him, but also to all whom he could serve, by active assistance whenever possible, and, where not possible, by commiseration and sympathy.—Page 541.

The leading men of the South have been slow to learn the advantages of toleration and justice. In the book before us is a remarkable example, hidden away in a note, where the author makes a shameful apology for the Ku-Klux murders—the darkest infamy, in our country, of the nineteenth century. Clearly, if such views are entertained by the most intelligent classes, and crime ceases to be crime when it is visited on the friendless and the weak, we are not only a long way from justice, but from republican liberty.

> "Vice is a monster of so frightful mien
> As, to be hated needs but to be seen."

But how can we *hate* it if we cannot *see* it? Or, if we wink at it or apologize for it, why should it not go on? But Mr. Stephens has a healthier vision, and demands protection and justice for all. It was our Lord who said, "Inasmuch as ye did it to *the least of these* ye did to me." Protection to the weak is the highest element of Christian character, and the first duty of the State. All democratic liberty is based on equal justice and equal law, without which liberty is but a name.

We cannot, as we have said, understand how such a man as Mr. Stephens could be the shield of such a wrong as slavery; but we can see many reasons why, having taken his position, he should be the fast friend of the South. Nay, we can even honor the feeling which made him cling to its fortunes in adversity as well as in prosperity, and, like Long Tom Coffin, prefer to go down with the ship rather than to witness its destruction from a place of safety. But the narrowness of sectionalism is not naturally an element of his character. On the other hand, he has a broad expansiveness, which puts him in sympathy with the whole country and the whole world. "No pent-up Utica" contracts his powers, which belong to all mankind. He is, we may say, less of a sectionalist and more of a nationalist, less of a politician and more of a statesman, less of a partisan and more of a patriot, than any man that has come

out of the rebellion, if not any Southern man now in public life. And we may add that no Southern man commands more generally the confidence and affection of North and South alike, or has done more to bring back the old days of conciliation and peace. We may well hope that his health and vigor may be restored, and that his counsels in favor of honesty, peace, justice, and moderation may long be contributed to the nation.

ART. V.—THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS.

THE discussion of the constitutional right of the General Conference to make the Presiding Elders elective in the several Annual Conferences of our Church, but subject to Episcopal approval, by a mere majority vote of the General Conference and without concurrent action on part of the Annual Conferences, has not yet been very full or satisfactory. Prior to 1876, this question had so long been devoid of interest for the Methodist public that very few were familiar with its real nature and history. Men went to the late General Conference, at Baltimore, pledged to aid the so-called reform movement, who found themselves forced to gain nearly all their historical acquaintance with the subject during the busy weeks of the session, and with imperfect resources for their work; while men on the conservative side found themselves suddenly and somewhat hotly summoned to defend an existing economy, whose history, constitutional grounds, and relations were not quite familiar. Such a state of things was not favorable to a wise and intelligent consideration of this grave question.

Then the limitation of each speaker to fifteen minutes made it impossible for those who were best informed to present any full and careful statement of the entire subject. Hence they were unable to do justice to the question or to themselves.

It would seem that there was no profound interest in the question on the part of the Church, since the discussion has already died out of our public journals. The only publications on the subject of any importance, since the General Conference adjourned, have been the pamphlets of the vivacious Dr. Wise and the venerable Dr. Cummings. We have further proof of

the lack of general interest in this topic in the fact that neither the peppery wisdom of the former document nor the politer misconceptions of the latter, have been able to provoke public curiosity to the buying point. These wares have had no sale; nearly all that have got into circulation have been given away, with or without the authors' compliments; while some, mayhap, still lumber the obscurer shelves of their publishers. It would be safe enough, perhaps, to leave them to their natural attraction for a kindly oblivion; the only peril is, that one or two copies may some day be found to have escaped their proper doom, and be quoted as representative opinions of wise and candid men among our contemporaries. These publications having come into our hands with the authors' compliments, it seemed but polite to read them. But reading begat doubt; and doubt, study; and study, conviction that these venerable men are both a good deal in the wrong. One could wish to point out one or two mistakes of fact and of reasoning in these documents; since they have to do with really important subjects. It seems quite needless, in some eyes, to do this; for one of these pamphlets confidently asserts that our deeds of settlement for Church property decide the question so plainly that we shall not need to go beyond them to find abundant light. Says the Rev. Dr. Wise, respecting this matter: "Whoever would intelligently discuss any proposition to modify our Presiding Eldership must not fail to consider that it necessarily involves the nature and tenure of the appointing power in our ecclesiastical system. These are correlated questions, but the primary one is that of the appointing power."

We cite these words at the outset, because they indicate the proper order for our inquiry, and because they emphasize the intimate connection between correct ideas of the nature and tenure of the appointing power in the Methodist Episcopal Church and any adequate interpretation of that third restriction upon the power of the General Conference, which says: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." We cannot comprehend the full bearing of any proposed change in our existing method of ministerial appointments, until we have obtained a clear notion of the rights and duties of all parties to the change advocated.

Hence it will be convenient, before going further, to take a look at the origin of our Episcopacy, and the sources of its powers.

We all know that the veherable Wesley meant to establish a very moderate Episcopacy when he ordained Thomas Coke, and appointed Francis Asbury, to the superintendency of the Methodist societies in America. But we owe it to Mr. Asbury's firmness and wisdom, that our Episcopacy now has a far more moderate character than even Mr. Wesley intended it to assume. Had Mr. Asbury and Dr. Coke assented to Wesley's mandate and the unanimous wishes of the American preachers by assuming the office of Episcopacy in our Church, they would have possessed much larger powers than their successors have, and that, too, without opposition in this country. Rev. Thomas Ware, who was present at the Christmas Conference of 1784, says: "The announcement of the plan devised by him [Wesley] for our organization as a Church filled us with solemn delight;" that the letter appointing Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury Superintendents of the American Church was read, analyzed, and cordially approved; and that, to the best of their ability, they carried out its instructions in their form of Discipline. But while neither Wesley, Coke, nor any American preacher thought of any thing further as necessary to the due and full constitution of the new Episcopate, Francis Asbury sat apart in solemn meditation, and in prayer for divine guidance. Manifestly was it given; since from him alone came the suggestion that election by the American Conference must be conjoined with Wesley's original appointment before he could undertake the burdensome responsibilities of that solemn charge. In accordance with this wise advice, both Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were chosen Bishops by the Christmas Conference, before they entered upon the discharge of episcopal duties in the American Connection. To this step Dr. Coke consented, notwithstanding its apparent implication that Wesley's appointment was insufficient, and its making the exercise of his episcopal functions here depend entirely upon the consent of the American Connection. To this wise and self-sacrificing temper of the first two Bishops of our Church we owe it that we never have had any party among us claiming that the American Methodist Episcopate is an Episcopate constituted solely by

Mr. Wesley's apostolic authority, and, therefore, providentially clothed with independent and divinely appointed attributes.

It was, probably, the stern hand of Mr. Asbury which traced the declaration that the "Conference have power to expel a Bishop, if they see it necessary." The Minutes of the Christmas Conference only say that the "Bishop shall be amenable to the body of the ministers and preachers."

It should be remarked, then, that the Superintendents of our Church derived their being and authority from Wesley's appointment and the concurrent voice of the assembled ministry; and that they would naturally retain all the powers that had previously belonged to Mr. Wesley's Assistants in America, plus the powers involved in Episcopal ordination. Nor did the facts, that it was decided on Mr. Asbury's prudent suggestion to make election by the Conference a condition precedent to future episcopal ordination, and to make the Bishops themselves responsible to the traveling ministry, introduce then or thereafter any serious change in episcopal powers and duties, down to 1808. They still presided over the Conferences; decided disputed matters after debate, without a vote of the Annual Conferences; shared freely in the discussions of those bodies; and fixed the appointments of the preachers. But we should remember that these proceedings were the act of an extraordinary convocation of the American Methodist ministry; that sixty of the eighty-three traveling preachers then in the Connection were at this Christmas Conference; that they were unanimous in their measures; and that Ware, Lee, and Garrettson concur in the statement that the action of the Conference was very acceptable to our Societies. Hence it appears that the Bishops of our Church derived their position, powers, and duties jointly from Mr. Wesley and the assembled American ministry; that the Conference to which they thus became amenable for their official behavior and which had power to expel them, was synonymous with "the body of the ministers and preachers;" and that the members of the Conference were present, not to represent a clerical constituency, but in their simple character as Methodist preachers in full connection. Such was the General Conference upon which the Bishops were, in their own language, "entirely dependent." The duty of making the appointments was one that had always been connected in America

with the office of Assistant to Mr. Wesley; and it had been exercised in turn by Boardman, Rankin, and Asbury, as Wesley's representatives. It was natural, therefore, that this duty should be performed by the Bishops when they took the place of the Assistants; and this accordingly was done. Frequent efforts were made to withdraw this duty more or less from episcopal control, and in various ways to associate the Conferences more directly in such matters; but these endeavors always failed. So great was the irritation aroused by the action of the General Conference of 1792, upon the revolutionary proposals of Rev. J. O'Kelly, that a large secession resulted. This popular preacher had proposed to give any member of the Annual Conferences who should think himself aggrieved by the Bishop in his assignment to labor, a right of appeal to the Conference. The General Conference divided the question as follows: 1. "Shall the Bishop have the power of fixing the appointments of the preachers?" 2. "Shall a preacher be allowed an appeal?" The first question was decided unanimously in the affirmative; the second was decided negatively by a large majority.

O'Kelly and his friends withdrew in anger. They organized a secession that took away several thousand members from the Church. In some places they carried off entire churches; and some ministers joined them; and so they were able to set up Conferences of their own. Some of the Church buildings were claimed by the new party as their legal property; and some of these were abandoned to them in order to shun profitless controversy. These violent proceedings drew attention to the legal rights, powers, and privileges of the several parties involved. For the first time in our denominational history, events had raised the questions that inevitably arise in such cases, as to the rights of local societies, of the trustees of churches, of the Conferences, and as to the legal authority of the Bishops. Perhaps due attention had not been given to the subject in the past, and probably losses of Church property had resulted from this negligence. We infer this from the fact, that, in the published Minutes of the General Conference of 1796, the third question brought up is this: "What shall be done for the *security* of our preaching-houses, and the premises belonging thereto?" The reader of this question who is familiar with the situation of the Church between the General Conferences of 1792 and 1796

cannot reasonably doubt that the inquiry how to *secure* "our preaching-houses and the premises belonging thereto," had been provoked by sad experience during the O'Kellyan excitement, still raging in its hot wrath, of the legal insecurity of some of those houses and premises. Unless we are careful to study the action of the Conference of 1796 in its connection with the acts of disturbance and secession which arose in consequence of O'Kelly's defection, we shall not contemplate that action from the stand-point of those who took it. In answering their own question, the General Conference adopted a "plan of a deed of settlement" for such Church property, to be carried into effect in all cases, as far as local legislation in the respective states would allow. By the terms of this document, the legal trustees of such preaching-houses with their premises were to hold them: "In the further trust and confidence that they shall at all times, forever hereafter, permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Church, as shall from time to time, be duly authorized by the General Conferences of the said Methodist Episcopal Church, or by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference, and none others, to preach and expound God's holy word therein."

Not content with declaring guilelessly that the purpose of this form for a deed of settlement was to obtain "security for our preaching-houses and the premises belonging thereto," the "Journal of the General Conference" explains why local preachers, leaders of classes, and stewards are not mentioned in the deed; since they, too, are really invested with certain rights, for the due and orderly execution of their functions, in these ecclesiastial properties; and it uses the following comprehensive language: "We do hereby publicly declare, that we have no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our Society, but by this deed *solely* intend to preserve the property of our Church." We are free to avow that the General Conference was thinking, in this place, not of the Bishops, but of certain minor officers of the Church; but we affirm that had the Bishops been in their minds, they would then have deliberately, instead of unconsciously, included these among "the officers of our Society." When this venerable body declared that they had "no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our

Society," they either consciously intended to include Bishops among these public officers, or they did not. If they did consciously include them, then they meant to leave episcopal rights and duties as they found them, without the least limitation by their action; just as the rights and duties of class-leaders, local preachers, and stewards were left unimpaired by it.

If they *unconsciously* included the Bishops among the officers whose privileges are to be unaffected by this action, then their language shows that they had no covert purpose of securing their own control over the episcopal power of fixing the appointments. Men with such a covert design could not be so unconscious; nay, they would not, since it would defeat their alleged design to increase, by better defining, their control over the Bishops. Then, too, the notion of any covert design is set aside by two decisive arguments: first, these are not the men for covert schemes; and, second, they assert that their *sole* design is the protection of the property of the Church. It should be needless to argue so plain a point; but it is not. Says Rev. Dr. Wise: "To secure its own control over this grant of episcopal power, [to fix the appointments of the preachers,] the General Conference, in 1796, adopted the plan of a deed of settlement, which legally invested the stationing power in itself." Now, there is not a word about such an intention in the "Journal of the General Conference" in 1796, nor is there any hint of it in any reputable historian of the Church. Jesse Lee was a member of that Conference, but his "History of the Methodists" reports no such story; Stevens and Bangs have no allusion to any such intention in this action. How did Dr. Wise find out the secret purpose of the General Conference of 1796 in this procedure? Was it a mere inference, hastily made—an inference drawn without even reading over the whole answer to the third question of the Minutes of that body? What moral right has a venerable man, a godly man, and a well-reputed writer, to speak so boldly on so grave a topic without more careful investigation? Dr. Wise has visibly led Dr. Cummings into error on this subject. The latter was quite too guileless when he wrote, "Our attention was first called to this subject of appointments by Rev. Dr. Wise in his able articles on the Presiding Elder question, since published in a

tract, and we use the quotations from Methodist authorities he has given." One cannot help a gentle wonder that before saying, "the deed of settlement adopted in 1796 shows that the General Conference intended to retain this power of appointing preachers," so grave a man as Dr. Cummings did not at least read the whole answer to this fatal question third.

Dr. Wise further declares, that "The importance of this clause in our deed of settlement, as expressive of the purpose of our fathers to legally invest the patronage of our pulpits in the General Conference, and not in the Bishops, cannot be overestimated." This language Dr. Cummings virtually repeats: "The deed of settlement, adopted in 1796, shows that the General Conference intended to retain this power of appointing preachers." Now the men who adopted the deed, themselves say that to protect the property was the *sole* purpose of their action. "Sole" means unaccompanied: hence a sole purpose must be unaccompanied by any covert act or open design to effect something else. This document shows on its face that local boards of trustees were to hold the Church property for the advantage of the local societies; that the right to be nominated to these pulpits belonged to the "members of the General Conference and of the Annual Conferences authorized by the General Conference," and to none others. In the light of O'Kelly's proceedings, we readily see the purpose of these terms. Should any future excitement carry off parts of societies or whole societies from their fealty to our Church, this clause still secured the ministers of the proper Conference, duly authorized by regular episcopal appointment, legal control of their pulpits. Should ministers break away from our communion, establish separate Conferences, and, by carrying off the majority of any one Conference pretend that they were the true Conference, and the legal occupants of the pulpits within its bounds, then our title deeds would show that only the Conference duly authorized by the General Conference could justly assert such claims. It is only when we realize the serious nature of O'Kelly's measures to a young and struggling denomination, that we can feel the naturalness of such action. Dr. L. M. Lee says of this excitement, "In the years of its greatest influence, 1793–95, there was a clear loss in the mem-

bership of the Church of 7,352;" while Jesse Lee makes it almost 11,000. And this loss befell a Church which had gained an average of more than 7,000 members yearly in the three years just preceding the strife. This is why the General Conference of 1796 says: "The preservation of our union and the progress of the work of God, indispensably require that the *free and full use of the pulpits should be in the hands of the General Conference and of the yearly Conferences authorized by them.*" Should anybody pretend that the phrase, "yearly Conferences authorized by the General Conference," points directly to the General Conference as the primary source of authority, whence all the powers of the Annual Conferences are derived, he would, notwithstanding favorable appearances, be deceived. There was no proper General Conference until 1792. Mr. Choate very correctly says, that it was the last in the series of administrative agencies which the Church developed for her needs. But it is evident that the thirteen Annual Conferences held in 1791, and the seventeen held in 1792, before the assembling of the first General Conference, on the first of November in that year, could not have needed or had any authority for their rights and powers from that later body. Hence we conclude, that by the expression, "yearly Conferences authorized by the General Conference," the men of 1796 meant to leave it in the power of the General Conference, should occasion arise, to declare any Annual Conference that should renounce its connectional ties and duties, and yet claim the ecclesiastical property it had once occupied, an unauthorized body, and so defeat its pretensions. What becomes, then, of the notion of Dr. Wise and Dr. Cummings, that the purpose of their action was to "retain the power of stationing preachers" in the General Conference itself?

Of course there was no more purpose of vesting the patronage of our pulpits in the Bishops, than there had been of making the General Conference the sole legal holder of all our preaching houses and their premises.

But if it were too much to expect men who quote an important historical document, in a debate of serious interest, to take the pains to read it through before producing it to the public, surely one might suppose that they would, at least, give due attention to the passages they do bring forward. Had our

honorable friends taken this reasonable precaution, they could hardly have failed to notice one palpable feature that should have moved them to most careful examination before they asserted so sweepingly that the purpose, or, at least, one purpose, of the action of 1796, was to assert for the General Conference an unlimited control over the matter of making appointments. Both the passages which they cite show a conjunction of the Annual Conferences with the General, which does not savor of sole possession on the part of the latter. We cannot suppose that the mention of the yearly Conferences in this grave, legal document, came about by accident; rather are they associated in this way with the General Conference with the intention of recognizing and protecting ministerial rights, which would have been left without legal recognition and protection but for this conjunction of the two kinds of Conferences in this form of a deed of settlement. Let us see if we can find out what rights these are, and to whom they belong. We shall not need to search long in order to gain ample light concerning this point. From the year 1792 down to 1800, any preacher in full connection with an Annual Conference was also a member of the General Conference. Had it been probable that this state of things would continue indefinitely, there would have been no necessity of mentioning any thing besides the General Conference in the securing clause of the deeds of trust for our Church property; since that would have protected the patronage rights of every minister in full connection throughout the Church. But so rapid had been the growth in numbers of the ministry and membership, that it must have been plain to all thoughtful minds that such a state of things could not long exist; it was certain that it would speedily be found indispensable to devise some way of limiting the number of the members of the General Conference. The moment it should happen that a class of men, in full connection with any Annual Conference, should be found not entitled to seats in the General Conference, a class of ministers would be found whose patronage rights to our pulpits would cease, unless the Annual Conferences were joined with the General Conference in the securing clause of our deeds of settlement. When the form of such deeds was drawn up, in 1796, it was impossible to tell how large this class of ministers, with unprotected

rights of pulpit patronage might ultimately become. For aught they could foresee, it might embrace half, or more than half, the entire traveling ministry, including many venerable for years and honorable service. No doubt, it was because such a condition of affairs was anticipated, in 1796, that our deeds of settlement were jealously framed, so as to render this flagrant injustice to any of our ministers forever impossible. Nor was this an ideal danger only. In the General Conference of 1800, it was ordained that only ministers in full connection with an Annual Conference, who had traveled four years, should have seats in the General Conference. Thus there would have been a class of clergymen in full connection from the year 1804 down to 1812, naked of all lawful claims to pulpit patronage, but for the watchful care which so drew our deeds of trust as to protect the rights of every traveling preacher in full connection. Nor do we lack evidence that this difficulty was greatly in the minds of the leading Methodists of that period. On the seventh day of July, 1791, at Lynn, Mass., Jesse Lee had placed in the hands of Bishop Asbury, "A paper proposing the election of not less than two, nor more than four preachers from each Conference, to form a General Conference in Baltimore in December, 1792, to be continued annually." The scheme was not adopted in all its details; but the bare fact that it had been proposed to establish a General Conference on such conditions that only one preacher in seven could have a seat in it, must have made the entire traveling ministry anxious to have their claims to pulpit patronage secured to all members in full of the yearly Conferences. These, then, were the considerations that led to the adoption of the deed of settlement which guards the rights of us all—the *Magna Charta* of the traveling preachers. Unless the authorities of our Church had been guided by this wise intention in adopting "the plan of a deed of settlement," they would not long have been able to say, as they do say in a note appended to this form of our property deeds, and first printed in their Minutes for 1796: "*Of course, the traveling preachers who are in full connection, assembled in their Conferences, are the patrons of the pulpits of our churches.*"

It is important to insist upon the fact that down to the year 1808, the General and Annual Conferences had ever been the

joint possessors of the patronage of our pulpits since these Conferences had grown up together, lest we be misled in regard to the amount of power in this matter conferred by the General Conference of 1808 upon its successor, the delegated General Conference. Speaking of this subject, Dr. Wise says: "The body of the preachers in 1808 conferred all the legislative authority they possessed, with a few slight restrictions, and all their legal rights, upon the delegated body which they at that time created." Thus Dr. Wise consents to the rule of common sense and of law, that the General Conference of 1808 could not confer upon its successor, the delegated General Conference, any authority or legal rights which it did not itself possess. Its members were not the lawful representatives of the Annual Conferences, and hence could set up no claim to dispose directly or indirectly of the rights of those Conferences. The one hundred and twenty-nine preachers who made up this General Conference were less than a fourth of the traveling ministers entitled to seats, and, therefore, could not pretend to be even a mass-meeting of the Conferences. Hence the General Conference of 1808 could only convey to the delegated General Conference such pulpit patronage as itself was in legal possession of—so much, and no more. We have already shown that the General Conference never was the sole legal patron of our pulpits, and hence could not make its successor their exclusive patron. As the Annual Conferences had always been associated in our deeds of trust with the General Conference before 1808 in possession of our pulpit patronage, so they must be associated after 1808 with the delegated General Conference in that possession. As the Annual Conferences were not present in the General Conference of 1808, either in person or by legal representatives, their rights remained untouched in the matter of patronage. If any one should doubt whether these rights of patronage had not really been transferred to the delegated General Conference in the grant of plenary power to make rules and regulations for our Church, without any such intention on the part of the General Conference of 1808, his doubt would have no good basis. In addition to the fact that no body of men can legally convey away rights that are held by others without being especially empowered for such action, power and rights cannot be conveyed in law unless there be an

intent to convey them. Rufus Choate states this principle as follows: "For, I take it that it is an elementary and universal proposition, that the powers of a representative and delegated body are exactly what the constituent creator meant to give it—no less and no more. I take this as a universal and elementary proposition, running throughout all agency, as between parties of substitution, of representation, of delegation, from the broadest to the narrowest, that the intention of the constituent defines and measures the power of the delegate." It ought, perhaps, to be stated that, though not speaking about the question of pulpit patronage, Mr. Choate is speaking expressly of the relations of the General Conference of 1808 and the delegated General Conference which it created. Hence it is that we can still say, "*Of course, the traveling preachers who are in full connection, assembled in their Conferences, are the patrons of the pulpits of our churches.*"

That this construction of the effect of the formation of the delegated General Conference upon the patronage rights of members in full conection of the Annual Conferences is the correct one, will also appear from the action of the General Conference of 1820 upon the subject of Church building. Among other things it is there said: "In future we will admit no charter, deed, or conveyance for any house of worship to be used by us, unless it be provided in such charter, deed, or conveyance that the trustees of said house shall at all times permit such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Methodist Episcopal Church as shall, from time to time, be duly authorized by the General Conference of the ministers of our Church, or by the Annual Conferences, to preach and expound God's holy word therein." This language constitutes a valuable commentary on the true intent of the securing clause in our Church property deeds. It shows clearly that the able committee which drew the report, and the General Conference which adopted it, recognized in the Annual Conferences, after 1808 as well as before, full power to authorize their own members to enjoy the legal possession of their pulpits, according to the established usages of the denomination. The chairman of the committee which devised this measure was Stephen G. Roszell, a great man in our Israel. Its resolutions were taken up and discussed in the Conference one by one, and efforts

were made made to amend them in several points. Solomon Sias, Elijah Hedding, Nathan Bangs, Ezekiel Cooper, J. B. Finley, and Joseph A. Merrill, sought to secure certain changes. This action, then, was not hasty; it underwent the critical scrutiny of some of the ablest men in Methodism. Yet, strange to say, not one of them dreamed of challenging its bold assumption that the Annual Conferences had never transferred their patronage rights to the delegated General Conference. Yet some of these men had borne a hand in making the constitution of the Church, and should have been quick to expose anything unconstitutional in such a report. And, notwithstanding the zeal of our reformers, this action has stood for fifty years unimpeached in our Book of Discipline.

We have dealt thus carefully with this subject, because we freely accept the statement we quoted from Dr. Wise, "That any proposition to modify the Presiding Eldership necessarily involves the nature and tenure of the appointing power in our ecclesiastical system; that these are correlative questions, but the primary one is that of the appointing power." Dr. Wise's assumption that the General Conference can by its own authority, and without concurrent action on the part of the Annual Conferences, remove any part of the appointing power out of the hands of the Episcopacy, rests ultimately upon his belief that the General Conference is the sole legal possessor of the patronage of the pulpits of our churches. By showing that this belief contradicts our title-deeds themselves, the assertions of those who drew our title-deeds, our subsequent legislation, and the fundamental principles of all agency, we have broken up his standing-ground, and shown by anticipation that he will hardly be likely, with such mistaken views in his mind, to reach any tenable position on the correlated question of the appointment of Presiding Elders. Were the General Conference really in legal possession of all the patronage of our pulpits, of course it would be able by a majority vote to dispose of that patronage as it pleased—Presiding Elders' positions with the rest. By showing that the rights of the Annual Conferences to pulpit patronage never were surrendered to the General Conference, we have inferentially shown that this latter body has not power of itself to change the mode of appointing the Presiding Elders.

As our ecclesiastical system always contemplated systematic changes in the occupancy of our pulpits, it was found necessary, in order to serve the highest weal of the Churches, handle with conscientious care the personal rights of the traveling preachers, and effect all changes with as much intelligence and as little friction as possible, to lodge the supreme authority of appointment in the hands of our Bishops. It was felt on all sides that such solemn and delicate responsibities ought to be reposed in holy, high-minded, and impartial men, raised by their position, as well as character, above the piques and jealousies that sometimes trouble even ministers. They came in process of time to need the assistance of trustworthy counselors, and Providence gave them in the guise of Presiding Elders. This system grew up by degrees, so far as the Presiding Elder is concerned; it was always what it now is, as far as the Bishop is concerned. The responsibility of making Presiding Elders was assumed by Bishop Asbury; and when his right to do it was questioned, the General Conference in 1792 confirmed his action, and defined the duties and responsibilities of that officer. Of course, attacks were made upon the appointing power. Some sought for a diminution of the Bishop's authority by giving any preacher, who deemed himself injured by any proposed appointment, a direct appeal to the Conference. This measure, as we have seen, was agitated, discussed fully, and by a large majority rejected. It was proposed in 1800 that the Conference should elect a committee to aid the Bishop in stationing the preachers. This motion was discussed and failed. The next proposal was, that power should be given to the yearly Conferences to nominate and elect the Presiding Elders. This was discussed and rejected. Next it was moved that there should be no Presiding Elders. After a long debate this, too, was lost.

We thus find that, in spite of considerable misgiving in some minds, the Church steadily adhered to the plan of keeping the power of stationing preachers and Presiding Elders in the hands of the Episcopacy, throughout the entire period of time when a bare majority vote would, perhaps, have been sufficient to make changes in the method of appointment.

In the year 1808 the General Conference provided for the establishment of a delegated General Conference, with full

power to make rules and regulations for the Church under certain large restrictions. As respects the form of government the third restriction says: "They [the General Conference] shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency."

We contend that this restrictive rule continues the appointing power in its integrity in the hands of the Bishops, with the added sanction, that it shall remain in those hands until taken from them by a concurrent majority vote of two thirds in the General and three fourths in the Annual Conferences. This view is opposed by Dr. Wise and others, who assert that this third restriction only forbids the General Conference to destroy our Episcopacy, or to make it diocesan instead of general and itinerant. That I may do no injustice to the holders of this view, it shall be stated in their own language. Dr. Wise says, that the General Conference "can therefore do what it pleases, provided it does not destroy the itinerant and general character of our Superintendency by making it diocesan and local." Dr. Cummings says, "It was designed not only to perpetuate the Episcopacy, but also a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy."

The most natural way of determining this issue would be to discuss the history of the adoption of this restrictive rule in 1808, but it will be more convenient to defer this task until we have disposed of a mass of irrelevant arguments. Dr. Wise does not think his position assailable, for he says: "To affirm the contrary would be to insult the understanding of the Church." His first argument rests upon his doctrine that the General Conference is the sole legal possessor of the rights of patronage in the pulpits of our churches. As we have shown this doctrine to be unfounded, and contradictory to the General Conference of 1796, we cannot attach any value to conclusions derived from it. His second argument is, that in the General Conference of 1844, Dr. Durbin took this position in the debate concerning the case of Bishop Andrew. This statement is true; but what is its argumentative value? Dr. Durbin supported his position by two irrelevant (*pace tanti viri*) arguments. He said that the Bishop derived his entire power from his election to be Bishop, and not from his ordination. When he was asked

what he would say to a Bishop, elected but unordained, who should himself ordain others, that wise man, who understood the art of prudent silence, never found his voice to reply. Dr. Durbin further quoted from the language of Bishops Asbury and Coke in their Notes on the Discipline published in 1796, and a pamphlet by John Dickens, printed in 1792, statements that the Bishops are perfectly subject to the General Conference. But Dr. Durbin forgot that all this was said at a time when the General Conference was equally open to all the traveling preachers in the Connection; so that he falls into the gravely erroneous assumption that the powers of the delegated General Conference over the Bishops are identical with those of the General Conference anterior to 1812, to which all ministers in full connection belonged. Yet this assumption he does not seek to justify, notwithstanding the whole scope of his argument revolved about it. The same objection may be taken to Bishop Hamline's memorable speech on the same sad occasion, the speech that built his own miter. And yet this justly memorable address was not without its weak points. The account given by Bishop Janes of its preparation, in Palmer's "Life of Hamline," shows that it was written, and polished, and committed to memory, under circumstances which left no time for an historical study of the complicated questions involved. The speech itself, as well as Bishop Janes's account, shows that its author had not studied the question in the light of our denominational history.

Dr. Cummings, who indorses the views of Dr. Wise, states his own position as follows: "The rule was designed not only to perpetuate Episcopacy, but a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy." This author adduces eleven arguments for the confirmation of this position:—

"1. Mr. Winans, one of the ablest minds in the Church, in the General Conference of 1824, gave the rule this interpretation, when it was proposed to assign episcopal districts to the Bishops. Mr. Winans declared the measure contrary to the third restrictive rule, and therefore unconstitutional." Well, no doubt Mr. Winans was right; but how does proving that a particular measure is unconstitutional show that the rule in question only forbids the destruction of the Episcopacy or the making it diocesan? Mr. Winans had no intention then of speaking to our question.

Twenty years later he did turn his mind somewhat nearer it, and it may be well to note what this really able man says:—

> Does the General Conference possess this plenary administrative power? No, emphatically. Properly speaking, the General Conference, as such, possesses not a particle of original administrative power. All the administrative power it does possess is conferred upon it by its own action in another capacity. It is purely a creature having delegated attributes, and none others. . . . "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church," and that is the whole of her power. Her administrative power was to be found solely in the rules and regulations she has made. . . . There would be immense hazard in allowing the General Conference to exercise discretionary, absolute authority, by means of the majority [vote].

This is what Mr. Winans says, when our question is clearly before his mind. The first argument, then, is *non sequiter* number one.

2. We are then told that "Another proof of the interpretation of the rule that it forbids a diocesan Episcopacy, is in the fact that when it was deemed desirable to give Missionary Bishops a limited territory, and not require them to participate in the General Superintendency, it was deemed necessary to change the rule by a constitutional process." We cannot track the logical processes by which a fact which only shows that we cannot have local Bishops without a concurrent majority of two thirds in the General and three fourths in the Annual Conferences giving it their approval, is made to prove that we can have an elective Presiding Eldership in our Conferences by a simple majority vote of the General Conference. The second argument, then, is *non sequiter* number two.

3. The next argument runs thus: "In several instances, the third restrictive rule is referred to by Bishops and others in discussions relative to Church usages and polity, and itinerant General Superintendency is used as synonymous with 'The plan of our itinerant General Superintendency,' and the purpose of the rule is represented to be, to guard against diocesan Episcopacy, and secure a general superintendency by the Bishops." Under this head an extract from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 is produced, too long to be given here, except the italicized parts, which contain the pith of the whole. The Bishops say that it is proper that they should.

say, "that the form of episcopal operation is *general, embracing the whole work in connectional order, and not diocesan or sectional.*" Again they say, "If we have taken a correct view of the subject, *our Superintendency must be itinerant and not local.*" And, finally, it is said that it is "the duty of the Superintendent *to travel through the connection at large.*" The point, then, of this argument is, that these sentences are employed by the Bishops as synonymous with the phrase in the third restrictive rule, "the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." Strictly speaking, the word synonym marks two words which have not the slightest difference in meaning; and of course no two words are quite synonymous; still less can two phrases be strictly synonymous. Whately tells us, that synonym is a term "Generally applied to words which would be more correctly termed *pseudo-synonyms*, that is, words having a shade of difference, yet with sufficient resemblance of meaning to make them liable to be confounded together." In the former sense, then, we deny that these sentences and phrases are synonymous, while in the looser sense we confess that they are synonymous. And the sophism, or paralogism, in the argument of our good friend, lies in assuming that things which are synonymous in the looser sense are so in the strict sense; as though *pseudo-synonyms* were true synonyms; or, to drop technical language, the mistake lies in assuming that things which are more or less different from each other are precisely alike. In this case the shade of difference which is ignored in the argument covers the whole point in debate. This third argument, then, is *non sequiter* number three. I cannot help adding, in this instance, that a little more candor would, perhaps, have kept our excellent friend from this logical blunder. The first name signed to the Bishops' Address in 1844, is Joshua Soule. Now Joshua Soule's entire public life was marked by the sternest opposition to this theory; how came he, then, to send forth in so important a document, over his own sign-manual, a denial of his own especial doctrines?

4. The next argument is, that in the Methodist Church Property Case, Judge Fancher offered this Episcopal Address to the Court, "as showing the powers of the General Conference with respect to the Bishops as to the system and polity of the

Church, which requires that the Bishops travel through the Connection at large." No doubt this Address was good for the purpose contemplated by Judge Fancher; but where is the proof that he held or consented to the view of our kind friend that a *pseudo-synonym* is a true synonym, that things partly the same are wholly so? Yet this is what they must show, or Judge Fancher cannot help him. The fourth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number four.

5. The next argument is, that the General Conference Committee on the case of Bishop Andrew in 1844, quoted from the Bishops' Address of that year the passage already introduced in relation to the itinerant and General Superintendency which the Bishops are required to maintain, and thus sanctioned those views. Furthermore, since the General Conference adopted this report, they also concurred in them. Having already shown the logical absurdity of such a perversion of the Bishops' language, and the special injustice to Bishop Soule of imputing to him views which he ever denounced as unsound, it might be well enough to leave the matter with the simple remark that the repetition of a mistaken argument does not add weight to it. But it should, perhaps, be added, that the very nature of the charge against Bishop Andrew, namely, that his connection with slavery made it impossible for him to share in the functions of our itinerant General Superintendency, tended to withdraw men's minds from every thing else but the one point of alarming offense. How, under such circumstances, could the question arise whether the appointing power had been withheld from the too nimble hands of a General Conference majority? They were overshadowed by the portentous aspects of hastening changes and unavoidable division. They were in no mood for definitions. The fifth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number five.

6. We next find a long passage taken from the Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1852. The specially significant part would appear to be the following: The Bishops "are required to travel through the Connection at large, and exercise a personal oversight. So important did our fathers deem this feature in the economy of Methodism as to guard it by constitutional provision, and put it beyond the legitimate exercise of the powers of the General Conference, by a restriction

which declares, 'they shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency.'" Here, again, we are met by the old assumption, that whenever men have occasion to mention any one feature of the itinerant General Superintendency, they may be held to have intended a description of all the features thereof.' When we say that a boy has a nose, must we mean that this is the poor lad's sole feature? This sixth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number six.

7. The next argument is stated in terms following: "In the General Conference of 1836 Bishop Roberts tendered his resignation, which was not accepted, and one of his reasons was, that owing to failing health he was unable to perform the duties required of a Bishop by the itinerant General Superintendency. He gave, in so doing, his idea of the meaning of the rule." When a sick man names one special feature of the duties laid upon him by his office as requiring him to resign it, are we to suppose that he intends an exhaustive description thereof? It seems more natural that the sick person should only name the particular topic under which the disability in his case arises. This seventh argument, then, is *non sequiter* number seven.

8. The next argument is in the form following: "In the argument in favor of the resolution adopted in 1844 relative to Bishop Andrew, it was repeatedly and emphatically urged that he could not participate in the itinerant General Superintendency. To confine him to any section of the work would be to curtail the itinerant General Superintendency, and to introduce a particular or sectional superintendency." Well, that was a conclusive statement of the difficulty in Bishop Andrew's case. But did the men who made it intend in any way to set forth the doctrine that the third restrictive rule only prohibits a diocesan Episcopacy in our Church? Many members of our Annual Conferences must have used that very argument themselves in regard to Bishop Andrew; if any one of them, then, supposed that he was giving color to conclusions which our kind friend now draws from that argument, who ever heard of the fact? The eighth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number eight.

9. The next proof alleged is the argument of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, that a division of the Church would violate the third restrictive rule. Mr. Ewing said: "Now, if the General Conference can divide the Church into two or more parts, the General Superintendency of the Bishops is at once destroyed, and becomes special over each special fragment of the Church so divided." But how does a good argument against the power of the General Conference to divide the Church, because that division would be an affront to the third restrictive rule, show that this rule allows the General Conference to remove, by a majority vote, the power of appointment from episcopal control? The ninth argument, then, turns out *non sequiter* number nine.

10. The next argument adduced is in these words: "The general mode of stating the force of the third restrictive rule is represented by its presentation by Dr. Stevens in his 'History of the Methodist Episcopal Church;' namely: "The General Conference 'shall not do away Episcopacy nor the itinerancy of the Episcopate.'" How does the fact that an author makes a condensed statement of the effect of any given rule, show that the rule does not include something further than is there stated? Our good friend might have proved, in the same way, that this restriction does not require our Bishops to be itinerant. Let some writer, who is thinking of the special governmental difference between our Church and Presbyterian bodies, say that this rule demands that we shall retain Episcopacy, and the thing is done for us, if it can be done as our friend assumes. Hon. D. Lord, whom our friends cite with special praise, summarizes the third restrictive rule thus: "they should not change their hierarchy." Is this a full description of the third restriction? Certainly Mr. Lord would not pretend so. This tenth argument, then, is *non sequiter* number ten.

The eleventh argument is as follows:—

We present as an authority worthy of special attention, the interpretation of this rule by an eminent lawyer, Hon. D. Lord, given in the New York Methodist Church Property Case. Mr. Lord states that the interpretation he gives, as the one the language requires, is in some respects unfavorable to his clients. It has, therefore, the more force. After quoting the rule, "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant

General Superintendency," he says: "Destroy is the word. Without this restriction, could they not have altered and done away with Episcopacy? could they not have destroyed the General Superintendency? . . . What does the phrase, 'so as to do away Episcopacy,' mean? Why, that they may vary Episcopacy; they may limit it, but shall not *destroy* the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency; they may make the itinerancy, instead of being absolutely general, general according to circumstances; they may excuse a Bishop from running all over the United States; they may excuse a man disqualified by his peculiar notions, and not disturb the plan of itinerant General Superintendency. I know very well the extent to which we go for these gentlemen's benefit in the case of Bishop Andrew, when we make these remarks. But we cannot read this article without seeing, that, whatever can be done in consistence with the language and spirit of the third restrictive Article, the General Conference can do. They, therefore, can do any thing with the plan of Episcopacy, except doing it away. That is their power without regard to the Annual Conferences." We do not assent to all the inferences of Mr. Lord, but his interpretation of the rule shows that to a practical man, well skilled in interpreting various documents, it has not the force given it by those who deny that it is constitutional to elect Presiding Elders. The opinions expressed in the quotations given are unbiassed and non-partisan, so far as the question under discussion is concerned. They show that the extent of the powers of the General Conference is more than sufficient to cover the ground we claim.

In this case, we have an eminent lawyer trying to find some way of maintaining that Bishop Andrew had done nothing in violation of the third restrictive rule, without having his thoughts occupied in the remotest way with the appointing power. Of what consequence is it, then, to our question, that he never so much as glances at the appointment of preachers by the Bishops? So completely is the latter question shut out of consideration by its total disconnection with their contentions, that we cannot remember a single allusion to it by any lawyer engaged upon the Methodist Church Property case. There was no occasion for discussing it, and the Index to Sutton's full report of that case, among all its other topics, gives no hint that any thing was there said concerning it. This eleventh argument, then, is *non sequiter* number eleven.

Eleven *non sequiters* brought together to prove a single untenable position, show how hard it is to find a good argument for a doctrine which has no foundation in our history, our legislation, or our administration; for surely our good friend would not

have avoided sound arguments could he have found them. It finally dawned upon our friend that his arguments were not relevant, and, under an uneasy sense of the fact, he sought to relieve his logical embarrassment in the following remarkable paragraph:—

> We are fully aware that in reply to our argument from so many quotations, (perhaps too many,) it will be said the argument is needless, inasmuch as it is admitted that the restrictive rule forbids a local or diocesan Episcopacy; but it is claimed it also forbids, as implied in the word plan, the taking away from the Bishops the power to appoint the Presiding Elders. But this reply, we allege, utterly fails to meet the point. We present these opinions from so many sources, and given under such diverse circumstances, as showing the meaning of the rule, and that the argument based on the word plan is fanciful and without foundation. They show that the phrase, "plan of our itinerant General Superintendency," means simply itinerant General Superintendency. There is not a single intimation that any thing more is implied.

If we are able to comprehend this statement, it sets up the claim, that, although on page fifty-five of the pamphlet we are examining, the first of these eleven arguments immediately follows this statement, The rule "was designed not only to perpetuate the Episcopacy, but also a general in opposition to a diocesan Episcopacy," nevertheless it was not intended to prove that proposition, but something quite different. And though the ten other arguments follow directly after the first, nevertheless they, too, are not intended to prove the point which they seem alleged to prove, but that a certain argument of ours, founded on the word plan, is fanciful and without foundation. Our only comment is, that the production of twelve men who have occasion to treat the word plan (though several of them neither think nor speak of the word plan) only as it has to do with the itinerant and general character of our Superintendency, and never as it has to do with the appointing power of the Bishops, to prove what they never dreamed of proving, and what several of them ever deemed erroneous, is a wholly unjustifiable procedure in logic. It seems like an after-thought and an evasion. That this is the fact in regard to this remarkable paragraph will appear before we get through with it. For, though seeming to deny that these arguments are adduced for the purpose of proving that the third restrictive rule exhausts itself in forbidding the doing away of our itinerant and General Su-

perintendency, but rather to show that the word plan had no special force or meaning in that rule, yet the author involuntarily corrects himself before he closes his explanation. Note his own terms: "We present these opinions from so many sources, and given under such diverse circumstances, *as showing clearly the meaning of the rule, and that the argument based upon the word plan is fanciful and without foundation.*" That is, they are produced for the sake of proving that the third restriction only forbids the General Conference to do away Episcopacy or make it diocesan, and that any argument against this view, based on the word plan, has no good ground. Well, then, why introduce them as though they had been only meant to prove the first of these two points? why afterward deny that they had been brought in to prove the first point, but rather the second, about the word plan? and, finally, why assert that they are meant to demonstrate both points all within the compass of a single page? Clearly the author was troubled by a secret consciousness that these reasons did not serve their original purpose, hoped that they would help him against the word plan, and finally made bold again to assert that they determined both points. Under another head, we shall attend to the force of the word plan. The arguments that have been examined are the best we have been able to find in favor of the views combatted. Our friends have been quite industrious, and are skillful enough to know a good argument when they see one. Their position is their peril; it is hard to fight against historical truth.

Having learned by incontrovertible evidence that the General Conference never was the sole legal possessor of all the pulpit patronage of our Churches, and that the best arguments alleged to prove that the third restrictive rule merely forbids the General Conference to destroy Episcopacy or make it diocesan are untenable, we are now prepared for an intelligent and candid inquiry into the true and full meaning of the third restrictive rule. Let us remember the form of that rule: "They [the General Conference] shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." Both parties to the preset controversy agree that this rule requires us to perpetuate an itinerant and General

Superintendency until the requisite majorities in the General and Annual Conferences shall decree changes in its form or its complete destruction. Our friends contend that these prohibitions exhaust the meaning of the rule, so that the General Conference may, by a simple majority vote, transfer the appointing power from the Bishops to other parties. In this instance they propose only to transfer the appointment of the Presiding Elders to the Annual Conferences—not that they could not rightfully go further than this, but that for the present they are satisfied with this measure. We contend that this rule was framed for the purpose of leaving the power of making appointments to our pulpits in the hands of the Bishops, where the framers of the rule had found it, with the added provision that it should remain in those hands until removed by the requisite concurrent majorities in the General and Annual Conferences. This contention we hope to make good by lucid and decisive reasons.

If we go back to the General Conference of 1808, read the "Journal" of that body, and combine with the record of their doings such statements of facts as we can collect from other sources, we shall be conducted resistlessly to the conclusion we have pointed out. We shall not deal with the history of that General Conference at large, but only so far as it is related to our controversy.

We saw some time since, that efforts had been made prior to 1808 to take the power of appointing Presiding Elders from the hands of the Bishops, and lodge it in the hands of the Annual Conferences. Then the General Conferences could, perhaps, have done this by a simple majority vote, with only formal and not material injustice. By securing concurrent action on the part of the Annual Conferences, they might have drawn all the patronage rights of the traveling ministry into their own hands. They never were able to carry the former measure through the General Conference, and, perhaps for that reason, the latter was never mentioned. Had both measures prevailed, our connectional deeds of trust must have been changed so as to show that the General Conference was the sole patron of all our pulpits.

Among the declared purposes for which it was proposed in 1808 to establish a delegated General Conference, one is "be-

cause it is of the greatest importance to preserve our form of government sacred and inviolate." It is well known that Asbury, Whatcoat, Garrettson, Lee, Cooper, M'Kendree, and others had been quite anxious to settle the government on a firmer basis than had as yet been found for it. By some parties it was supposed that the General Conference had quite unlimited power over the Church—that they could bind and loose at pleasure. A simple majority vote might abolish the general rules, overturn our ecclesiastical system, and repeal our articles of faith. Such a condition of things was too perilous to continue; but how to terminate it was a question which greatly exercised the minds of the leading Methodists. To this end it had been proposed seventeen years before to create a delegated General Conference. In the General Conference of 1808, on the 10th of May, Bishop Asbury drew the attention of the members to this important subject. It was decided to raise a Committee of Fourteen, taking two from each Annual Conference, who were to consider the question and report some plan for the delegated General Conference. It should be noticed that the two representatives of each Conference in the Committee of Fourteen were appointed by the men from their own Conference. This shows that the chair did not make up the committee to please itself; but that its members, doubtless, knew and shared the views of their respective Conferences. In this way we see at the start that the movement was spontaneous and unconstrained. By general confession this was one of the ablest committees ever formed in the General Conference. This large and wise committee met in order to mold the business intrusted to them into consistent shape. They had a long and free conversation on the provisions to be introduced into their report. It was then proposed that a subcommittee of three should be appointed to draw up a report, which was to be presented at a subsequent meeting to the full committee for acceptance or modification; and, after approval by them, it was to be laid before the General Conference. This subcommittee consisted of Ezekiel Cooper, Joshua Soule, and Philip Bruce. The composition of this subcommittee is not without its own significance. This is the first clear hint we have as to the course things are taking in the Committee of Fourteen. Ezekiel Cooper had long been a strong advocate

of the election of Presiding Elders by the Annual Conferences. He represented that view in the subcommittee. With him was associated Joshua Soule, a decided advocate of leaving the appointing power undiminished in the hands of the Episcopacy. He will be sure to defend and expound his own views in the subcommittee. With them is associated Philip Bruce, of the Virginia Conference. We should naturally look to find Jesse Lee, the ablest of the Virginians, on this subcommittee, instead of Mr. Bruce. We certainly should have found him there, but for the fact that he would have sided with Cooper on the Presiding Elder question. The Committee of Fourteen, therefore, had some design in putting Philip Bruce upon this subcommittee—a man of mark, a close friend of M'Kendree and Asbury. He is placed there that he may turn the scale against Cooper's views, and indorse Mr. Soule's conservative work. Yet he is an able man, who can enforce his own views upon occasion. He has long been the trusty adviser of Bishop Asbury, and has often put himself into sharp opposition to Jesse Lee's attacks upon the concession to the Bishops of power to appoint Presiding Elders. Only a year earlier he had striven in vain to keep Lee from carrying the Virginia Conference against the proposed extraordinary convocation of the General Conference. His presence on the subcommittee shows that Mr. Cooper is not to mold the report to his own will. The subcommittee next met, exchanged sentiments, and agreed that each member should draw up a separate paper, embodying such provisions as he deemed proper; that they should meet again, read the different plans, accept and modify the one that seemed best, and report that to the full committee. When they did come together next day, Cooper had a scheme drawn out in due order; Soule, also, had one in proper form; while Bruce had nothing on paper. On hearing the two papers read, Bruce agreed with that of Soule; and though Cooper pleaded for his own scheme with his usual ability, he could not prevail. Here we see the will of the majority that had shut out Jesse Lee and put Philip Bruce on the subcommittee, taking form through the action of this very man in a report intended to leave the appointing power intact in the hands of the Bishops, and guarded against too easy changes by constitutional restriction upon the powers of the General Conference.

The two plans were next laid before the whole committee, who again showed their bent by adopting the plan of Joshua Soule. Some unimportant changes were made, and then the committee reported this carefully-matured plan to the General Conference. There had been six days for discussion, and the subject was entirely familiar to their minds. There was no necessity for historical study, and no doubt as to the convictions of the denomination. There is no question that the main objectors to the report in the committee were Ezekiel Cooper and Jesse Lee. Cooper certainly renewed before the full committee those pleadings which had been so vain in the subcommittee, and Jesse Lee would certainly have aided his plea that the appointing power of the Bishops might not be guarded by constitutional provisions. But before following the matter into the General Conference, it may be well to note what was the form of the third restrictive rule, as presented in the language of Mr. Cooper, in contrast with the form offered by Mr. Soule, and embodied in our constitution. Mr. Cooper proposed that the third restriction should run thus: "They [the General Conference] shall not do away Episcopacy nor reduce our ministry to a Presbyterial parity." Joshua Soule proposed that it should stand as it has stood for seventy years: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away Episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency." No doubt Joshua Soule meant to protect and perpetuate the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency, clothed with every attribute, and fulfilling every function which had appeared in it since 1784, save one or two minor items of restriction. It seems reasonable to think that he used the word plan with the intention of covering more than our friends admit; because, with their conception of its meaning, it becomes an idle, purposeless word. Read Joshua Soule's report as it appears in the "Journal of the General Conference" of 1808. The document is simple and orderly, with hardly an unnecessary word, unless this phrase of the third restrictive rule contains it. Had the writer only meant to say what our good friends suppose he intended, he needed merely to write: "They shall not do away Episcopacy nor make it diocesan." Why did this able man, in a severely simple document, here resort to so cumbrous a mode

of expression, if his meaning was so simple? One cannot avoid the inference from Mr. Soule's well-known views, and from this singular form of expression, that he meant to forbid the delegated General Conference to destroy the plan by which episcopal supervision is brought to bear under our economy upon all our ecclesiastical operations. And unless the Committee of Fourteen, in the first instance, and the General Conference after them, had given it this range of meaning, we cannot make out why they did not purge away this cumbersome accumulation of words, and conform its phraseology to the general rhetorical severity of the document. Then, too, if Joshua Soule was in agreement with Jesse Lee and Ezekiel Cooper on this subject, as our excellent friends allege, why did none of them suggest that this phrase might some day be cited to show that the General Conference of 1808 meant to tie up the delegated General Conference as to the appointing power of the Bishops. We shall see that Joshua Soule knew how to make concessions, and his severe taste would have made him more than willing to sacrifice a phrase to escape an ambiguity. We think this will be sufficient answer to all objections made from our use of the word "plan." There could be small doubt that Messrs. Lee and Cooper would renew their attacks upon the committee's report on the floor of the General Conference. We all know that in conventions, legislative bodies, and conferences, such matters take a regular and uniform course when the subjects involved are important and familiar. The most effective objections and difficulties are rarely out of the minds even of a subcommittee, while in a full committee every thing relevant is sure to be urged against the scheme of the majority. If these objections are set aside, and the matter is not very important, one may never hear of them again on the floor of the deliberating assembly. But if the matter be weighty, and the contentions of the committee keen and strenuous, the objections raised in committee appear afresh in the shape of a minority report, or of efforts to modify the report which they have vainly combatted in its inception. In this instance no minority report was presented, and we must seek light as to the objections offered in the committee by noticing the efforts for modification attempted when the discussion of the report occurred on the floor of the General Conference. When the

report was laid before the Conference, on the 16th of May, it was discussed for some hours, when, in the afternoon session, Mr. Ezekiel Cooper rose to make a motion—the same Mr. Cooper who had proposed in the committee that the third restrictive rule should run: "They [the General Conference] shall not do away Episcopacy, nor reduce our ministry to a Presbyterial parity;" a formula that would certainly have left the mode of appointing Presiding Elders as well as other preachers entirely in the hands of the General Conference—and who, we are told, has not, perhaps, so much as heard or spoken a word in the debates of the committee concerning the bearing of the proposed rule upon the way of appointing Presiding Elders—this same Ezekiel Cooper gets up, we say, and moves that the Conference "postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." This was carried. Then the same Ezekiel Cooper, who could not get the Committee of Fourteen to be as vague on this point as he wished, offers a resolution in these words: "Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose, by ballot, its own Presiding Elders." This shows one point he was aiming at in the purposely vague formula of the third restrictive rule he had offered, notwithstanding our kind but somewhat credulous friends believe he never has spoken or heard of Presiding Elders in the business up to this point. Anyhow, the old contentions on this subject break out afresh; after a day and a half of discussion, in which our good friends somewhat too credulously think Jesse Lee never uttered a word on behalf of this, his favorite measure, the vote is taken, and Cooper's resolution is rejected: yeas 52, nays 73. Thus Lee and Cooper are both defeated on their favorite measure.

The next day the discussion of the report of the Committee of Fourteen was renewed. Jesse Lee urged two considerations against it. First, it would be likely to provoke jealousy among the members of the Conferences by electioneering devices, and it might keep the older members at home, and thus send unripe men to the highest functions, legislative, administrative, and judicial, in our economy. So earnest was his struggle and so effective were his arguments as to greatly move the elderly men who mostly composed the General Conference of 1808. They

saw that under the system of electing delegates to represent the Annual Conferences, a considerable part of the ablest men would, no doubt, be left at home. Naturally they deemed themselves better fitted to represent the Conferences than those younger men whose brilliant qualities render them general favorites. Sincere as Jesse Lee was in making this appeal, it was a near approach to demagogism. This *argumentum ad hominem* did more execution upon the report of the Committee of Fourteen than Cooper's assault on it by means of his motion to make the Presiding Eldership elective. When the vote was taken on the first resolution of the report it was lost by a majority of seven. Great was the sorrow among the friends of the report, and great was the indignation of the remoter Conferences, whose few votes were overborne by the disproportinately large number of members from the central Conferences. There was danger that the men who came from the distant Conferences would at once depart. The New England men packed up, and were on the point of leaving, when Elijah Hedding, and others of similar stamp, prevailed on them to remain and make one more effort to pass the report. Some slight changes were made in its details; but they were not satisfactory to Jesse Lee, and he girded himself afresh to the work of defeat. His most effective plea still was, that seniority in the service of the Church, rather than election, ought to be the basis of membership in the General Conference. In some momentary lull of his storm of arguments, Joshua Soule rose and moved that each Conference should have power to send up its members to the new body by seniority or choice—a motion which suddenly took Lee's standing-ground from under him. Lee had long been an advocate of Conference rights, and he dared not deny the Conferences the right of choice between his own plan of seniority and Soule's plan of election. He left the floor in some confusion, punched Joshua Soule in the ribs, and said: "Brother Soule, you've played me a Yankee trick." He was right; for so entirely vain was Soule's apparent concession, that nobody ever came to the General Conference in consequence of it.

It is important to note the situation in which Cooper, Lee, and their following found themselves at this moment. We are told that they never would have consented to the report of

the Committee of Fourteen, had that report been understood to sanction the removal of the appointing power from the sole control of the General Conference. We have shown that they never did consent to this point of the report; but that an overwhelming majority in its favor made their attitude toward it of no account. We are told, also, that Jesse Lee's argument against the report was, not that it affected his favorite measure of an elective Presiding Eldership, but that seniority should be the test of membership in the General Conference. This remark implies two absurdities: first, that Jesse Lee said nothing through the long debate on Ezekiel Cooper's resolution in favor of an elective Presiding Eldership; and, secondly, that he would be likely to make further opposition on that ground after a majority of twenty-one had declared against it. He, therefore, made his attack on the point of seniority, merely because that was the only plausible ground left for opposition. Soule's amendment instantly destroyed that ground, and left Cooper and Lee to decide what course to adopt. There was no hope that the majority of twenty-one against an elective Presiding Eldership could be overcome, and the point of seniority had been wisely yielded, so that further opposition would have seemed factious. They dared not in prudence carry their opposition further, for that would have been the ruin of their own influence. Wisely for themselves and the Church they forbore further opposition. Jesse Lee moved the passage of the third restrictive rule, and it was carried. From this act of Jesse Lee's it has been supposed he was the author of that rule, and, therefore, it could not have been in opposition to the election of Presiding Elders. But we have Bishop Soule's word for it, that he himself drew the third restrictive rule, and that the supposition that Jesse Lee framed it, rested wholly upon the fact that Mr. Lee at last moved its adoption. Our good friends are quite aware of this fact, and in other places they make Joshua Soule the author of the rule. Thus we see Mr. Cooper and Jesse Lee at last reduced to choose between accepting the report of the Committee of Fourteen, or carrying their opposition to such a pitch as would have exposed them to the charge of obstinacy, and of such factious behavior as would have ruined their influence in the Conference without stopping the passage of the report. They gave way, and the Conference,

with great unanimity, adopted the report. It has been said that had this been their real conduct on this occasion, they would never in subsequent sessions have given their countenance to measures in favor of making the Presiding Eldership elective by the sole action of the General Conference. We answer, that men are pretty apt to find ways of doing what they wish to do. Perhaps it occurred to them, as it has to our good friends, that whatever may have been the intentions of the Committee of Fourteen, the General Conference was the proper expounder of its own action. Hence, while it would seem to them important to secure an interpretation in their own favor, they could act the more freely because they would not have the interpretations of half a century to look them out of countenance, as our good friends have to-day.

Further, while we can see a reasonable solution of the conduct of Cooper and Lee upon our view of the action of 1808, our good friends can give no reasonable account of the conduct of Bishops M'Kendree and Soule and their friends, upon their own theory. Why did Soule object to the constitutionality of the action of the General Conference of 1820 in making the Presiding Elders elective? His brethren had just elected him Bishop, and his friends were anxious to put such a man as himself into the Episcopacy as a protection against radicalism; the Bishops were ready to ordain him. Why does Joshua Soule take the decision to protest against the unconstitutionality of an elective Presiding Eldership at the very moment when his protest may arrest his ordination, or lead to the resignation of his new honors? Do men who desire a good work commonly throw away such a position, when it has honorably come to them? Do they act thus upon whim, upon uncertainty? Why does Bishop Soule wait four years longer before accepting consecration after a fresh election? Why does M'Kendree pursue his remarkable course on this question, unless he knew beyond a shadow of doubt, that the legislation he denounced as unconstitutional really was so? Such conduct upon the part of these men cannot be explained upon the theory of our good friends, without extreme violence to all the reasonable probabilities of the case. Such are our main reasons for asserting that the third restrictive rule renders it impossible for the General Conference alone to make the Presiding Eldership elective.

Art. VI.—METHODISM AND HERESY.

A CERTAIN ambiguity of Methodist law comes into view the moment we raise the question suggested by these words, and instantly not two, but several, distinct opinions come to the front, each having many followers and much argumentation on its side. The question is just now a practical one, as there are two or three Methodist preachers under suspension for heresy, and it is quite probable at the next General Conference there will be a great legal battle over an appeal taken by one or more of these.

The constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church secures for its ministers and members the right of trial and appeal. The book of Discipline has a section containing the rules under which such trials must proceed. For the trial of ministers there are statutes concerning immorality, heresy, inefficiency, etc. The statute concerning heresy (¶ 207) was framed essentially as we have it now in the very earliest year of the Church. The statute prescribes the Articles of Religion as the appeal and test of orthodoxy in cases of trial for heresy. And there is no authority in any of these rules for trial, or elsewhere in the Discipline, for apprehending and trying a preacher on charges of erroneous doctrine except under the Articles of Religion. The law of the Methodist Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion. This is the thesis which is sustained in this paper.

Before attempting a discussion of the several theories of the law of our Church, it will be well to recall a few fundamental truths that bear upon the general subject. The history of human society teaches that a supreme power of government should always be exercised under well-defined principles and laws. It is an axiom in constitutional government that no man can be trusted with undefined power. Hence arise the checks and limitations of authority which are found in constitutions. Hence, also, arises the division of governmental functions into the legislative, the executive, and the judicial—where each has a limited supremacy, and acts as a check upon the others.

These principles are not less applicable, nor is their application less needed, in ecclesiastical than in civil government.

All history is illustrative of man's love of power. And while the tyranny of civil rulers has proved the necessity for constitutional checks, it is a well-known fact that the most iniquitous and mischievous abuses of power that the world has known are to be found in ecclesiastical history. And the Church of Rome is not the only illustration of this truth which Christendom furnishes.

For these reasons the great Protestant Churches of to-day are organized under well-defined constitutional laws, whereby the rights of members are carefully guarded, and the prerogatives and duties of rulers are clearly defined. It is quite certain that no Church of our time will feel itself justified in its appeal for the patronage and confidence of the general public whose form of government ignores these principles. Tested by these principles, the Methodist Episcopal Church will not be found wanting. Her government is not above law, but under law. By her constitutional law the fundamental interests of her people are guarded against abuse of power, and her statute laws prescribe not only their duties, but also their rights.

That there are anomalies and imperfections in the system is freely admitted by her best friends, more, perhaps, than is altogether creditable to us in this last quarter of the eighteenth century; but these are passing away under the *vis medicatrix* of her own intellectual and religious life.

In every form of Church organization there are four matters of fundamental import, all of which ought to have the protection of constitutional law. These are (1) the polity, (2) the theology of its teachers, (3) the conditions of membership, and (4) the right of trial and appeal for ministers and members. When these four interests are carefully guarded by organic law it will be admitted that a Church possesses free and constitutional government. The Restrictive Rules are the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These rules are above the action of the General Conference, and can only be altered by the concurrent vote of three fourths of all the members of the Annual Conferences, and two thirds of the General Conference.

All of the aforementioned fundamental interests of a Church are protected by these Restrictive Rules.

Rule I guards the theology of the teachers of the Church. Rule III guards its polity. Rule IV guards the conditions of

membership. Rule V guards the right of trial and appeal for ministers and members. It is obvious that any legislation or method of administration which tends to nullify these constitutional guards is destructive of the system, and unconstitutional.

Let us classify the opinions that are entertained in the Church on this subject. To help clearness of thought let us first classify all opinions under two heads:—

I. The strict constructionists of the law, who hold that the articles of religion are the only standard of doctrine by which a minister's orthodoxy may be judged.

II. The liberal constructionists, who, by a more liberal interpretation of the law, conclude that other doctrines besides those defined in the Twenty-five Articles are included in the authoritative confession of the Church.

The liberal constructionists may be subdivided as follows:—

1. Those who claim that the Bible is the standard, in addition to the Articles.

2. Those who claim that the so-called "standard authors," especially Wesley's Sermons and Notes, are the ultimate appeal.

3. Those who hold that the *consensus* of doctrinal opinions held generally by the Church, and interpreted by the court of triers, is the doctrinal standard and ultimate appeal. Let us examine each of these views separately.

1. The argument for the Bible as the standard is that Art. V, on "The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," indorses the Scriptures as the touch-stone of orthodoxy, and, therefore, that every thing in the Bible may be imposed on the belief of an accused party by a Church court.

But this is a stretch of interpretation which the judicial mind will not readily accept. Art. V is negative in its character, and is a statute of limitation. It confers no power, but is simply and strictly a limitation of power:—

V. *The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.* The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.

In the Church of England, across the sea, it may be presumed that the meaning of the Article is understood. Many important trials for heresy have been held there in recent years, and, so far as I can learn, this claim has never been made. It is certain it has never been allowed. The intent of the Article was not to define the authority of the Scriptures, though it does this in a *quasi* manner, but to condemn the Romish claim for the authority of tradition.

2. The argument for the standard authors as the appeal may be given as follows:—

(1.) Art. V refers us to the Scriptures. As Methodists we have gone to the Scriptures, and we find their teachings defined in our standard authors. The reply to this is the same as that given above; namely, that Art. V does not open up all the Scriptures as the Creed of the Church, but simply defines the relation of the Scriptures to any creed which the Church may adopt.

(2.) A second argument is attempted from Restrictive Rule No. I, (Discipline, ¶ 70.) "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." Is not this, it is asked, an acknowledgment of existing and established standards of doctrine? Most certainly it is the acknowledgment of certain standards, but it does not impose those standards as a confession on the Church; otherwise we should be bound to believe all that said standards contain; for example, Wesley's views of the immortality of brutes, and baptismal regeneration.

Let us suppose that this rule authorizes the General Conference to add new articles of faith, provided they be not contrary to the standard authors; and let us raise the question whether the rule forbids the General Conference from condemning certain views set forth within those standards, as, for example, Wesley's immortality of brutes. It will be admitted—it must be admitted—that there is nothing in the rule which debars the General Conference from condemning Wesley's notion. But to admit this is, also, to admit that the rule does not lift those standard authors to the rank of a confession. The Constitution of the United States authorized the State of Ohio to make and execute laws, provided such laws were not contrary

to Federal laws. That was an acknowledgment of existing and established Federal laws, but it did not authorize the State of Ohio to execute said Federal laws. The Methodist Episcopal Church authorized (let us suppose) the General Conference to make and impose doctrines, provided such doctrines be not contrary to certain existing standards, but in doing so it did not elevate the standards to the rank of a creed, or authorize the General Conference to enforce the belief of them in the Church.

But, as a matter of fact, it has been accepted as Church law that this rule does not authorize the General Conference to make new doctrines, whether taken from the existing standards, or elsewhere.

The last General Conference, in sanctioning the Report of the Bishops on Dr. Brunson's proposition to add to the Articles of Religion, took the ground that it was not competent for the General Conference to make additional articles of faith. Now, if the General Conference is estopped by the constitution of the Church from framing out of our standard authors new articles, how can it be claimed that a committee of triers may go to those authors and make them a law for any special case? Does the constitution give to a court a law-making power which it withholds from the General Conference.

Let me quote from the very able report of the Bishops on Dr. Brunson's paper, which was read to the Conference by Bishop Foster. It bears directly on the question before us:—

> The work of formulating theological truth into an authoritative declaration of faith is too delicate to be successfully achieved without the concurrence of many minds, after patient study and laborious research. We also find that the question of the right of the General Conference to act in the premises is involved. The first Restrictive Rule guards the Articles of Religion in the following words: "The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standard or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine." It is sometimes claimed that while this restriction protects the existing articles from change, it does not prohibit the General Conference from adopting additional articles, provided they are not contrary to the old ones. But this claim cannot be admitted, since it is perfectly obvious that a stated number of Articles of Religion containing definitive substance of doctrine, is different in contents from the same Articles with others added containing substance of doctrine not found in the original articles. . . .

And even if it could be fairly deduced from the language of the law, it is certain that those who ordained the delegated General Conference, and gave it all the power it possesses, did not intend to clothe it with authority to make additions to the articles of religion. . . . To us it is evident that nothing so fundamental as an authoritative declaration of faith should be taken into the organic law of the Church by any questionable process, or by the exercise of any doubtful authority. . . . We are impressed that it is dangerous to exercise any powers which can be claimed only by questionable inference. It is not well to put the language of the Constitution under severe tension; nor is it wise to act upon an interpretation that pushes the instrument to the verge of its possible meaning. The path of safety is in the conscientious adherence to the organic law, construed in the interest of its own safeguards, and in the avoidance of extreme and doubtful interpretations. When we once begin to act upon inferences a very wide door is opened, which will not close at our bidding.—*General Conference Journal*, 1876, p. 207.

This, then, is our question: If the General Conference is not competent to make new Articles of Faith, can a court of triers virtually make them by passing sentence under authority of the standard authors? Precedents become laws, unless set aside by special legislation. There is much in those authors we have never believed or professed to believe. Are we left by the Constitution of the Church at the mercy of a committee of triers, who shall interpret and enforce upon us said authors according to their personal judgment? Forms of trial should not be converted into processes of legislation. A fundamental principle of jurisprudence is stated in Sharswood's Blackstone (page 69) in the following words: "Judges must not assume the characters of legislators. It is their province *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*." And yet the strange doctrine has been put forth in this discussion, and will be put forth again, that although the General Conference cannot go to Wesley's Notes and Sermons, or to the "Doctrinal Tracts," and therefrom formulate Articles of Faith additional to the Articles of Religion, yet a committee of triers can try an accused under the Notes, Sermons, and "Doctrinal Tracts," and if they find his preaching contrary to any doctrines contained therein, the committee can legally expel him from the Church. That is to say, the committee can perform, by a back-door process, legislative functions which the Constitution of the Church denies even to the General Conference. We will return to this again.

(3.) A third argument for the authority of the standard authors is attempted from the early practice of the Church. It is said that at the beginning Wesley's Sermons and Notes were the test of orthodoxy. To which we answer, that it is true that prior to the organization of the Church, in 1784, "the Notes, Sermons, and Minutes of Mr. Wesley" were, by special enactment, (Annual Minutes of 1781 and April, 1784,) declared the standard of doctrine; but it is equally true that at the Christmas Conference, in 1784, when the Church assumed an organic form, the Articles of Religion were adopted, at the request of Mr. Wesley, as the authoritative doctrinal standard of the Church, and ever since they have had a conspicuous and sacred place in the book of Discipline; and it is also true that from the time of their adoption there has been no mention of Mr. Wesley's Notes and Sermons.

(4.) A fourth argument for the authority of the standard authors is attempted from the necessity of the case. "The Articles, it is said, are not sufficient for the Church's needs; they do not cover the ground. There is an absolute necessity that certain other doctrines be included in the creed of the Church." Now, it is true that necessity knows no law, but it is equally true that law knows no necessity. When the Vandal, necessity, dons the ermine and takes the seat of the judge, the genius of law slips out from the hall of justice. Is the Methodist Episcopal Church above law, or under law? Is it a constitutionally organized body, in which the rights and privileges of its members are sacredly guarded? Let us remember the lesson taught by the ages, that apart from law there is safety neither for the individual, nor for the State, nor for the Church.

Before proceeding further, let us remind the reader that the question before us is not what ought to be the authoritative creed of the Church, but what is it? It is simply and purely a legal question; and as such, apart from all personal judgments as to the wisdom of the law, we are bound to deal with it. There are two principles which, by general consent, determine the interpretation of oaths and professions of faith, namely, the plain historical meaning of the words, and the *animus imponentis*, or the intention of the party requiring the profession. The application of these principles to our case requires us to review certain parts of the history of the organization of our Church, and, also, of the adoption of the Restrictive Rules.

It will be conceded on all hands that the Christmas Conference of 1784, which organized the Church, was in perfect harmony with the wishes of Wesley in all that they did. It will be conceded that the Articles of Religion were prepared by Wesley for the new Church, and that they were adopted by the Conference of 1784 as an authoritative statement of their doctrines. It will be conceded that a statute was enacted by the same Conference, (Bangs' History, vol. i, p. 211,) or very soon after, for the trial of heresy, and that the offense of heresy was described in said statute as "a breach of the Articles of the Church." It will also be conceded that no other statute on this subject was enacted by the Christmas Conference, or subsequently by any Conference during the whole history of the Church.

This, then, is our historical inquiry, Did Wesley and the Conference intend the Articles of Religion to be the only authoritative creed of the Church under which a minister should be tried? Certainly the *prima facie* is that they did so intend. Let us look with some care at these Articles, which Wesley prepared, and which the Church adopted, and still preserves, as her rule of faith. It has become the fashion in certain quarters to disparage our Articles of Religion. Their supposed deficiencies are pointed out, and their anti-Romish character is dwelt upon, until many have lost all respect for them as an expression of Christian doctrine. Despite these disparagements, we affirm our conviction that they are the best statement of Christian doctrine, for the purposes of a Church creed, that has ever been formulated.

The topics which they treat embrace the whole range of essential doctrine. They are especially full and satisfactory on the doctrines of grace. And the language in which they are couched is grave and judicious. The omissions and limitations of the Articles indicate their wisdom hardly less than their contents. Scylla and Charybdis are alike avoided, and the free, open channel of God's abounding grace is clearly pointed out. It was said, in the Report of the Bishops to the last General Conference, that "the work of formulating theological truth into an authoritative declaration of faith is too delicate to be successfully achieved without the concurrence of many minds after patient study and laborious research."

Judged by the test of this sentiment of our Bishops, no creed of Christendom equals ours. It is not of mushroom growth. Most of the other Reformed confessions sprang from a single mind, or from a single epoch. Ours is the work of centuries. In its form of Thirty-nine Articles it was, like our English Bible, the work of the great sixteenth century—that grandest century which England ever knew. The piety and learning of the old Protestant martyrs are in it. And beyond the English theologians we can trace the German Reformers; for at least six of our articles are from the hands of Luther, and Melanchthon, and their friends.

After a history of two hundred years the original Thirty-nine Articles were committed by Providence, for revision, to the hands of a man whose genius for Church government and Gospel truth has never been surpassed. The reproach and contumely which Wesley accepted in establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the exceeding solicitude and carefulness with which every step of the great work was taken, are matters of history. The founder of our Church never reached so high an altitude as when, in establishing Episcopal Methodism in America, he shook from him the traditions of ages, and stood forth free in God's eternal truth, as when an eagle shakes from his wings the fogs and mists of the low valleys. With prophetic vision he saw a new world rising in grandeur beyond the ocean, and freed, as he declared, by God's providence, from the civil and ecclesiastical traditions of antiquity.

From Wesley the Methodist Episcopal Church received her polity, her doctrines, and her conditions of membership—those three essentials of a Church. Her doctrines are contained in his revision of the Thirty-nine Articles of his own English Church; and a comparison of the revised articles with the originals, as set forth in Stevens' History, (ii, 205,) reveals the care and wisdom with which he accomplished the task. It may be well to recall, briefly, the doctrines set forth in the Twenty-five Articles, in order to correct unjust impressions of them. An analysis shows that they prescribe the following doctrines:—

I. *Bible.*—The authority of the Scriptures is defined, and the canonical books are named.

II. *Theology.*—The doctrines of the Godhead in trinity, of

the deity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, are clearly and elaborately defined.

III. *Christology.*—The nature of Christ is set forth; also his crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension. It is also declared that he is "the only Mediator between God and man," and the future Judge of all mankind.

IV. *The doctrines of grace.*—Man's depravity and helplessness are affirmed. Man's dependence upon grace for his recovery. Atonement by "the oblation of Christ for the sins of the whole world." Justification by faith only. The relation of works to faith defined, and antinomianism condemned.

V. *Ecclesiology.*—The Church defined; also a sacrament, and the only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, defined.

VI. *Eschatology.*—The general judgment at the end of the world is declared. This judgment shall be by Jesus Christ on his return from heaven "to judge all men at the last day." The doctrine of purgatory, with all that is involved therein, is condemned. Masses, or prayers for the dead, are condemned.

Thus it will be seen that this compendious creed contains all the essential doctrines of Christian dogmatics. It sets forth the great facts of revelation, and declares in strong, clear language the foundation truths of the Gospel. Theories in each department of doctrine, which have been the bane of the long Confessions, are wisely avoided. It would seem that we have here a creed not for an epoch or a century only, but for all time. That Wesley intended these Twenty-five Articles to occupy the same place in the Methodist Episcopal Church which the Thirty-nine Articles held in his own Church, cannot be denied. In his certificate of ordination of Dr. Coke he gives, as his reason for organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church, the fact that "the Methodists in America desire to still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England."—*Tyerman's Life*, iii, 434.

The organizing Conference not only accepted the form of government and ordination from Wesley, but also the Twenty-five Articles were formally adopted as the Creed of the Church, and, if Bangs' History is correct, a form of trial was provided at once for a breach of the Articles of the Church. The statute

now in the Discipline concerning heresy is essentially the same as when first adopted, and has never been changed. The Conference also declared that "during the life of Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, and ready in matters of Church government to obey his commands."

The testimony of Dr. Abel Stevens is explicit to the effect that Wesley intended the Articles of Religion to be the only obligatory creed of the new Church. He writes:—

> Wesley evidently designed the Articles to be the briefest and barest possible symbol of expedient doctrines; and, as we shall hereafter see, not even a requisite condition of Church membership, though a requisite functional qualification for the ministry. He consigned his other tenets, however precious to him, to other means of conservation and diffusion, for it was not his opinion that the orthodoxy of a Church can best guarantee its spiritual life, but that its spiritual life can best guarantee its orthodoxy.—Vol. ii, page 209.

It will not be pretended that at the organization of the Church the "Doctrinal Tracts" had any standing as an authoritative creed, for the first mention of them in the Discipline is several years later. The "Doctrinal Tracts" were four in number, and were on the following subjects: Predestination, Perseverance of the Saints, Christian Perfection, and Baptism. (Emory on the Discipline, p. 84.)

It is important in this discussion to observe carefully what pledges are made by a preacher in coming into the Methodist Episcopal Church. And a distinction must be made between conditions proposed by an Annual Conference for its own "satisfaction," and conditions proposed by the Church in its book of Discipline. These last alone form the basis on which he can be expelled from the Church.

Nowhere in the curriculum for admission, or orders, is a candidate in our Church asked if he believes in the doctrines taught in the standard authors. Such assent is neither asked nor given. Nowhere in the Discipline is there any record of such authors, as to who they are or what they teach. And when the question is asked, What are the "standards" referred to in the phrase, "our present existing and established standards of doctrine," the answers are vague and conflicting. One answers, The original four volumes of Mr. Wesley's Sermons,

and Notes on the New Testament; and the reason given is, that these were prescribed by the Conferences of 1781 and April, 1784. Another answers, "The Doctrinal Tracts;" and the reason for this is, that these tracts were bound up with the Discipline from 1789–1812, (excepting 1796, when they were omitted.) A third insists that Fletcher's "Checks" must be included, because these had canonical esteem by the fathers, and were commended to the preachers in certain early minutes. Bishop Baker, in his work on the Discipline, in order that nothing shall be missing, says that "usage and general consent" puts Watson's Institutes among the "established standards" of the Church.

Now, it is admitted that prior to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1784, "the Notes and Sermons" are specified as the rule of doctrine, but they are never thus mentioned, or, indeed, mentioned at all, subsequent to the Christmas Conference of 1784. And there is not a particle of evidence that any Conference ever acknowledged the "Doctrinal Tracts" as occupying the same standing as the Articles of Religion. They were, indeed, printed in certain editions of the Discipline prior to 1812, but so, also, were "the Psalms and Hymns" and "the Church Service," while many books were enjoined by name to be carefully studied by the preachers. Shall we try Methodist preachers for heresy out of "the Psalms and Hymns," or by the teachings of "à Kempis," or "Primitive Physic?"

The very vagueness of these standards is the condemnation of the view that such voluminous writings have the authority of a creed. Who are these standard authors? Where shall we find this *index expurgatorius?* It is not in the Discipline of to-day. It has never been in the Discipline, nor has it ever been announced by any General Conference since the Church was organized. But, on the contrary, there has been a specific statute for heresy from the first, unchallenged and unchanged, and in that statute the Articles of Religion are prescribed as the standard of authoritative doctrine. There is allusion, indeed, to "erroneous and strange doctrines" in the ordination of elders, but according to the Discipline the Articles of Religion are the touch-stone of such erroneous doctrines. The Discipline, like the Bible, must be permitted to explain itself.

The questions put by the Bishop to the candidate at the bar of the Conference touching this matter, are: "Have you read the Form of Discipline?" "Are you willing to conform to it?" It is nowhere asked of a candidate whether he believes the teachings of certain standard authors, or whether he agrees with the *consensus* of Methodist doctrine, or whether he will conform to the traditions of the so-called "unwritten law" of Methodism, or whether he will consent to take his theology from whatever committee of triers may happen to be appointed on his case. He pledges himself, simply and solely, to conform to the Form of Discipline. It is nowhere asked of him whether he agrees with the sixty volumes prescribed for study and reading in the Conference Course, nor was it the design of the General Conference that such questions should be asked by either Committee or Annual Conference. The Conference examinations are not inquisitorial as to belief, but as to knowledge, and while the Annual Conference has the power and the right to reject a candidate for admission on its sovereign judgment, ("if he give us satisfaction," the law says,) yet it has not disciplinary warrant for demanding agreement with the authors prescribed in the course of study. For the law under which these examinations are held, see "Discipline," ¶ 145.

In 1808 the Restrictive Rules were adopted and the delegated General Conference was authorized. Prior to that date the General Conference, being composed constructively of all the traveling preachers, had absolute power over all doctrines and usages of the Church. The fear of hasty legislation, and the desire "that the doctrine, form of government, and general rules of the united societies in America be preserved sacred and inviolable," (Preamble of Report of the Committee on Constitution—Bangs' "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," ii, p. 229,) were the motives which led to the present constitution of the Church. The inspiration of the establishment of the delegated Conference, with its limitations and powers, was to preserve in *statu quo* the creed and polity of the Church as received from Mr. Wesley. The General Conference of 1808 did not intend to lift the standard authors to the rank of a creed, nor did it occur to them that the words which they employed in Rule I would ever be tortured to such a meaning. If further proof of this were needed we have it in the fact that

they did not enact a statute for heresy in harmony with this construction of Rule I, but were content with the old statute which restricted heresy trials to the Articles of Religion.

The view here presented is also that of Dr. Nathan Bangs, in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and, as Dr. Bangs was a member of the Conference of 1808, he is a competent witness. (Bangs' History, vol. ii, p. 233.) The teaching of Dr. Stevens in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church" is also in harmony with the thesis supported in this paper, to wit, that the law of the Methodist Episcopal Church knows no heresy outside of the Articles of Religion. For Stevens' views on this subject, see chap. v, vol. ii, of the "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

But it will be said that the practice of the Church has been to go outside the Articles of Religion in her trials for heresy. We reply, that if the practice is contrary to the law, the sooner it is stopped the better. The advice is as good for a Conference as for a preacher, "Let us keep our rules, and not mend them." No practice can have authority which is in violation of law, no matter how long it may have continued. It is an acknowledged principle of jurisprudence that court decisions shall be set aside when it is made plain that they are out of harmony with the statute. To set aside such decisions is the very office of a court of appeals. Chancellor Kent on this has the following, ("Commentaries," vol. i, p. 539:) "A solemn decision upon a point of law arising in any given case becomes an authority in a like case, . . . unless it can be shown that the law was misunderstood or misapplied in that particular case." And it is well-known that the Supreme Court of the United States reversed a decision of its own on the currency question, during the War of the Rebellion. Hence if our Conferences have been acting without law, or contrary to law, in their methods of heresy trials, the sooner such lawlessness is exposed and ended the better. But though the Annual Conferences may have been at fault in this matter, a careful search among the Journals of the General Conference has led the writer to the conclusion that the General Conference has always conformed its action to the law of the Discipline, and only entertained an action for heresy which was brought under the Articles of Religion.

The Journals of the General Conference contain accounts of three appeals on questions of heresy, namely, that of Joshua Randall, New England Conference, in 1828; L. D. Simonds, California Conference, in 1868; and T. B. Taylor, Kansas Conference, in 1872; and the offense in each case is disseminating views which are contrary to the "Articles of Religion." Our examination of these Journals has led us to the conclusion that the General Conference has never given its sanction to trial for heresy under other test of orthodoxy than the Articles of Religion.

This leads us to the last theory of the liberal constructionists; namely, that the *consensus fidei*, as interpreted by the court, is the law under which heresy trials must proceed, and by which suspected opinions shall be judged. This theory has recently been advocated in the editorial department of the "National Repository." ("National Repository," December, 1878.) Before passing to the examination of the argument, let us first note the opinion of the writer as to the significance of Art. V. "The attempt has been made," he says, "to make the Article on 'the sufficiency of the Scriptures' cover every thing which may be proved out of the Scriptures; but that is quite too great a stretch of interpretation." The argument of the "Repository" may be summarized as follows: The Protestant Churches do not hold themselves strictly to their confessions, but, nevertheless, they agree in the main on a *consensus* of faith. Written creeds are ambiguous, and "any written document is capable of some latitude of interpretation." It is not the written creed, but the *consensus*, to which appeal is actually made in any case of trial, though the authority of the confession be acknowledged. "Administrators of discipline may be presumed to know what is, and what is not, the accepted doctrine of their Churches, and as in all cases of trial the triers are the judges of both the law and the facts, it is for them to decide any given case by a proper reference to the accepted faith of the body." In the Methodist Episcopal Church the Articles do not meet the needs of the Church, and "any doctrine clearly within the *consensus* of the Church is protected by the common law of the Church, without special legal enactment." "Whether or not this rule is a good one," the writer adds at the close of the article, "will be tested by

the higher tribunal to which certain recent cases have been appealed."

That there is force in certain of these considerations, though obvious fallacies in others, we are bound to confess. But there are grave objections to them. It will be found, indeed, after careful thought, that they are not only fallacious, but that they are subversive of those great principles of jurisprudence which are alike the defense of liberty and the condition of progress. There is a heritage of legal principles which has come to us chiefly from Rome, which is not less valuable than the heritage of literature and art which has come from Greece, and is only second in value to the heritage of revelation which was the gift of Israel to the human family. Let us recall a few principles in law that may be said to have the character of axioms.

1. Triers must not sit as legislators. Their office is to interpret law, and not to make law. Government has its three distinct departments—the legislative, the judicial, and the executive. These must not be confounded.

2. *Ex post facto* laws are vicious, and in all free governments are unconstitutional. An *ex post facto* law is one which renders an act punishable in a manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed. Such laws are forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. If law may be applied to adjudge an act which was committed before the law was made, there is an end of justice and private rights.

3. The defense of liberty is in the keeping of law. If law be overridden, or be loosely administered, liberty is jeoparded, and beneath the glove is the iron hand of tyranny. "The discretion of the judge," said Gibbon, "is the first engine of tyranny."

4. It is better to obey an unwise law, and amend it as soon as possible, than to ride over it and thus destroy the safeguards of society. One of the wise sayings of General Grant, when President, was: "The best way to lead to the repeal of an unwise law is faithfully to execute it."

It is said in the "Repository" that creeds are ambiguous, and that "the only way to maintain a uniform standard of religious belief" is to put the *consensus* in the place of the written creed, and for its interpretation to trust to the wisdom

of the triers. It is not easy to comprehend how such a statement could have been made by its author. The written creed is ambiguous, therefore resort to that nebular insubstantiality, called the *consensus*. This may be called an ecclesiastical nebular hypothesis.

"The written creed is capable of latitude of interpretation," we are told, "and there is a strange power in the human mind of reading into a form of words what may be desired;" therefore go to the unwritten creed, as with its notes, we may suppose, of *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*, it floats, like ether in universal space, in the convictions of the Church. In the immortal words of the "One-hoss Shay:" "Logic is logic. That's all I say." But a more serious objection to this scheme is that it transforms triers into law-makers. Take an illustration. A brother is charged with disseminating pre-millenarianism. He has caught the spirit of the prophetic conference. The triers have two tasks before them: to decide whether *consensus* condemns premillenarianism, and whether the charge is sustained. But *consensus* never uttered her voice before on this matter. They consult the authorities, living and dead, and decide that premillenarianism is a heresy, and expel the accused from the Church. What have they done? Adjudicated under law? Not at all. They have been a law unto themselves, and by the vicious process of *ex post facto* law they have driven a brother from the Church. Now, if that verdict be not reversed by the General Conference, (to which body there is no appeal from the Judicial Conferences save on a question of law,) you have a precedent which henceforth becomes law in the Church.

It is denied to an Annual Conference to make laws and establish doctrines; it is denied to the General Conference to add to the doctrines of the Church; but here is a back-door process by which the Church's fundamental laws are overslaughed, and a committee of triers may foist new doctrines and obligations on the Church.

Take another example. An eminent pastor in the West was recently brought before his Conference for certain opinions on inspiration. He declared to the Conference that he believed the Scriptures were written by inspired men, and were the only and sufficient rule of a Christian's faith and practice. To the Article on the Scriptures he subscribed with

all his heart. But he is probed for his *theory* of inspiration, and tells the Conference that he does not believe that inspiration carries with it absolute infallibility on all subjects. The Conference is not satisfied, but for the present is content to admonish and warn him. The next scene in the drama will be a trial for heresy. The triers will decide, perhaps, that an infallible plenary inspiration, which extends to the *ipsissima verba*, is the *consensus* of the Church, and the popular pastor will be deposed from his ministry. In such a case he might answer, "Surely it was not in the bond. Your theory of inspiration was never imposed by the Church in any form before." Here will be a new precedent and a new law, and, as was said before, the fundamental guards of the rights of the members of the Church are trampled on. Now, remember, that the trial of appeals is no longer conducted by one last court, to wit, the General Conference, as formerly, but by a board of triers, who have been elected by and are members of three Conferences convenient to the accused, and it is easy to see that diverse and conflicting decisions will be rendered on the same questions.

Take, for example, the case just referred to. Here in the latitude of New York that pastor would probably not be condemned as a heretic for his theory of inspiration; while in the latitude of Kentucky or Kansas his denial of plenary inspiration might lead to his expulsion; but in the latitude of Georgia or Mississippi, where good orthodox black men make the *consensus*, any brother who denied that the very words of the Bible were chosen by the Holy Ghost would probably have no chance for an hour. And yet we are told by the "Repository" that the only way to maintain a uniform standard of belief is to put *consensus* in the place of the written creed. It will be remembered that there is no appeal from the decision of these far-separated Judicial Conferences, except on questions of law. And let it be observed that this reasoning is hardly less applicable to the theory of the authority of the standard authors, for those authors traverse the whole realm of theology, not only the essentials, but matters of speculation. It would be a nice thing, indeed, a very nice thing, if trouble-makers could always be squelched by a majority vote. It would preserve the homogeneity of the body. But even the trouble-maker has his

rights under the law; and if for no other reason, then for this reason, that if he have no rights, neither has his fellow.

It has been put forward that the common law of the Church makes the *consensus* the standard of orthodoxy. This cannot be admitted. There is much loose talk about common law, as though the term protected any proceedings, however irregular, provided such proceedings had been running on for some time without protest. Common law exists only by constitutional provision, as in England, and in certain courts in the United States. Common law has no authority in Germany or in India; and it would be as appropriate to apply the principles of the Roman law to our Church jurisprudence as those of the common law. A Church has no common law, but is a voluntary organization under the statutes of its book of Discipline. Besides, common is nearly, if not quite, as defined and positive as statute law, and the judges have no more discretion in the one case than in the other. In England the common law courts have been distinguished for a certain narrowness and technicality of reasoning. So even in courts of equity the judge has little discretion. There are established and recognized principles of equity which must rule in the courts. Otherwise, as was once said by an eminent judge, the measure of justice would be what happened to be the measure of the judge's foot. Ecclesiastical common law is a fiction.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is an incorporated body, recognized by the civil laws as governed by a body of statutes which are contained in its book of Discipline. Among other statutes for the trial of ministers there is one on the subject of heresy:—

> When a minister or preacher holds and disseminates, publicly or privately, doctrines which are contrary to our Articles of Religion, let the same process be observed as in the case of gross immorality; but if the minister or preacher so offending do solemnly engage not to disseminate such erroneous doctrines, in public or in private, he shall be borne with till his case be laid before the next Annual Conference, which shall determine the matter.—*Discipline*, ¶ 207.

Such is the law. It is specific and plain, and in this form it has been in the Discipline from the infancy of the Church. According to this law the Articles of Religion are the test of orthodoxy. The General Conference of 1848 laid it down as a

principle of trial procedure that "an Annual Conference can investigate the case of a member only by the rules for trial."—*Sherman's History of the Discipline*, p. 49.

The argument that the law is not sufficient and does not meet the needs of the Church, and that, therefore, we must add to it by some fiction of common law, would not be heard for a moment in a civil court. It is quite common to find in the civil courts that an offense charged does not come within the law. Then the accused goes free. And Legislatures are always patching up the criminal laws to meet such cases. If this fancy of common law could have any standing in a Methodist court, the fact that there is a special statute for the trial of heresy would set it aside as to that; for it is an axiom that a statute always sets aside common law. If the Legislature has not pronounced, judges go back to precedents and customs; but when the Legislature has uttered a law, the judge is estopped from hunting up custom, and confines himself to explaining the will of the Legislature. Pomeroy on Municipal Law (p. 17) says: "Whenever the Legislature has spoken, in general its voice is supreme; it overrides the declarations of preceding Legislatures and the decisions of courts." And on page 20: "The badge of inferiority of common law is that the Legislature may step in and sweep it all away, and when its potent voice has once spoken the courts are powerless to resist; they can only expound the statute."

The Church of England has essentially the same law for heresy as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been decided there again and again that the hard words of the symbols must be adhered to closely, and that *consensus* and the Bible, and even the Scriptures quoted in the Book of Prayer, must be ruled out. In 1862 Dr. Wilson, one of the authors of the notorious "Essays and Reviews," was tried for heresy on the charge of restorationism. The highest ecclesiastical court of England acquitted him because, under "the articles and formularies of the Church of England, restorationism was an open question."

So, also, Dr. Rowland Williams was acquitted after a trial on a charge of teaching a heretical theory of inspiration, because the articles did not define inspiration.

The law which Wesley gave to American Methodism was that under which he had preached, and with which he was so

well satisfied in England. "Not a single doctrine," says Stevens in his History, "does Methodism hold to-day that was not sanctioned by the standards of the Anglican Establishment."

It is true that the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church are not the same, yet if in this matter their law is essentially the same, and if they are good lawyers on the other side, it is plain that we have no right to go to *consensus*. So, also, in the Presbyterian Church no *consensus* would be allowed for a moment. The triers might read into or read out of the Confession as they pleased, but they must profess to read the Confession and to judge by the Confession. Fancy Prof. Robertson Smith, in his recent trial, submitting to be pronounced a heretic on the *dictum* of a Synod's interpretation of *consensus* orthodoxy! As a matter of fact he held the Presbytery of Aberdeen, which tried him, strictly to the Confession; and Prof. Rainey and other eminent leaders held the General Assembly strictly to the Confession. And had he been deposed from his office under some elastic common law *consensus*, how quickly would he have appealed to the civil tribunal for the redress of injury illegally done him!

The *consensus* doctrine is in direct conflict with two fundamental principles of Methodist law, to wit, that the doctrines of the Church are fixed and cannot be revoked or amended, and that every minister has the right of trial. (Restrictive Rules, Nos. I, V.) The authority of *consensus* puts the doctrines in a state of flux. Nothing is "established;" every thing is fluent. Doctrines which were deemed most vital fifty years ago may fifty years hence be remanded to the moles and to the bats. And, then, what is the worth of trial if an accused cannot anticipate the law under which he shall be tried, but must hear it for the first time from his judges. In such a case an accused comes not to trial, but to judgment. *Ita scriptum est* is the decalogue of the jurist; a maxim not simply of statute law, but also of common law. There must, therefore, be written standards. The law must be in black and white, so that an accused may be able to know what it is.

Now, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, what are those written standards? They are, say some, the Notes and Sermons of Mr. Wesley, "the Doctrinal Tracts," and the liturgies

of the Discipline of 1808. Very well. Now, if those writings are the Confessions of Faith in the Church, we must hold (1) that they are authoritative in all and everything they teach, or (2) that they are to be interpreted by the Articles of Religion, and are only of authority in elaboration of the articles, (which is the view of the writer,) or (3) that they are to be interpreted and applied by the sovereign authority of the triers, which is a return to the *consensus* doctrine. Here is a trilemma. The third member of it has all the vices of *consensus*, for those writings traverse the whole realm of theology, not only the essentials, but also the non-essential. How is an accused to know what part of the sermons of Wesley the triers will enforce as obligatory? Is Wesley's post-millenarianism an essential doctrine? Is Wesley's view of inspiration an essential, or his view of the punishment of the wicked in the world to come? Just where we want something fixed, a *lex scripta*, we find every thing is unfixed and ambiguous. The first member of the trilemma is equally untenable, for the simple reason that no Methodist preacher of to-day believes, or ever did believe, all that is taught in those writings. Nor was there ever a time in the history of our Church when every thing contained in them was believed.

This is the proof that they never had the authority of a creed, but that they were directory and for instruction, rather than obligatory. Take, for example, the Treatise on Baptism, which was one of the Doctrinal Tracts printed in the early Discipline. In the most unequivocal language Mr. Wesley teaches in that tract the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. (Wesley's Works, vol. vi, p. 14.) Surely the American preachers never believed that vagary of Popery. We are thus shut up to the conclusion that the Articles of Religion are the only test of orthodoxy.

A further argument for the Articles of Religion as the only test of orthodoxy is found in the place which these Articles have had in the history of the Church. What does it mean that they are so jealously guarded by the first Restrictive Rule, and have a *sanctum* in the organic law of the Church? What does it mean that neither the General Conference, nor the constitutional two thirds and three fourths vote of the entire Church, can revoke, alter, or amend them? What does it mean that both the Bishops and the last General Conference declared

that the supreme Conference itself was not competent to add to them? And yet, forsooth, a Committee of Triers is competent to add to them, and to formulate creeds *ad infinitum*, according to their understanding of so-called standard authors or of the nebular hypothesis called *consensus*.

No legislative powers are half so dangerous to liberty as such latitude given to a court. The principles involved in this discussion were thoroughly canvassed in the famous debates on the Constitutional Law of the Church in the General Conference of 1868. The questions before the Conference were the admission of Delegates from Mission Conferences and Lay Delegation. There was a majority in the Conference for both measures, but the organic law of the Church seemed to be in the way. Dr. M'Clintock was on the popular side, and with his splendid eloquence made a terrible use of this very weapon of common law and unwritten constitution. He was answered in a speech in all respects worthy of the debate and of the cause, by the present editor of the "Repository," and the substance of the answer was that unwritten constitution has no standing in the presence of specific statute.

Too much deference cannot be felt toward that august Power "whose home is the bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the world." All progress moves toward written constitutions and statute laws as the defense against arbitrary power. Let us recall the remark of Gibbon, that "the discretion of the judge is the first engine of tyranny." The defense of liberty is the well-defined law.

The principles in this discussion are constantly in debate in Church government. In a letter to Rev. F. D. Maurice, on the subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, Rev. Charles Kingsley wrote as follows:—

> As long as the Articles stand, and as long as they are interpreted by lawyers only, who will ask sternly, "Is it in the bond?" and nothing else, I see hope for freedom and safety. But as soon as any body of men, however venerable, have the power given to them to dictate to me what I shall think and preach, I shall answer, My compact with the Church of England is over. I swore to the Articles, and not to you.

John Wesley elbowed for himself room in the Church of England; and when *consensus* would have hung him, he sternly appealed to the law and the testimony of England's statutes.

"I vary from the Church," he said, "but I will never leave her." He had not much respect for majority votes; and in making a Church he allowed room for varying. And the Methodist Episcopal Church reflects his mind better than any other on earth, as Bishop Simpson told Dean Stanley, at his recent reception in St. Paul's Church.

When we took our ordination vows, we pledged ourselves to the Book of Discipline; we subscribed to certain doctrinal standards contained therein; but we did not subscribe to a library of authors or to an undefined *consensus* of faith. Let us see to it that our Church is in its form a Church of constitutional liberties, and in its spirit one which leaves to the Lord of the conscience judgment upon those questions where unity was never covenanted and can never be enforced.*

Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, January, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. Theories of Education and of Life: Thomas Carlyle; by Rt. Rev. J. Lancaster Spalding, D.D. 2. Cedmon: His Genius and Influence; by Brother Azarias. 3. The Human Soul and Body; by Rev. Walter Hill, S. J. 4. The Present Industrial Condition of Ireland; by Rev. Thomas Quigley. 5. An Autumn in the Rocky Mountains; by General John Gibbon, U. S. A. 6. Was Shakspeare a Catholic? by S. B. A. Harper. 7. How Heresy deals with the Bible; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D.D. 8. The Catholic Church in the United States in the Recent Translation of Alzog; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 9. Catholicity and Protestantism in Relation to our Future as a People; by George D. Wolff. 10. Missionary Rectors; by Rev. F. Porphyrius.

National Quarterly Review, January, 1879. (New York.)—1. Ideal Commonwealth. 2. The Battle-field of England and Russia. 3. Matter, Life and Mind. 4. War Indebtment: Its Limitations and Dangers. 5. Voltaire and the French Revolution. 6. The Ecclesiastical Question in Italy. 7. Condition and Prospects of the Southern States. 8. The Development of Art. 9. Alzog's Church History.

New Englander, January, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. A Better Remedy than Communism for the Unhappiness of the Times; by Rev. Jotham Sewall, Jun., York, Maine. 2. Review of Professor Perry's Political Economy; by President Sturtevant. 3. Recent Evangelistic Movements; by Prof. George P. Fisher. 4. A Scholar of the Twelfth Century. Second Paper; by Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury. 5. Review of Professor Ebers' Novel, "Homo Sum;" by Prof. Franklin Carter. 6. Gloomy Views of American Life; by Prof. W. M. Barbour. 7. Afghanistan and the English; by Prof. S. Wells Williams. 8. The Millenarian; by Prof. Samuel Harris.

* This Article is inserted, not as an expression of the Editor's opinion, but to call attention to a question needing review.—Ed.

NEW ENGLANDER, March, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. Business Ethics, Past and Present; by Prof. J. B. Clark, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. 2. The Ministry to the Poor; by Rev. John C. Collins. 3. Female Education and Authors in China, with a Translation of a Primer for Girls; by Prof. S. Wells Williams. 4. The Latest Utterance on the Doctrine of Extinction; by Rev. Amos S. Chesebrough. 5. English Factory Legislation; by Prof. Johnson T. Platt. 6. Our New English Thanksgiving, Historically Considered; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D. 7. Reducing Wages to Maintain Rate of Profit; by John E. Curran.

NEW-ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, January, 1879. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of the Hon. William H. Y. Hackett; by Frank W. Hackett, Esq. 2. Indenture of Lois, an Indian Apprentice, 1751; by Alexander Williams, Esq. 3. William Clarke's Genealogical Statement, 1731; by Frederick L. Gay, Esq. 4. Origin of the Names of Whitmore and Whittemore; by William H. Whitmore, A.M. 5. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 6. The Davenport Family; by B. F. Davenport, M. D. 7. Record of the Rev. Seaborn Cotton, of Hampton, N. H.; by John S. H. Fogg, M.D. 8. American Prisoners at Forton Prison, England; by William R. Cutter, Esq. 9. The Name of Upham in England; by Lieut. F. K. Upham, U.S.A. 10. John Gay, of Dedham, and his Descendants; by Frederick L. Gay, Esq. 11. Memoranda concerning the Newgate Family; by Charles H. Townsend, Esq. 12. Petition of Jane Armitage of Lynn; by Charles H. Townsend, Esq. 13. Rev. John Eliot's Records of the First Church in Roxbury: by William B. Trask, Esq. 14. English Ancestry of the Toppan or Tappan Family; by Herbert Tappan. 15. Longmeadow Family; by Willard S. Allen, Esq. 16. Pre-Historic Copper Implements; by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M. 17. Church Records of the Rev. Hugh Adams; by the Hon. Samuel C. Adams. 18. William Johnson and his Descendants; by George W. Johnson, Esq. 19. Notes on the Dover Combination of 1640; by the Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D.D.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1879. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketches: Sebastian Streeter; by E. G. Brooks, D.D. 2. After-Death Repentance; by Rev. S. Crane. 3. Persian Influence on Jewish Monotheism; by Rev. A. G. Lauris. 4. Purgatory; by T. J. Sawyer, D.D. 5. Comprehensiveness and Liberality in Temperance Work; by Austin Bierbower. 6. Martin Luther; by G. F. Flanders, D.D. 7. The Moral Power of the Resurrection; by Rev. C. R. Moor. 8. The Central Truth of Christianity; by A. C. Barry, D.D.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, January, 1879. (Andover.) 1. Organic Forms; by the Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., LL.D. 2. Note on Galatians iii, 16; by Rev. Frederic Gardiner, D.D. 3. The Unchangeableness of God; Dr. Dorner's Essay, translated by Dr. D. W. Simon. 4. Notes on Acts xiv, 16, 17; xvii, 30, and Rom. iii, 25, 26; by Prof. R. D. C. Robbins, Newton Highlands, Mass. 5. American Pre-Revolutionary Bibliography; by James David Butler, LL.D. 6. A Defense of the Catholic Faith concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinus of Sienna, written by Hugo Grotius; Translated, with Notes, by Rev. Frank H. Foster, North Reading, Mass. 7. Mohammedanism as a Missionary Religion; by Prof. Charles A. Aiken, D.D., Princeton, N. J. 8. Theological Education; No. 1—An Appeal for Higher Theological Training.

Amid the concussions produced by the breaking up of Quarterlies into Monthlies and Bi-monthlies, we trust our ancient friend, the Bibliotheca Sacra, will safely maintain its undisturbed and undamaged character and career. We trust that mere cheapness of price held out for other periodicals will tempt no subscriber to falter from its support. The scholarly Christian cannot afford to lose it. Its elevated yet modest bearing, its pure and genuine erudition, refusing to court popu-

larity by compromise, should be maintained, and on that high and honorable platform we trust it will be effectually sustained. We are frank to say that we have not yet caught the bi-monthly contagion. We have an able Monthly, and should maintain a good Quarterly. But we are not tempted by the example of the New Englander to split our Quarterly into a series of small bi-monthly pamphlets. Were our Quarterly large enough to furnish an imposing bi-monthly section such a move might be wise. But a survey of our synopsis will show that we stand in a large and honorable company, and there we propose to stand until the approaching General Conference in its wisdom or unwisdom shall confirm or change the situation.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, January, 1879. (Nashville, Tennessee.)—1. The Tongue and the Pen; by the Editor. 2. The Atonement; by C. W. Miller, D.D. 3. The Atomic Theory; by Prof. J. W. Glenn, A.M. 4. Æsthetics of Literature; by M. Callaway, D.D. 5. The Ultimate and Universal in Philosophy; by the Editor. 6. Through the Dark Continent; by T. O. Summers, D.D. 7. The Bible in English Literature; by A. B. Stark, LL.D. 8. The Poetry of Tennyson; by J. B. Wardlaw, Jun. 9. The Christian Lawyer and Client; by W. B. Hill, Esq. 10. The German Baccalaureate; by J. C. Hinton, A.M. 11. Marvin at Home; by T. M. Finney, D.D.

We welcome to our table this new Quarterly, reminding us as it does of the antediluvian period when its former self visited us under the editorship of a Summers and a Doggett. It was wise in the General Conference of the Church South to authorize its publication. It is demanded by the literary ability in that Church, that needed an organ for its higher, more elaborate and more permanent utterances. We recognize, too, the wisdom of publishing the names of the authors, thereby drawing into notice a galaxy of literary producers, revealing a literary republic, and enabling us to know who are its members and leaders. In the present number we have specially read Professor Glenn's sharp article upon "The Atomic Theory;" "The Ultimate in Philosophy," by the Editor; and "The Lawyer and Client," by Mr. Hill. This last article ably discusses a topic not often treated, but needing some outlay of thought.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. London Gas. 2. Daniel Manin. 3. What is Science? 4. Religious Equality and Theories of Comprehension. 5. Mr. Arnold on Secondary Education. 6. "Restorations." 7. The Viceroy and the Amir.

CHINESE RECORDER AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL, November, December, 1878. (Mission Press, Shanghai.)—1. A Critique of the Chinese Notions and Practice of Filial Piety; by Rev. Ernest Faber. 2. Kitan; by J. 3. The Family Sayings of Confucius; by Rev. A. B. Hutchinson. 4. The Plants of the Bible; by Rev. R. H. Graves, M.D. 5. In Memoriam; by Rev. J. Innocent. 6. The Elizabeth Bunn Memorial Hospital for Women and Children. 7. A Buddhist Temple converted into a Christian Church; by Rev. Arthur H. Smith.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. The Fernley Lecture for 1878. 2. Stanley's "Through the Dark Continent." 3. The Immediate Future of the United States. 4. Cyprus. 5. The People of Turkey. 6. Lessing's Life and Works. 7. Dr. Graetz and St. Paul.

WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE, August, 1878. (London.)—1. Memorial Sketch of Mr. W. Pyatt; by Rev. I. E. Page. 2. Watchfulness Needed on our Strongest Points; by Rev. J. H. Beech. 3. Sects of the Commonwealth; by Rev. J. S. Banks. 4. Erskine of Linlathen; by Rev. J. Marrat. 5. Neo-Catholicism and Morality; by an Ex-Roman Catholic Priest. 6. Mr. J. A. Froude on Christian Life; by Rev. G. Blencowe. 7. Embassadors for Christ; by Rev. J. C. Richardson. 8. Current Controversies on the Future State; by the Author of "An Examination of the Doctrine of Conditional Immortality." 9. Etchings from Life; by Sarson. 10. Mr. Kirkman's "Philosophy without Assumptions."

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. Dr. Johnson: His Biographers and Critics. 2. The Papacy: Its Early Relations with Roman Catholic States. 3. The Russians in Turkey. 4. The Cairoli Family. 5. Afghanistan. 6. Niccolo Machiavelli and his Times. 7. India and our Colonial Empire.

[LONDON] QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1879. (London.)—1. Lessing. 2. Aggressive Nonconformity. 3. The Reflection of English Character in English Art. 4. Prince Bismarck. 5. Our Schools and Schoolmasters. 6. Is Political Economy a Science? 7. Dr. Smiles' Works on Self-Help. 8. Russia and the Indian Frontier. 9. Party Government.

[LONDON] QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1878. (London.)—1. John Dryden. 2. Rise of the Modern British Empire. 3. Elephant-Catching. 4. Petrarch. 5. Ancient Cyprus. 6. M. Thiers: His Life and Character. 7. The Lancashire Cotton-Strike. 8. Is the Church of England Protestant? 9. The Revival of Turkey.

The Eighth Article is a powerful argument, derived from the best authorities of the Church, against the assumption that the Church of England unchurches non-Episcopal denominations. The "Church Quarterly" had made the bold assertion of that Church "*that while she receives all convert priests of Catholic orders without re-ordination, she ordains all ministers who come to her from Presbyterian and Protestant Churches.*" —P. 283.

We present the remarkable counter positions of the reviewer:—

NON-EPISCOPAL ORDINATIONS RECOGNIZED FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE YEAR 1662.

The truth is that the orders of ministers ordained in other Protestant Churches were, from the time of the Reformation up to the year 1662, continuously and systematically recognized in the Church of England; and, stranger still, that since the year 1662 they have been formally recognized by law, and conspicuously recognized in practice by English bishops. As to the period up to 1662, the facts are so unquestionable that the evidence of two unimpeachable witnesses will settle the point. The late Mr. Keble, the editor of Hooker's works, was certainly an unbiased witness to a practice which was adverse to his most cherished principles; and he states in the preface to his edition of Hooker's Works, vol. i, p. lxxvi, that "nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian ordination; and it appears by Travers's supplication to the Council that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English Service Book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their functions in England."

This admission leaves no doubt that during Elizabeth's reign persons with Presbyterian ordination were admitted to the ministry of the Church of England without re-ordination. An equally unimpeachable witness enables us to carry the evidence to the same practice through the reigns of the first two Stuarts, during the times of Andrewes and Laud, down to the overthrow of the Church of England under the Commonwealth. There is no person whose opinions have been more fondly appealed to by the ritualistic writers than Bishop Cosin, who took a leading part in the last revision of the Prayer Book under Charles II. He has been quoted as the great champion of the so-called "Catholic" ritual at that crisis, and he is, therefore, as little likely as the late Mr. Keble to have overstated facts which are adverse to so-called "Catholic" principles. Now Bishop Cosin in a letter dated Paris, February 7, 1650, makes the following statement: "If at any time a minister so ordained [that is, not episcopally ordained] in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance many others before my time,) our bishops did not reordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received among us, and to subscribe to the articles established."

He adds an argument still more remarkable, as showing how completely at that time, in the view of even the highest Churchmen, the Church of England was regarded as united with the other Protestant communities. "If," he says, "upon this ground we renounce the French, we must for the same reason renounce all the ministers of Germany besides, (for the superintendents that make and ordain ministers there have no new ordination beyond their own presbytery at all;) *and then what will become of the Protestant party?*"

In other words, Cosin regarded the interests of the Church of England as bound up with those of the Protestant party; and the fear of fatally injuring the interests of that party was admitted by him as a powerful motive for not refusing to recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination. One other passage from this remarkable letter must be quoted, since it establishes the fact that in the opinion of a High-Churchman of that day—an opinion expressed in a private letter, and at a time when the overthrow of his own Church might have prejudiced his judgment against other Protestant communities—there existed no bar against the reception of the holy communion by English Churchmen at the hands of foreign Protestant ministers. "If," he continues, "the Church and kingdom of England have acknowledged them, (as they did in admitting of them, when they fled thither for refuge, and placing them by public authority in divers of the most eminent cities among us, without prohibiting to any of our people to go and communicate with them,) why should we, that are but private persons, utterly disclaim their communion in their own country? And, therefore, under that protestation which Dr. Testard offers you permission to make, and considering there is no prohibition of our Church against it, (as there is against our communicating with the Papists, and that well grounded upon the Scripture and will of God,) I do not see but that both you and others that are with you may (either in case of necessity, when you cannot have the sacrament among yourselves, or in regard of declaring your unity in professing the same religion, which you and they do) go otherwhiles to communicate reverently with them of the French Church."

In one word, Cosin recognized that in the French Protestant Church the sacraments were "duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite unto the same;" and this, he implies, had been the deliberate and continuous judgment of the Church of England up to the time he wrote. As he also states in this letter, he did not regard the French ministers as "so duly and rightly ordained, as they should be by those prelates and bishops of the Church who, since the apostles' time, have only had the ordinary power and authority to make and constitute a priest." But the assumption that a less perfect ordination was equivalent to no ordination at all, he denied.—Pages 284, 285.

PARLIAMENT ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR VALIDITY IN 1662.

If the practice to which Cosin bears testimony was consistent with the former preface, it is hard to see why it should be inconsistent with the latter. It is to the Act of Uniformity itself—that is, to one of those acts of the civil Legislature which the ritualists repudiate—that recourse must be had if the rule and practice of the Church of England are to be shown to have been rendered more stringent in 1662. It is unquestionable, as we have said, that by this authority episcopal ordination was for the future rendered *prima facie* indispensable in the case of all persons who were to be admitted to the cure of souls in the English Church. But at the very moment of insisting on this qualification as a general rule, the Act *makes an exception in favor of the members of foreign Protestant bodies.* Immediately after the clauses which, in England, Wales, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, require episcopal ordination as a preliminary condition to the tenure of a benefice, and to the administration of the Lord's Supper, the Act proceeds: "Provided that the Penalties in this Act shall not extend to the Foreigners or Aliens of the Foreign Reformed Churches, allowed, or to be allowed, by the King's Majesty, his Heirs and Successors in England."

The Act, in fact, appears to draw a distinction, which had been previously drawn during the reign of Elizabeth, in the case of Travers, between *irregularity* and *invalidity.* Travers was silenced, not because his orders were Presbyterian—for that, as we have seen, was not in itself regarded as a sufficient objection—but because, being an Englishman, he had refused English ordination, and had gone abroad to be made minister according to the Genevan system. Similarly, it was thought proper, in 1662, that for the future episcopal ordination should be established as the rule of the English Church for Englishmen; but *care was expressly taken to guard against its being supposed that, by making this regulation for ourselves, we denied the validity of other forms of ordination in Protestant Churches.* Thus the very Act which is sometimes assumed to have finally cut us off from communion with other Protestant Churches contains a clause which expressly reasserts that communion.—Pp. 285, 286.

BISHOPS APPOINTED OVER AND RECOGNIZING PRESBYTERIAN CLERGY.

But there remains one other striking piece of evidence as to the view taken in our Church, both before and after the restoration, of the validity of non-episcopal orders, and, by consequence, of our substantial union and communion with other Protestant Churches. Much is sometimes made of the fact that the bishops who were consecrated for Scotland in 1661, and who had not received episcopal ordination, were first ordained deacons and priests. It is doubtful whether this preliminary ceremony was necessary, even according to the strictest traditions of ecclesiastical discipline.

But this is of very slight importance, compared with the far more conclusive fact which followed upon the consecration. These bishops went to Scotland to preside over Scotch Presbyterian clergy. Is there any evidence to show that they required those clergy to submit to episcopal re-ordination? If not, then the whole body of Presbyterian clergy in the neighboring kingdom were at one stroke recognized as in valid orders, and the strongest and most Calvinistic Protestantism in the world was, at the very moment when episcopacy was triumphant in England, recognized as compatible with the episcopal principles of the English Church. Very similar measures had been taken in 1610. Scotch Presbyterian priests were then consecrated without re-ordination; they went to their dioceses to preside over a Presbyterian clergy, and when an attempt was made to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, it was upon a Presbyterian clergy that it was enforced.

Our readers will find many forcible illustrations of these points in the remarkable pamphlet entitled "Apostolical Succession not a Doctrine of the Church of England," quoted at the head of this article. The doctrine of apostolical succession of which the writer speaks is that of the Church of Rome and of the new school of English High-Churchmen; and he has no difficulty in showing to demonstration that such a doctrine is inconsistent with the whole tenor of teaching and practice in the Church of England from the Reformation to the present century. He is a pervert to Roman Catholicism from the Church of England, and the extreme horror he displays at the portentous Protestantism he exposes in the English Church would be sometimes amusing if we were not restrained by a sentiment of respect for its sincerity and seriousness. He illustrates the facts we have stated above respecting the communion between our Church and Foreign Reformed Churches by several instances in which ministers of those Churches, both before and after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, were admitted to benefices and preferments in England; and he mentions many other circumstances which are equally instructive and conclusive. Among other things he states that after the period of the Reformation the Bishops of Winchester, whose diocese includes the Channel Islands, continously recognized, as under their jurisdiction, and as competent to exercise the functions of parish priests, ministers of the French Protestant Churches; and he mentions that the first episcopally ordained minister of the island of Sark was appointed in 1820. For generations, it would seem, those islands were in the position of Scotland in the seventeenth century; except that in this case Presbyterian congregations formed actually a part of the diocese of an English bishop, and were thus practically embodied in the English Church itself.

In a word, the Church of England has strenuously contended for the maintenance of Episcopacy as the primitive, and therefore the best form of Church government; but by numerous authoritative acts, and by the voices of her greatest divines, she has no less steadily recognized the validity of orders otherwise conferred, and

has constantly maintained communion with other Protestant Churches.—P. 287.

The absolute conclusiveness of these facts in our argument against the necessity of an apostolic succession of bishops to the validity of a Church is transparent. The Wesleyan ground is the true ground of the English Church.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March, 1879. (London.)—1. Belief in Christ: Its Relations to Miracles and to Evolution; by Rev. J. LL. Davies. 2. The Anomaly of the Renaissance; by Vernon Lee. 3. New Planets near the Sun; by R. A. Proctor. 4. Self-Government in Towns; by J. A. Picton. 5. The Position and Influence of Women in Ancient Athens; by James Donaldson, LL.D. 6. Confession: Its Scientific and Medical Aspects; by George Cowell, F.R.C.S. 7. Ancient Egypt, III; by R. Stuart Poole, Corr. Inst. France. 8. The Duke of Argyll's History of the Eastern Question; by Rev. Malcolm Macoll. 9. The New Religious Movement in France; by Josephine E. Butler. 10. Greek and Latin: Their Place in Modern Education:—I. On a Radical Reform in Teaching the Classical Languages: by Professor J. S. Blackie. II. On the Worth of a Classical Education; by Professor Bonamy Price.

In the last three numbers of this Review we are furnished with a serial history of Egypt, according to latest researches, by the learned Egyptologist, Reginald Stuart Poole. The present number discusses especially the relations of Egyptian to Biblical history. He considers the date of the exodus, and the Pharaoh under which it took place, as reliably identified; the age of Joseph, less certainly, but very probably. We give the following important extract:—

The Egyptian documents emphatically call for a reconsideration of the whole question of the date of the Pentateuch. It is now certain that the narrative of the history of Joseph and the sojourn and exodus of the Israelites—that is to say, the portion from Genesis xxxix to Exodus xv, so far as it relates to Egypt—is substantially not much later than B. C. 1300; in other words, was written while the memory of the events was fresh. The minute accuracy of the text is inconsistent with any later date. It is not merely that it shows knowledge of Egypt, but knowledge of Egypt under the Ramessides, and yet earlier. The condition of the country, the chief cities of the frontier, the composition of the army, are true of the age of the Ramessides, and not true of the age of the Pharaohs contemporary with Solomon and his successors. If the Hebrew documents are of the close of the period of the kings of Judah, how is it that they are true of the earlier condition, not of that which was contemporary with those kings? Why is the Egypt of the Law markedly different from the Egypt of the Prophets, each condition being described consistently with its Egyptian records, themselves contemporary with the events? Why is Egypt described in the Law as one kingdom, and no hint given of the break-up of the Empire into small principalities men-

tioned by Isaiah? (xix, 2.) Why do the proper names belong to the Ramesside and earlier age, without a single instance of those Semitic names which came into fashion with the Bubastite line in Solomon's time? Why do Zoan-Rameses and Zoar take the places of Migdol and Tahpanhes? Why are the foreign mercenaries, such as the Lubim, spoken of in the constitution of Egyptian armies in the time of the kingdom of Judah, wholly unmentioned? The relations of Egypt with foreign countries are not less characteristic. The kingdom of Ethiopia, which overshadowed Egypt from before Hezekiah's time and throughout his reign, is unmentioned in the earlier documents. The earlier Assyrian Empire which rose for a time on the fall of the Egyptian nowhere appears.

These agreements have not failed to strike foreign Egyptologists, who have no theological bias. These independent scholars, without actually formulating any view of the date of the greater part of the Pentateuch, appear uniformly to treat its text as an authority to be cited side by side with the Egyptian monuments. So Lepsius, in his researches on the date of the Exodus, and Brügsch, in his discussion of the route, Chabas, in his paper on Rameses and Pithom. Of course it would be unfair to implicate any one of these scholars in the inferences expressed above, but at the same time it is impossible that they can, for instance, hold Kuenen's theories of the date of the Pentateuch so far as the part relating to Egypt is concerned. They have taken the two sets of documents, Hebrew and Egyptian, side by side, and in the working of elaborate problems found every thing consistent with accuracy on both sides; and of course accuracy would not be maintained in a tradition handed down through several centuries.

If the large portion of the Pentateuch relating to the Egyptian period of Hebrew history, including as it does Elohistic as well as Jehovistic sections, is of the remote antiquity here claimed for it, no one can doubt that the first four books of Moses are substantially of the same age. The date of Deuteronomy is a separate question. Leaving this problem aside, the early age of the first four books does unquestionably involve great difficulties, but not nearly so great as the hypothesis of late date, when they are confronted with the Egyptian records.

Those who refuse to accept the results of the most advanced school of Hebrew critics on the ground that they are inconsistent with the evidence of the Egyptian documents, must beware of throwing themselves into the arms of the other extreme party, who deny the value of criticism, and refuse to accept the evidence of partial compilation and redaction patent in the biblical texts. It would be a fatal loss to science were the fruits of German and Dutch criticism neglected for a year, criticism which, though sometimes rash and arrogant, is in general acute, learned, honest, and not without a reverence the apologists, those Uzzahs who are always putting their clumsy hands to the Ark, cannot imagine. Of this criticism it may be said that its excellences in analysis are marred by its defects in constructive skill. Its facts are admira-

bly chosen, but its theories are hastily put together, their very multitude being sufficient to arouse the keenest mistrust. For if a school has produced from the same evidence many distinct hypotheses of the date of a set of documents, all but one theory must be false, and, therefore, the great majority are in error, and if we trust ourselves to a guide he is in a minority of one.

The wise course is to devote all our labor to the collection of facts, the accumulation of which, on the true principle of all scientific discovery, will ultimately form correct theories. The learned world is more grateful for one solid volume of new facts than for a library of airy fancies. All such work honestly done is in truth work of which the results will last forever.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. Brieger.—*Essays:* 1. BORNEMAN, The Baptismal Symbol of Justin the Martyr. 2. LENZ Zwingle and Landgrave Philip, (First Article.) 3. GASS, The Position of the Apostles' Creed Two Hundred Years Ago and Now. *Critical Reviews:* MÖLLER, Review of the Works on the History of Christian Doctrines, published from 1875 to 1877. *Miscellaneous:* 1. LOWENFELD, On the History of the Papal Archives in the Middle Ages. 2. HERTEL, A Remark on the History of Columba. 3. SCHULTZE, Documents relating to the History of the German Reformation. 4. BRIEGER, Professor Baumgarten's Request Relative to John Sleidan. 5. HARNACK, Statistics of the Russian Church.

The so-called Apostles' Creed has recently become the subject of a very animated controversy in the Protestant Churches of Germany and other countries. Should it be retained in the liturgies and catechisms of the Churches? Should ministers and members be required to assent explicitly to its entire contents? Should explicit dissent from any part of its contents be deemed sufficient reason for deposing ministers and excluding members? Opinions are greatly divided on the subject, and some Churches are considerably excited by the progress of the controversy. It may, therefore, be presumed that an article on the subject by one of the most distinguished German writers on the history of Christian doctrines, Professor Gass,* will be

* Professor W. Gass, born in 1813, became in 1840 *privatdocent*, and in 1846 extraordinary professor, at the theological faculty of the University of Breslau; in 1847 extraordinary and in 1855 ordinary professor at Greifswald; in 1861 professor at Giessen, and in 1868 successor of Richard Rothe, at the University of Heidelberg. His principal works are: *Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik*, etc., ("History of Protestant Dogmatics," in connection with the general history of theology, 4 vols., 1854–1867,) and *Symbolik der Griechischen Kirche*, ("Symbolics of the Greek Church," 1872.)

widely welcomed in the Protestant Churches. The author treats his subject, not from a polemical, but from a strictly historical, point of view, fully explaining the position which the Protestant theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, on the one hand, and the religious parties of the nineteenth century, on the other, assumed with regard to it. It is well known that Luther, and the Reformers of the sixteenth century, generally accepted the Apostles' Creed, as well as the two other creeds of the ancient Church, (the Athanasian and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan,) without hesitation, as an excellent and venerable compendium of the principal tenets of the Christian religion. The Book of Concord placed them, as ecumenical formulas, at the head of the doctrinal system of the Lutheran Church. No offense was even taken by Protestants generally at the addition of the *Filioque* to the Nicene Creed. For a considerable time there was no notable difference between Catholics and Protestants with regard to the Apostles' Creed. Among the Protestant, especially the Lutheran, theologians, a difference of opinions began to be expressed, when Calixtus, and other Unionists and Synsecrists, opposed the demands of the strict Lutheran theologians as excessive, and in opposition to them designated a belief in the essential doctrines of Christianity, as laid down in the ancient creed, as sufficient for salvation. The strict Lutherans, in the dogmatic controversy which ensued, did not attack the authority, but the sufficiency, of the Apostles' Creed. They regarded many of the doctrines which were peculiar to Lutheran theology, though they were not specially mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, as equally necessary for salvation. The controversy was briskly carried on in 1648 and the following years, and the replies of the Lutheran theologians—Hulsemann, Dannhauer, Calovius, Musaeus, and Quenstedt—contained, to some extent, a lower appreciation of ancient creeds than had been customary in the Lutheran denomination before, and the Wittenberg theologians, in their *consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranae*, enumerated the opinion of Calixtus and his friends concerning the fundamental sufficiency of the Apostles' Creed among his most fundamental errors. Dr. Gass feels no sympathy with those Lutheran theologians who regarded every doctrine of the Lutheran system as necessary for salvation; but he believes that, on the

other hand, Calixtus erred in undervaluing the importance of the Reformation and overvaluing the importance of the Apostles' and the other ancient Creeds. The *critique* of the Apostles' Creed by prominent Lutheran theologians called, however, not only attention to the material incompleteness of the creeds, but also to the fact that these creeds wholly omitted what makes their contents a matter of religious faith, namely, the religious reception of the doctrine by the believer. Passing over to the religious parties of the present day, Dr. Gass calls attention to the fact that, while in the seventeenth century the Apostles' Creed appeared to many to contain not enough of the essential Christian doctrines, now it is chiefly objected to as containing many doctrinal statements which are not sufficiently warranted by the Bible. Gass entirely agrees with those who regard parts of the Apostles' Creed as lacking a scriptural basis, but he is in favor of retaining it as a part of the liturgy, on the ground that it is a most valuable testimony of the faith of the early centuries of the Christian Church. In the introduction of his article Gass names the following as the most important recent works on the subject: Swainson, "The Nicene and the Apostles' Creed," (London, 1875;) F. J. A. Hort, "On the Constantinopolitan Creed, and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century," (Cambridge and London, 1876;) Caspari, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete, und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, (Christiana, 1866–1875, 3 vols.)

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KÖSTLIN. Second Number. 1879.—*Essays:* 1. SCHMIDT, On the Lutheran Doctrine of the Sacraments. (First Article.) 2. MEUSS, The Place of the Sermon in the Religious Service of the Evangelical Congregation. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. RITSCHL, Gleanings from St. Bernard. 2. BUDDENSIEG, Luther's Sojourn at Rome. *Reviews:* 1. Knapp's Life of J. F. Oehler, reviewed by KLOSTERMANN. 2. Kreibig's Versöhnungslehre auf Grund des Christlichen Bewustseins, (Doctrine of the Atonement on the Basis of Christian Consciousness,) reviewed by SCHMIDT.

The preface to this number briefly reviews the contributions by the late Dr. Julius Müller to the *Studien*, of which he was for many years one of the assistant editors. Müller's connection with the *Studien* reaches back to the first decennium of this periodical. He had undertaken at that time to illustrate the relation of several prominent philosophical systems to the Christian faith. More particularly he desired to discuss the

claim of the Hegelian philosophy to have found the genuine reconciliation of speculation and the Christian faith. This task appeared to him all the more important because the claim of the Hegelians seemed to find more and more adherents in theological circles. Thus in his controversy with C. F. Göschel (*Studien*, 1833, i, and 1835, iii) he endeavored to prove the Christian faith could not, without destroying itself, admit the demanded recognition of its identity with absolute science. When the radical opposition between the philosophy of the absolute and historical Christianity became fully apparent in the Life of Jesus, by Strauss, and the Essence of Christianity, by Feuerbach, Julius Müller's articles in the *Studien* against these two works were regarded as being among the ablest apologies of evangelical Christianity against its modern opponents. At the beginning of 1856 he became, in the place of Lücke, one of the assistant editors of the *Studien*, and he retained this position until his death. Two articles, which he contributed to the *Studien* in this year, on "The Relation between the Working of the Holy Spirit and the Divine Word as a Means of Grace," are classed among his best literary productions. He was looked upon as the foremost spokesman of the evangelical portion of the United Evangelical Church, (the so-called Consensus party,) and intended to follow up these first articles by others on the sacraments, especially on the Lord's Supper. But his health failed, and made it necessary for him to concentrate his strength for the fulfillment of his duties as professor of theology. He found it impossible to contribute any further articles to the *Studien*, and, therefore, even wished to have his name withdrawn from the list of the assistant editors who are named on the title-page; but he yielded in this point to the earnest solicitation of the editor-in-chief, who wished to retain his name on the title-page as a standing announcement that Müller continued to be in full agreement with the theological principles of which the *Studien* was, and still is, the foremost expounder. The editors of the *Studien* announce that a biography of Müller will, ere long, be published in their columns. This biography will be looked forward to with interest by the entire theological world, for Julius Müller will always occupy a prominent place in the history of theological literature. His principal

work, the "Christian Doctrine of Sin," (1839, 4th edition, 1858,) ranks among the ablest productions of Protestant theology in the nineteenth century. His work, *Die evangelische Union, ihr Wesen und göttliches Recht*, (1854,) is probably the ablest apology of the fundamental principle on which the union of German Lutherans and German Reformed into the United Evangelical Church has been founded. In the place of Julius Müller, two other distinguished theologians, Dr. Dorner and Dr. Wagenmann, have been found willing to associate themselves with the present editors-in-chief, Dr. Köstlin and Dr. Riehm, in the publication of the *Studien*. Dr. J. A. Dorner is well known in the United States by his great work on the "Person of Christ," (English translation by Dr. Simon, Edinburgh, 1859,) also by his work on the "History of Protestant Theology," (English translation, 1871.) Dorner was also one of the founders and chief editors of the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, a theological quarterly which pursued a similar tendency as the *Studien*, but was discontinued at the close of 1878. As Dr. Wagenmann was likewise one of the editors of the *Jahrbücher*, the association of Dorner and Wagenmann with the editors of the *Studien* appears like a consolidation of the two principal literary organs of the evangelical party in the United Church.

We have referred, in former numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" to several interesting articles of the German theological quarterlies on Luther's sojourn at Rome. The article by Dr. Buddensieg, in Dresden, is another interesting contribution to the literature on this subject. Dr. Buddensieg agrees with Dr. Kolde, (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, ii, pp. 460–470,) that Luther was not at Rome, as has been generally inferred from several passages in his own writings, in the winter from 1510 to 1511, but in the winter from 1511 to 1512. But, while agreeing with the results of Dr. Kolde's investigations, Dr. Buddensieg believes himself to have found better arguments for proving the assertion which is common to both writers. He undertakes to show, first, that Luther, while at Rome, saw the Pope; and, secondly, that Pope Julius II. was not at Rome during the winter from 1510 to 1511, but that he was there during the winter from 1511 to 1512. The second point, relative to the sojourn of Pope Julius in Rome, has

also been proved in a new German work by Moritz Brosch on Pope Julius. But with regard to the former assertion, that Luther while in Rome saw the Pope, the editor of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Dr. Brieger, remarks, in the last number of his quarterly, that the argumentation of Dr. Buddensieg does not appear to him as conclusive. The controversy is likely to be continued in the German periodicals; for, as Dr. Köstlin, in his great biographical work on Luther, remarks: "Luther's journey to Rome projects over all other events between 1508 and 1512, on account of the great influence which it exerted upon Luther." On the other hand, all historians are agreed that in regard to no other section of Luther's life there still prevails so great uncertainty as in regard to his journey to Rome. Of late, much new light has been shed on the history of the Reformation by the opening of the Italian libraries, and the publication from them of valuable documents relative to the religious movement of the sixteenth century. It may be hoped that Luther's journey, like other events, may receive from this source new elucidation.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Hilgenfeld. 1879. Second Number.—1. HILGENFELD, The Martyrdom of Polycarp of Smyrna. 2. THOMA, The Old Testament in the Gospel of John. 3. ROENSCH, Fragments of the Itala of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. 4. TOLLIN, Servetus' Doctrine of the World. 5. FRANK, A Glimpse at the Theology of the Nineteenth Century.

The last article of the above number is an address delivered by Dr. G. Frank, Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Vienna, to the students of the faculty. It is a brief sketch (filling fifteen pages of the "Quarterly") of the most prominent philosophers and theologians of Germany who have exerted a lasting influence upon the development of theological science in Germany during the present century. The author is an enthusiastic admirer and disciple of Schleiermacher, whom he calls a highly blessed man, a religious genius, and an original thinker. Schleiermacher, according to Frank, was the great reformer of the Protestant theology of the nineteenth century. Schleiermacher occupies, with regard to modern theology, the same position that Kant occupies with regard to modern philosophy. He examined the religious foundation in man, and brought to light again the covered-up source of religion. "He has overcome both rationalism and supernaturalism, and is,

therefore, attacked by Strauss no less than by Hengstenberg. Though he has not founded, in the strict sense of the word, a school of his own, there is no branch of theology which has not been influenced by him, no prominent theologian who has not learned from him." Dr. Frank closes his speech with a few remarks on the changed position of theology among the sciences. "Only one generation ago," he says, "theology was still the most respected science. To no other department of scholarship, not even of natural science, so many able and intelligent young men devoted themselves as to it. Times have greatly changed. But our courage does not fail us. The knot of history must not be cut in such a way that Christianity goes with ignorance and science with infidelity. Christianity has proved to be the great deed of God in the destinies of nations and individuals, and as the highest and surest truth it will, in all times to come, find its servants and witnesses, who, as enlightened teachers, will unlock its depths, and as characteristic prophets, will announce its glories."

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) December, 1878.—1. E. W., An English Essayist, (Roger Williams.) 2. G. MONOD, The Fine Arts at the Universal Exposition, 1867–1878. 3. SABABIER, On the Theological Spirit.

January, 1879.—1. BERSIER, Man's Place in the Universe. 2. G. MONOD, Foreign Painters at the Universal Exposition. 3. VINCAME, Dr. Wines and the Stockholm Congress for Prison Reform.

In an introduction to the December number, the learned editor of the *Revue*, E. de Pressensé, informs us that this periodical closes with this number the twenty-fifth year of its existence, and he briefly reviews the work it has performed and the great interests of French Protestantism in which it has taken an active and leading part. It also points to the important questions of the present and the future, which await a solution, and to the discussion of which the *Revue* will devote a prominent attention. Pressensé reiterates his unshaken belief in a complete separation between Church and State. He regrets that at present the most trusted leaders of the republican party in France do not favor that principle, but intend to break the force of ultramontane tendencies by means

of State laws. But he is confident that they will be as unsuccessful as the authors of the so-called Kulturkampf in Germany and Switzerland, and that in less than twenty years the Republican party will accept the entire separation between Church and State as a necessity. Among the questions looming up in the future, and inviting a special attention, Pressensé enumerates the remarkable movement among the educated classes of France and Belgium toward Protestantism. A new feature of the *Revue*, hereafter, will be, a *Chronique anglaise*, which will be given every other month, and will alternate with the *Chronique allemande*, which will be continued by Professor Lichtenberger.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA.

IT is generally assumed that the Christian Church in Africa was planted during the Apostolic age. Alexandria, in Egypt, became early the seat of one of the great Ecumenical Patriarchates. The progress of Christianity was rapid, and at an early period nearly the whole of Northern Africa was Christian. The Exarchate of Africa proper contained forty-two, the Patriarchate of Alexandria more than a hundred, dioceses. But in the seventh and eight centuries a terrible and fatal blow was struck to the Church in Africa by the Mohammedan Saracens. Mohammedanism became the ruling religion all along the coast, and has remained so until the present day. Only in Abyssinia a population estimated at about three millions has remained nominally Christian to the present day, but cut off from all communication with the remainder of the Christian world. The Church of Abyssinia has become a withered branch of Christianity. The same remark, though not to the same extent, may be applied to the native Christians of Egypt, the Copts, who are supposed to number from 200,000 to 300,000.

The maritime discoveries which began in the fifteenth century led to the establishment of Portuguese and Spanish sovereignty over large tracts of land. The mass of the population of these territories was prevailed upon or forced to connect itself, nominally at least, with the Church of Rome. The population of the islands on the northwestern coast of Africa have since become strongly attached to the Roman Church. On the coast of the Continent, on the other hand, in Angola, Congo, and Mozambique, little can now be discovered of Roman Catholicism, even by the most devoted writers of the Church, except the retention of some usages and ceremonies. As large numbers of natives continue, however, to consider themselves as Catholics, they still figure in the statistical accounts of the Church,

and inspire the hope that a better and larger class of bishops and priests than the Portuguese have provided for their colonies during the last two hundred years, will be able to rekindle new life in this dead part of the Church. In modern times the conquest of Algeria by the French has opened to the Church of Rome another large missionary field, in which a considerable population of European descent, with a small number of native converts, promises for the future an important addition to the dominion of the Roman Church. The Roman Catholics under British rule live chiefly in the island of Mauritius, which formerly belonged to France, and still is predominantly Roman Catholic. In all the other English possessions the Roman Catholics are in a considerable minority. The Roman Catholic population of Egypt, Tunis, Tripolis, consists chiefly of natives of southern Europe and their descendants; that of Egypt embraces, also, a few thousand Copts, who have entered into a union with Rome. From Madagascar the missionaries send very favorable accounts. A very large number of devoted missionaries have penetrated beyond the boundaries of the European dependencies and the coast countries into the interior; but the numerical results are thus far not commensurate with the zealous efforts of the missionaries.

The English possessions in Africa are rapidly expanding, and though still somewhat inferior to the French possessions in point of population, and to the Portuguese in point of extent, they bid fair ere long to exceed in both respects the aggregate possessions of all other European countries combined. The Church of England has not only occupied all the colonies of the British crown, but missionary bishops have crossed the boundaries, and opened the way for the advance of civilization. The British Government ruled, in 1878, over a territory of 389,000 square miles, containing a population of 2,742,000 persons. The negro Republic, Liberia, has a fully-civilized population of about 20,000 persons, and a native population of about 700,000, among whom a number of mission churches and schools have been built, and who, it may be hoped, will gradually yield to the influence which Christianity and civilization bring to bear upon them. The descendants of Dutch boers constituted until recently two independent States—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic. The latter was, in 1877, annexed to the British possessions, of which it now forms a part; the Orange Free State retains for the time being its independence, and embraces about 45,000 white and 20,000 native inhabitants, the former of whom belong mostly to the Dutch Reformed Church. The same Church, also, predominates in the annexed Transvaal, and even in the Cape Colony there was, according to the official census of 1875, a population of 171,000 connected with the Dutch Reformed Church, while the Church of England had a population of 40,000, the Wesleyans of 32,000, the Congregationalists of 24,000, the Roman Catholics of 10,000, the Presbyterians of 8,000, the Lutherans of 17,000, and the Baptists of 2,000. In the large island of Madagascar, which is credited with a population of 2,500,000 persons, Paganism appears to be on the road to an early and total extinction. The population actually connected with the Christian

Churches, exclusive of the Church of Rome, was estimated in 1878 at about 300,000, and it is rapidly increasing.

In the absence of official accounts it is difficult to give a statistical estimate of the number of Roman Catholics in Africa. A Roman Catholic statistician gives the aggregate population of the Portuguese dioceses as 1,204,000. In the Spanish dominions the entire population, which amounts to 320,000, may be set down as Roman Catholic. In Algeria the Roman Catholic population amounted, according to an official census, to 233,000; the population of Reunion is also mostly Catholic, and it is safe to say that the entire population of French possessions in connection with the Church of Rome will not be far from 370,000. In the British possessions we estimate the Roman Catholic population at 182,000, in Madagascar at 20,000, in Egypt at 28,000, in Tripolis at 3,000, in Tunis at 15,000, in Abyssinia and the missionary diocese among the Gallas at 10,000. Summing up these figures, we should obtain an aggregate population, nominally connected with the Church of Rome, of about 2,152,000.

The total number of the Christian population in the Cape Colony, exclusive of Roman Catholics, is officially stated at 365,000. Adding to these the Christians in the other British possessions, which include among others the Basouto land, Griqua land, Caffraria, Transvaal, the Gold Coast, and Mauritius, the Christian population of the British possessions, exclusive of Roman Catholics, will not fall much short of 700,000. If we assume the Christian population (exclusive of Roman Catholics) of Madagascar at 300,000, of Liberia at 30,000, of Orange Free State at 45,000, of the French possessions at 10,000, of Egypt at 2,000, the Christian population of Africa, exclusive of Abyssinians, Copts, Roman Catholics, will amount to about 1,087,090.

The aggregate population of all denominations of Christians will be at present in the neighborhood of 6,489,000, a small figure in a total population of 205,000,000. It may be safely assumed, however, that the number of Christians will not only steadily, but rapidly, increase. The colonial territories of the Christian powers are largely expanding, their superior power and civilization comes to be more and more recognized, the strength of Mohammedanism, the only rival of Christianity, is waning, and the discoveries of successful explorers are opening to devoted missionaries the way into the remotest parts of the interior.

GREEK CHURCH.

The termination of the Eastern war by the Congress of Berlin has greatly added to the power and prestige of the Greek Church. Two States professing the Greek religion, which were hitherto dependencies of Turkey, Roumania and Servia, have been added to the list of entirely independent States of Europe, and both have received an increase of territory and population. The population of another State, in which the same religion prevails, Montenegro, has nearly been doubled. A new State, Bulgaria, has been formed, in which the Government and the ma-

jority of the population belong to the Greek Church, while a considerable majority are Mohammedans. Though this State will for the present pay an annual tribute to the Sultan, and therefore be nominally a dependency of Turkey, it will really be as independent as Roumania and Servia were before the war, and will ere long achieve its entire independence. The presence of a larger Mohammedan element will only serve to arouse the Greek Church to greater activity and zeal than it displays as yet in the other Christian States of the Balkan peninsula. The same may be expected from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have been placed under Austrian rule, and in which the Mohammedan nobility will at once be entirely stripped of that ascendency which they have possessed during the last four centuries. It must, moreover, be expected that even in the other Christian provinces of European Turkey which, for the present, remain under Ottoman rule, the Turks will be entirely unable to prevent the Christian majority of the population from manifesting its numerical preponderance.

The population connected with the Greek Oriental Church is 1878 may be estimated about as follows:—

Russia	60,000,000	Bulgaria	1,270,000
Finland	37,000	Turkey (without Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina)	3,800,000
Austro-Hungary	3,180,000	China	5,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	600,000	Japan	5,000
Roumania	4,800,000		
Servia	1,700,000	Total	77,675,000
Montenegro	236,000		
Greece	1,442,000		

The Greek Church in Austria begins to derive a great advantage from the progress of the University of Czernovitz. It is the only Austrian university which has a theological faculty of the Greek Oriental Church, and at which, therefore, the theological students of the Church have an opportunity of receiving a university education equal to that of the Catholic and Protestant theologians of Austria and Germany. The university was established in October, 1875, with the three faculties of theology, law and political economy, and philosophy; but the philosophical faculty was not completed until 1877, by the organization of the mathematical section. The theological faculty had in the winter semester of 1878–79 six ordinary professors for the departments of moral theology, dogmatics, practical theology, Church history and ecclesiastical law of the Greek Oriental Church, exegesis of the New Testament, besides an extraordinary professor and one tutor. Connected with the theological faculty is a theological seminary and a special theological library. The number of theological students ever since the organization of the faculty has been about forty; the total number of students is about two hundred and twenty.

Art. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The work by Professor Gess on the "Person and Work of Christ," (*Christi Person und Werk*, 2 vols., Basel: 1879,) has been completed by the appearance of the second volume. The first volume contains Christ's own sayings relative to his person and work, the second the testimony of the apostles in its historical development.

Professor Schenkel, of Heidelberg, one of the leaders of the *Protestantenverein*, (Rationalistic party in the State Churches,) has supplemented his work on the *Charakterbild Jesu*, ("Life-Picture of Jesus,") by a work entitled, "The Christ-Picture of the Apostles and the Post-apostolic Age," (*Christusbild der Apostel*, etc., Leipsic: 1879.) This work intends to give the history of the views of the Christian Church relating to Christ until the time when they received their permanent form, which, according to the author, was about the middle of the second century.

The new edition of Luther's complete works (*Dr. M. Luther's Sämmtliche Werke*, 18th vol., 2d edition, Frankfort: 1879) has reached the eighteenth volume. Some writings of the great author of the German Reformation appear in this edition for the first time.

Of the excellent edition of the complete works of John Calvin, by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, professors at the university of Strassburg, four new volumes have been published from 1876 to 1878. (*Joannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. xv to xviii: Brunswick.) Lutheran critics complain that the notes of the edition, the general excellency of which is readily admitted, appear sometimes to be prejudiced against the Lutheran Reformation. This work forms part of the great collection which is published under the title, *Corpus Reformatorum*, the above volumes forming vols. xliii to xlvi of the collection.

Among the latest works on the Apostles' Creed is a lecture by Dr. H. Baron von der Goltz. (*Zur Würdigung des Apostol. Glaubensbekenntnisses*, Berlin: 1878.) It treats of the history of the creed, its value and right use. The author holds a high position in the Prussian Church, and occupies a kind of middle ground between the strictly orthodox and the Rationalistic parties.

The biography of Johannes Gossner, by H. Dalton, pastor of a Reformed congregation in St. Petersburg, (*Johannes Gossner, ein Lebensbild.*, 2d edition, Berlin: 1878,) is commended as one of the most interesting biographies of German Protestant divines. Gossner, a convert from Roman Catholicism to evangelical Protestantism, is one of the most venerable representatives of modern German Protestantism, especially by his marvelous activity in behalf of Protestant missions.

The first volume of a new "History of Israel," (*Geschichte Israels*, Berlin: 1878,) by J. Wellhausen, has appeared. This work will be completed in two volumes. The author had previously become known as an

exegetical writer by a series of articles on "The Composition of the Hexateuch," in the *Jahrbucher fur Deutsche Theologie*, as well as by his contributions to the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.*

Professor Lange, the editor of the well-known Bible-Werk, which was completed in 1877 by the appearance of the thirty-sixth volume, now publishes in rapid succession text-books of different branches of theology. Text-books of an *Encyclopedie*, a *Hermeneutik*, and an *Ethik*, have appeared in the course of one year.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By FRANZ DELITZSCH, D.D., Professor of Theology, Leipsic. Translated from the German by THOMAS L. KINGSBURY, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2 vols., 8vo. pp. 401, 492. 1871. [Scribner's Imported Edition.]

The name of Dr. Delitzsch is familiar to Christian scholars in Europe and America. His productions in Biblical Commentary and Biblical Psychology have rendered him famous as a bold and penetrative thinker, and a leader in the ranks of an earnest evangelical theology, illustrated with a profound research. We cannot always follow him to his conclusions, but we realize the erudition and ingenuity with which they are attained. In this present commentary his thorough acquaintance with both Rabbinical and Alexandrian Jewish literature (in which his translator, too, is no ordinary master) enables him to take clear and strong grounds in regard to the process by which public religious thought was bridged over from the Old covenant to the New. He maintains very firmly the canonicity of the book of Hebrews; and he does it by assigning a higher share than is usually conceded to Alexandrian Hebraism in the translation from old to new. He maintains the claim of Jerusalem as the place to which the epistle is addressed, but denies the Pauline authorship, assigning it to Luke. For both this assignment and this authorship we think his reasons insufficient, being mainly based on minor particulars, as the use of a number of words and forms of idiom, which are found both in Hebrews and Luke's acknowledged writings. These peculiarities are solvable on the long intimacy between Paul and Luke. But the view, which we purpose an attempt to maintain, is that the epistle was unquestionably, as Delitzsch maintains, addressed to Jerusalem, and that that destination involves the Pauline authorship.

TO WHOM WRITTEN.

The title of the book, "to the Hebrews," if not given by the author, must have been adopted by its copyists and readers upon its earliest circulation. It is the only title found in all the earliest manuscripts and copies in every part of the world. Its earliest receivers from the author, its earliest publishers and circulators, must, therefore, have certainly been "Hebrews."

But what is meant by "Hebrews?" Primarily it designates those of Hebrew descent, whether born in Palestine or not. Thus Paul, though born in Cilicia, out of Palestine, asserts himself as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews." Phil. iii, 5; 2 Cor. xi, 22. At one time, in Jerusalem, (Acts vi, i,) it is used in antithesis to Hellenists, or Jews by descent, but of foreign birth. This appears to have been but temporary, for the words appear later to be used especially in application to the entire Christian Church at Jerusalem. Thus Delitzsch says, "The Church of Jerusalem actually bore the title ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκκλησία, (Clementis Ep. ad Jacob. hom. 11, 35,) as consisting entirely of Hebrews." So Eusebius in his Church History (iv, 5) says that the Jerusalem Church consisted *of believing Hebrews*, ἐξ Ἑβραίων πιστῶν. So, as we might expect, the very title of the book to the Hebrews not only points to Palestine, but designates the capital of Palestine, the sacred head of the Hebrew race.

This designation is confirmed by two considerations. First, the epistle, however widely it was to be afterward circulated, was primarily addressed to a single Church; and, second, the circumstances show that Church to have been Jerusalem. That it was primarily addressed to a single Church is clear from the last chapter, which is familiar in its tone, and adjusted to the peculiarities of a particular Church, especially the last three verses. The writer there informs the Church of Timothy's liberation, of his own hope soon to visit them with Timothy, and gives them the salutations of the Italian Christians present with him. It is certain, therefore, that this epistle was sent to and received by a single local Church.

And this Church was Jerusalem. To what single Church would an epistle intended for the Hebrew Christians in general be addressed, but to the old representative capital? We should assume this anticipatively, and maintain it until we are met by fair counter proof. The presumption is also against any sideway city, as Cesarea, or Alexandria; none of which ever made any claim in the early ages to the honor. If the epistle was written (as Stuart is inclined to think) to Cesarea, it is unaccountable that Euse-

bius of Cesarea, the great Church historian, never heard of it. If written to Alexandria, strange that the line of illustrious Alexandrian scholars, including Origen, never dreamed of it. If to Rome, (as Alford conjectures,) it is unaccountable that early Rome ignores or rejects both its Paulinity and its canonicity. We are thus shut up to Jerusalem alone.

This view is confirmed by the minute knowledge of the temple ritual required by the epistle of its readers. Scholarly men might, indeed, be familiar with these details, but our author is not addressing the learned class, but the mass of the people. To the men perfectly acquainted with their *minutiæ* the appeal is first made, namely, to Jerusalem Christians, and then the epistle could well go the rounds of all the Palestinian, and then the Gentile, Churches. Particularly the phrase, "without the gate," (xiii, 12,) presupposes that the mind of author and reader is at Jerusalem. Delitzsch acutely remarks, that in the epistle the constant antithesis is not between the *synagogue* and the *Church*, but between the temple and the *επισυναγωγή*, or *episynagogue* of the Christians. "No traces," he remarks, "are found of any such purely Jewish Churches, as this addressed Church was, in the dispersion."

The assumption that this epistle was addressed to Jerusalem agrees remarkably with the relations of Paul to that Church. It was about six years before its writing that Paul visited Jerusalem, attended by a retinue of friends, bearing donations from Greece and Asia to the "poor saints at Jerusalem." He was, with his friends, "received gladly," and was entertained at the house of Mnason, "an old disciple."* The next day he was received in state by James with the elders, whom he "saluted," and favored with a full report of his missionary success "among the Gentiles," for which "they glorified the Lord." Acts xxi, 17–20. It is plain that the heart of the Church, including James, was fully with Paul. So it had been at the Jerusalem Council, years before. Acts xv, 1–19. But as at the Jerusalem Council, so at this last visit, there was a body of Judaistic outsiders bitterly opposed to Paul. As it was the week of Pentecost, *myriads* of rural Judaistic Christians were in town, and it was fatally concluded that

* And this fact answers the objection, that the "saints" of Jerusalem, being "poor," could not have exercised the hospitalities ascribed to receivers of this Epistle. (vi, 10.) But Paul and his company had experienced these very hospitalities, and could afford to give credit for them. The plentiful hospitalities which, as "mother church," the Jerusalem Christians had to exercise, may have contributed to make them "poor."

Paul should perform a ritual to conciliate them. In this performance he was assaulted by a mob of anti-Christian Jews, from them was rescued by the Romans, and sent into what proved an imprisonment finally at Rome. Peculiarly apposite is his application of the word "restored" (xiii, 19) to his return to a Church from which he had thus been violently snatched without even permission to bid them a hasty farewell. That with this Church he should afterward retain exchanges of communication, and that to it he should address a memorable epistle second only to his Roman, has an interesting presumption in its favor. It precisely tallies, also, with the facts, that while the closing chapter amply reveals his person to the Church he addresses, his name should be withheld from its commencement, in order that its circulation among the Judaistic Churches of Palestine might not be impeded. This is the ancient solution; and we hold it as still standing good. It blends beautifully, too, with the testimony of the primitive Pantænus, yet to be given, that Paul declined to style himself "apostle" in writing to the Jerusalem "Hebrews," reverently conceding that title, as the epistle truly does, to Him who was alone the divine Apostle to the chosen race. Heb. iii, 1.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLE.

Of the three great divisions of the Church, the EASTERN, including Asia Minor and Palestine, the ALEXANDRIAN, and the WESTERN or ROMAN, the first two received the epistle as Paul's, the last rejected it both as canonical and Pauline. Yet those who received it as historically Paul's did frequently, on account of its peculiarity of style, conjecture it either to have been translated into Greek from a Hebrew original written by Paul, or that in some way Paul's thoughts had been clothed with verbiage by another pen than Paul's; as a guess, perhaps Luke's or Clement's. And here we reject the illegitimate process by which Lünemann and others bring out a very illegitimate anti-Pauline conclusion. They illogically confound a matter of historical *fact*, namely, the true authorship by Paul, with a matter of *opinion*, namely, a conjectural solution of the problem of the style. Eliminate the mere *opinion* from the historical fact, and we have left a very clear *consensus* of the Palestinian and Alexandrian Churches in the actual authorship by Paul. And this elimination should be made. For in a matter of style the modern critic may be as well able to judge as the ancient; but in a matter of fact the modern inquirer depends upon the ancient testimony. The one is guess, and the other is history.

I. That the PALESTINIAN CHURCH, to whom the epistle was addressed, received it as Paul's, is a very decisive fact. If the epistle was written to Jerusalem, Paul was certainly its author. The closing chapter of the epistle entirely demonstrates that the true author was known to the Church addressed, and that in all probability he subsequently visited the Church in company with Timothy. Three or four years afterward Jerusalem was swept out of existence, and was unable to make its claim to be the Church of this epistle. And yet all the East claimed it as written to the East. The title *To the Hebrews* was stamped upon it. And when the Peshito version, which was a translation of the Greek Testament into the Palestinian vernacular, was made, Hebrews was inserted by Palestinian authority in the canon, and in immediate connection with the Pauline epistles.

Though no early Eastern writers are now extant to be quoted in behalf of Paul's authorship, yet we have the most conclusive evidence of the unanimity of the East. ST. JEROME, though a Latin writer, spent a large share of his life in Bethlehem-Judea, and the real view of the East is by him repeatedly stated. He declares that it was received not only by the Churches of the East, but by all the ecclesiastical writers, as Paul's, and was daily read in the Eastern Churches.

EUSEBIUS, the father of Church history, resided in Cesarea, Palestine, and was among the first to give a complete and critical catalogue of New Testament books with their authors. He declares fourteen epistles (which number would include Hebrews) "are clearly and certainly Paul's." He ranks it as undisputed, except by some who dissented in deference to the Roman opinion. According as he reckoned or not these dissenters it was disputed or undisputed. The *dissent was not native to Palestine.*

In default of extant remains of ancient eastern writers we have some important indications of this unanimity. The Council of Antioch, in about A. D. 264, issued a letter in regard to the heresy of Paul of Samosata, containing passages quoted from our book of Hebrews, and one, as Stuart says, is "directly ascribed to the same apostle who wrote the Epistle to the Corinthians. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, vii, 30." This was, of course, a testimony of a unanimous body of eastern bishops.

The argument is very conclusive that 2 Peter iii, 15, 16, (which, whether genuinely Peter's or not, was a document of the Eastern Church,) attributes this epistle to Paul. The words are: "Even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given

him hath written unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things, in which are some things hard to be understood." On these words we note: 1. They speak of a particular epistle written unto "you," in distinction from "all his epistles." There is an antithesis between "all" and "written unto you." One particular epistle is isolated from "all" the rest. 2. That one was written to "YOU;" that is, to the converted "Hebrews." For it was to such that the First Epistle to Peter was written, (1 Pet. i, 1;) and "this second epistle" was written to the same, as appears by 2 Pet. iii, 1. The one epistle "written unto you" was written to the Hebrews, and could be no other than this epistle. 3. The topic treated by that one was the retribution of the judgment-day, a topic on which Hebrews is abundantly copious. 4. The phrase in this passage of 2 Peter, "things hard to be understood," (*δυσνόητά τινα*,) is too peculiar and too coincident with "hard to be uttered," (Heb. v, xi,) *δυσερμήνευτος λεγειν*, *hard-to-be-interpreted to speak*, not to be a direct reference. So many coincident facts are very decisive that Paul is here declared by the author of 2 Peter to be the writer of Hebrews, as a fact notorious to the Hebrew Christains.

II. Less primitive, but more learned, than the Church of Palestine was the CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, founded, according to good authorities, by St. Mark. Connected by a single intermediate generation or two with St. Mark was the founder of the celebrated Alexandrian theological school, PANTÆNUS, who was succeeded in the theological chair by Clement of Alexandria. Both Pantænus and Clement historically ascribe the Epistle to Paul, yet conjecturing from the style that it was either a translation of an original Hebrew by Paul or was clothed with its verbiage by some other author.

ORIGEN was the most eminent biblical scholar of his age. He taught in Alexandria, his native city, through the earlier part of his life, but later in Cesarea, Palestine. He was master of all the Alexandrian and Palestinian Christian literature. Historically, his judgment is as follows: "Whatever Church holds this to be an epistle of Paul's, let it receive approval; for it is not without reason that the men of antiquity (*Οἱ ἀρχαιοι ἄνδρες*) have handed it down as Paul's." Yet Origen pays his respects to the then "modern" criticism. "Nevertheless," says he, "who wrote the epistle God only *knows;* but a rumor has come to us, of some saying, that Clement, Bishop of Rome, wrote it; and of others saying that it was written by Luke." Lay the emphasis on *knows*, and

the whole is clear and true. Decisive as the historical testimony is, the style has produced conjectural opinions, and absolute truth on the subject is known to God alone.

III. The WESTERN or ROMAN CHURCH, a Church defective in learning, on the contrary, gave this epistle a slow and cold reception, either ignoring it entirely, or ignoring its Paulinity, and even rejecting it from the New Testament Canon. CLEMENT, Bishop of Rome, at the close of the first century, quotes it, but does not name the author. Irenæus, of Lyons, and Hippolytus, of Novi Portus near Rome, may both be put down as unknowing it. It is uncertain whether the epistle was received into the earliest Latin version of the New Testament, certainly not as Paul's. The MURATORIAN CATALOGUE of New Testament books, belonging at Rome to the second half of the second century, does not clearly name it. There is, however, a remarkable passage in this catalogue, which in the Latin, as corrected by Westcott, (*Canon of the New Testament*,) reads thus: "Fertur etiam ad Laodicenos, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine finctæ ad hæresim Marcionis." The last "ad" Westcott holds to be a translation of the Greek πρὸς, and so may be rendered *in regard to*. We may translate thus: "There is in circulation an epistle to the Laodiceans, another to the Alexandrians, forged under the name of Paul, in regard to the heresy of Marcion." We shall soon give reasons for supposing this epistle to the Alexandrians to be our Hebrews. In the Latin Church of Africa TERTULLIAN quotes the epistle in support of a position of his; but he quotes it as written by Barnabas; and he imagines that he is exalting its credit, by calling attention to the fact that Barnabas was no less than an apostle's colleague! Both the Paulinity and the canonicity of our epistle would fail if judged by early Rome alone. The reasons we take to be nearly these. The Church of Jerusalem, the mother Church of all, being demolished and dispersed, was unable to assert her claim to the honor of being its recipient, and no other Church had any claim to assert. The epistle traveled, as an orphan, slowly westward. And the farther the East from which it came, (as from Jerusalem rather than Cesarea,) the clearer the explanation of this slow reception. It came to Rome, not like Rome's own great epistle, as well as all the other Pauline epistles, headed with the illustrious name of Paul, but anonymous. Nor did its first chapter open like the Roman document, with an elastic Romanic majesty, but with a certain Alexandrian rhythm and tune. In addition to this, it is held by such scholars as Wetstein and

Hug, that such passages as Heb. vi, 4–8, and x, 26–31, were quoted by the heretical Montanists at Rome to prove their doctrine, that fallen members of the Church should never be re-admitted. The Roman Church bitterly opposed this Montanist view, and so rejected this anonymous epistle from the East that seemed to sustain it. It was not until A.D. 494 that a Roman council, headed by Pope Gelasius, included in their catalogue of canonical books fourteen epistles of Paul, which, of course, embraced Hebrews. The Council of Trent confirmed this decision.

RIVAL CLAIMS TO ITS AUTHORSHIP.

Against the other names proposed as authors of this epistle the arguments appear conclusive.

BARNABAS is historically, and not conjecturally, named by Tertullian alone. None of his great African successors, as Athanasius and Augustine, accept the opinion, but ascribe the epistle to Paul. His native island of Cyprus makes no claim for Barnabas; on the contrary, Epiphanius, the learned Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, sustains the claim of Paul. The opinion of Tertullian has had scarce a follower in any age.

The other rivals, as Clement, Luke, and Apollos are named, not on primitive historical evidence, but as solutions of the problem of style.

CLEMENT, being Bishop of Rome, if he were the author of the epistle, would have been loudly sustained by Rome. The epistle would not have been an orphan and a fugitive, but a native and a power, in the West. Besides, his style is far less like that of the epistle than Paul's own style.

LUKE was a native of Antioch; and Antioch was amply able to give notoriety to his claim; but Antioch speaks for Paul alone. And of Luke, too, we affirm that his style is far more unlike the style of Hebrews than is Paul's own style. What has Luke written that indicates that he could have written that grandiloquent first chapter of Hebrews? Where in Luke's style is the first tinge of Alexandrianism? What authority had Luke entitling him to write the magisterial rebuke of Heb. v, 12–14?

APOLLOS is the last, but not the poorest, guess, having been first suggested by Luther fourteen centuries after date. So far as style of language is concerned, we might say that Luke's description of him in Acts xviii, 24–28, renders him a fair candidate; but not as to style of mind. He appears as a rich, popular orator,

easy to follow, mighty in Scripture. But there are traits in Hebrews of difficult transition, broken connections of thought, and suspensions of the subject in order to digression, which are by no means easy for the mind to follow, and which are inconsistent with the Apolline theory, and call for Paul alone.

THE SURE TOKEN OF A PAULINE EPISTLE.

Paul never specified his name at the head to be the sure token of an epistle from him, but *the benediction at the end.* This token he gave in one of his earliest epistles (2 Thess. iii, 17, 18) as the sure test, in these words: "The salutation of [me] Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.* Amen." This benedictory salutation is given in all his thirteen epistles; and this token, it is very significant, and, we think, very conclusive to note, is carefully and explicitly given at the end of Hebrews. Thus, while the display of his name was not allowed to impede the general circulation of the epistle, the token of his authorship was carefully given to his friends at Jerusalem. Finally, if Delitzsch's suggestion on i, 1, is valid, then Paul's name, twice written, does stand occultly at the head of the epistle, as the first syllable, POL, of the two first leading Greek words, πολυμερῶς and πολυτρόπως; a secret guarantee, perhaps, to his friends, but invisible to the eyes of his opponents, and so leaving its diffusion impeded throughout the Christian Hebrew world.

THE TWO SOLUTIONS OF THE PROBLEM OF STYLE.

The maintainers of Paul's authorship have suggested two conjectural solutions of the question of the supposed un-Pauline style of the epistle. The *first* is the hypothesis that Paul, by converse or by notes, gave the thoughts, and either Luke, Clement, or Apollos wrote them out in his own style. The *second* is the assumption of an original Hebrew, of which the present epistle is a Greek translation, by one of the above writers.

Of these two solutions the preferable would be the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, with a translation under Paul's supervision. Of that translation, as it stands, we can conceive no one capable but Apollos. He may have furnished the Alexandrian surface finish; have yet preserved the Pauline peculiarities of connection and transition underlying; have secured, in Alexandrian fashion, the uniform reference to the Septuagint; and, with Paul's

association, have hit off the Greek word-plays, and even the verbal argument upon the *covenant-testament.* (ix, 15–18.) There is some appearance in the words of Clement that there was historical authority for it; but the fatal defect is that there is no known trace of the existence of any such Hebrew original. The objection might be plausibly, but not satisfactorily, obviated by supposing it lost in the destruction of Jerusalem and dispersion of the Church.

SUGGESTION OF A THIRD SOLUTION.

As this is a field still open, we venture a solution of our own. There were, to the later Jewish Church, to the New Testament, and to St. Paul, both a rabbinical and an Alexandrian side. Rabbinism, with its Targum and its Talmudical traditions, belonged to Babylon and the East; Alexandrianism, with its Septuagint and its Philonean philosophies, belonged to the West; and both blended their influences upon Palestine and Jerusalem. Delitzsch, who has profoundly studied this subject, very strongly maintains that Alexandrianism performed a very important and divinely-appointed part in bridging over the public thought from the old covenant to the new. Philonism was a brilliant effort to bring the narrower, yet most divine Old Testament thought into unison with the new expansive age. This it could not by any speculation successfully do; for it required Christ with his divine history to unite the new to the old. Thence it became important to take the right elements that both Rabbinism and Philonism furnished, and reconstruct them into Christian verity. Paul did this largely in regard to Rabbinism in Romans, Colossians, and Galatians. John did this in regard to the Logos, or Word; and in John a shade of the Alexandrian style is distinctly visible. In St. Paul such a reconstruction is somewhat performed in Galatians iv, 21–31, where see our notes. The same Alexandrianism appears in the speech of Stephen. But its greatest work, after John, is in this Epistle of Hebrews, and we venture to believe that the work was performed solely by Paul himself.

In working this problem it must not be forgotten that Paul had a variety of surface styles, with a wonderful identity of underlying mental style. Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Timothy are remarkably different in surface colorings; yet we feel the one underlying mind of Paul dealing with us in all. There is a great difference in surface, and even spirit, between the first chapter of Romans and the eighth chapter. The style of that eighth chapter approaches that of Hebrews more than it does that of the first

chapter. Specially does Romans viii, 18–23, exhibit the same mystical blend of grandeur and slow moving pathos with Hebrews. Who can doubt that 1 Cor. x, 1–11, and Heb. ii, 7–19, came from the same pen?

Now at Jerusalem there was one or more Alexandrian synagogues, and the speech of St. Stephen shows that an Alexandrian spirit pervaded the air. Among the Alexandrian liberalists of Jerusalem rather than among the rabbinical bigots, Christianity was likely to prevail. The rabbinical side emphasized the human Messiah, and tended to reject his divinity, and so ran into Ebionism. The Alexandrian preferred the ideal, almost impersonal, Logos Messiah, and were stumbled at our Lord's humiliation, weakness, suffering, and death. Philo had taught them this transcendentalism, attenuating the Messiah of prophecy almost into an idealism. It was, then, to save this Alexandrians class of Christians at Jerusalem that Paul wrote this epistle. His whole epistle is one great effort to reconstruct Philonean Messianism into Christian Messianism. He begins by affirming all the transcendental grandeur of the Messiah's origin in the highest style of Philonism; he shows how thereby the very humiliations are as sublime as they are tender. How glorious is his picture of the divine apostle Messiah; how touching, melting, winning, his portraiture of the suffering, dying priest-victim Messiah! And then all the ritual of Mosaicism is wrought into a vivid symbolism of that divine sufferer's expiation. Thereupon with what tearful pathos, yet awful menace, does he warn his Hebrews from apostatizing from his living-dying Christ!

Now let us suppose that, having learned the danger of Hebrew apostasy, and, probably, having learned that a large section of the Jerusalem Church had in fact already so apostatized, our apostle, after his release, stopping at Rome, or, as Mr. Lewin suggests, at Puteoli, or at Ephesus, (where John's style shows that Alexandrinism was no stranger,) had spent some weeks in reading over the works of Philo and his school, with purpose of this reconstruction. He is about to address a class of thinkers to whom that style is very attractive. Just as he once talked Hebrew to win the Hebrew Jerusalemites, (Acts xxii, 2,) he can now talk Philo to win these Alexandrian Jerusalemites. He even takes passages from Philo, tones them to a higher style, and makes them express truths higher than Philo knew. His own mind has a side of sympathy for this style as well as for the measures of the Greek poets, or the wisdom of the rabbies. Partly

unconsciously, and partly consciously and willingly, he would, at least in parts of his essay—for this style reigns only in *parts*—adopt the style with which he was then imbued. He will give to his Alexandrians at Jerusalem a better Philo than Philo. And then we shall understand those strange words of the Muratonian Fragment, quoted on a previous page, about the "epistle to the Alexandrians forged in the name of Paul in regard to the heresy of Marcion." The epistle was truly Paul's; it was truly addressed to the "Alexandrians," but to the Alexandrians at Jerusalem; it was, not intentionally, but really, a powerful refutation of the "heresy of Marcion;" for Marcion rejected the God of the Old Testament, whereas the very first chapter of Hebrews sublimely identifies the Son with the Father, the Jehovah of the old covenant.

Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the Eighth German Edition, by JAMES KENNEDY, B. D. 8vo, pp. 323. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York, Scribner & Welford. 1879. Price $3 75.

Ewald was one of the most profound scholars of Germany; and although his originality and independence often degenerated into dogmatism, yet his opinions are every-where entitled to respect and consideration. His *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräische Sprache*, is the most comprehensive treatment of that language, being exceeded in the department of etymology only by Böttcher's gigantic treatise; and the studious public will be the more gratified at the above reproduction, in an English dress, of the syntactical part of Ewald's noble work, which in this department still remains unrivaled. We are also pleased to find that the translator has prefixed to this volume Ewald's analysis of the Hebrew tenses and moods, which is still the most acute and exhaustive treatment of those difficult points, unless we except the monograph of Driver on the former. We are not altogether prepared to acquiesce in Ewald's terminology, for we doubt whether the word *imperfect* is a good substitute for the old "future" of the Hebrew verb, as if it fundamentally denoted *incomplete* action. In our opinion the Hebrew future is rather a *subjunctive mood*, essentially expressing a conditional or SUBJECTIVE relation; while the præter is an *indicative*, expressing an absolute fact or OBJECTIVE relation. But as this is an incidental matter in the volume under consideration, we will not pause to debate it.

The syntactical construction of the Hebrew language is in general so simple, and so greatly analogous in this respect to that of modern European nations, at least in comparison with

the complicated and artificial arrangement of the Greek and Latin, that grammarians have been tempted to pass it over too lightly. Ewald, has, therefore, done an excellent service, in the treatise before us, by unfolding more elaborately and in detail its structure. This he has done, too, in no empirical or superficial manner; but he has every-where endeavored to penetrate to the principles of the syntax, and thus has evolved its philosophy. Of course, this process is largely subjective, and, therefore, liable —especially with a German—to be pushed into doubtful, if not speculative, *minutiæ;* yet we cannot fail to admire his ingenuity and research, even where we cannot fully follow his subtleties or rest in his conclusions. The study of such a book is highly stimulative and suggestive. It is refreshing amid the otherwise dreary waste of dry technicalities. We have always admired "Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar" as a model in respect to this philosophical analysis of the forms of words, and, to some extent, their relations; and we have heard it said that this deeper insight into the genius of the language was largely due to his contact in some way with the oral lectures of Prof. Ewald. But this could hardly have been the case, for Nordheimer studied at Würzburg and Munich, came to America in 1835, and published his grammar in 1838; whereas Ewald began to lecture on Hebrew, at Gottingen, in 1835. Certain it is, however, that these two authors have, by a remarkably analogous method, elucidated the sacred tongue as it never was done before.

The main body of the volume before us treats of the structure of the Hebrew sentence; that is, it takes up the Syntax not in the formal and prescriptive way usual with grammatical treatises, but seeks to develop it as a growth out of the germinal idea of the writer. In the first part, after the consideration of the use of the article with the noun, we have the "structure and meaning of particular groups of words, as members of a sentence." The first kind of word-group is the verb with its dependent terms, namely, (1) the direct (accusative) or indirect relation, (preposition, etc.;) (2) a subordinate verb (either with a preposition or a conjunction.) This is a beautiful analysis, but we perceive some signs of confusion between these two subdivisions: for example, the dependent infinitive with a preposition is really but a noun in the accusative, and the verb connected by a conjunction is rather a separate clause than a member of the same sentence. Nevertheless, the author's distinctions are substantial, and their collocation is such as to rivet the attention, and illustrate the peculiar nature of the

language. The second word-group is the Genetival relations, ("construct state," and other modes of attribution;) namely: (1) by a chain of words, (2) by concatenation of terms, (3) by circumlocution. Each of these methods is elaborated in detail. The third kind of word-group is by a simple co-ordination, (or apposition.) This, we suggest, might have been placed first, as the simplest form of regimen, although philosophically perhaps the latest, as being more elliptical.

The second part of the book discusses the more complicated relations of syntax under three heads: (I) The formation and completion of each sentence; (1,) as to its members, whether principal, (subject and predicate,) secondary, (qualifying or adverbial terms,) or imperfect, (the infinitive construct;) and (2) as to the connection of the words, whether by position, (showing their relation and force,) or by specialty of kind, (as negative, interrogative, or exclamatory.) Next (II) are considered dependent propositions: (1) relative, (whether by a separate word, implication, or the *oratio obliqua;*) and (2) copulative, (whether by the usual connections, stronger conjunctions, or causal, inferential, and antithetical particles.) Lastly, (III,) we have correlative propositions, whether conditional, (*protasis* and *apodosis,*) equated, (by parallel particles,) or miscellaneous, (chiefly antithetical.) This is followed by some remarks upon longer and more complex sentences, and the appendix indicates how well the train of accents supports the foregoing series of constructions.

It will be perceived, from the above brief analysis, that the two parts of the syntax pursue the same progressive order or classification. It has occurred to us that perhaps greater brevity, simplicity, and clearness might have been attained by combining the two under each head. But this would have been to proceed after an American and not a German fashion, and surely an author ought to be allowed to choose his own method. The whole work is rather designed as a final *exposé* of the underlying *rationale* of the language, than as a school manual for beginners. For teachers and advanced scholars it will be a mine of exploration, or at least a rich field of observation. J. S.

Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. Vol. I of the [Theological and Biblical] Library. By HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in Dickinson College. 8vo., pp. 738. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Professor Harman's volume professes to be drawn from original sources, and to be no second-hand work. It is based upon the

best text not only of the original sacred Canon, but of the Targums, the Peshito, the Samaritan, and the Greek and Latin fathers. The learned author lays the best German scholarship under free contribution, without usually surrendering his judgment to authority. In giving his own verdict on the many occurring points of profound interest there has been such a rehearsal of opinions and authorities, and such a weighing of evidence, and there is such a sturdy statement of judgment, that the student feels a solid confidence generally in the results. Perhaps, as a whole, this confidence is rather increased than diminished by his occasional independence of even opinions usually considered as the more orthodox.

Of the seven hundred pages of the body of the work more than two hundred are devoted to substantiating the authenticity and truth of the Pentateuch. This is a proper share, for the Pentateuch is the basis of Revelation. If the Pentateuch stands firm no other ancient sacred books opened before us in comparative theology can stand as rival before it. This alone must be considered as revelation *coming down from God*, and all the others are ascending attainments made by men. Those attainments may, indeed, be the noble aspirations of our best human intuitions, aided by the divine Spirit, and may contain salvatory truth. But the Pentateuch alone, if authentic and true; is *organic revelation*. The Abrahamic is alone the Messianic line. Hence Dr. Harman has done a good and great work in giving us a solid demonstration of the reliability of the Pentateuchal record. Taken both in its own true historic solidity, and as confirmed by Christ, the Pentateuch will "stand acknowledged while the world shall stand." And thus, with Dr. Harman's volume by their side, such books as Max Müller's "Origin and Growth of Religion," noticed on another page of this Quarterly, may be read by the student not only without harm, but with profit.

Of most of the disputed books of the Old Testament Dr. Harman is a stalwart defender as to their authenticity and integrity. He firmly maintains the position of Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch. He furnishes a very impregnable defense of Daniel. He will not allow the book of Isaiah to be "sawn asunder." In the New Testament he is strong in his maintenance of the Gospel of John. On the other hand, he yields the Solomonian authorship of Ecclesiastes, the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, the Petrine authorship of Second Peter, and the Domitianian date of the Apocalypse. On most of these points we must remember that there

have long been differences of opinion within even the evangelical Church. Eusebius divides the books of the New Testament into disputed and undisputed. Professor Harman accepts the canon as it stands, with full admission of the different degrees of evidence by which different books are sustained. On several points of this kind we dissent from his views, and we doubt not that in a future edition he will find some things to modify. As a whole, his book may be earnestly recommended for introduction into our courses of study. Our ministers in general will find it well worthy an attentive study, and there are many thoughtful laymen among us who would find its pages full of interest and value. Our notice of it would be more extended, but we expect a full review from a competent pen.

Predestination and Freewill and the Westminster Confession of Faith. With Explanation of Romans ix, and Appendix on Christ's Preaching to "The Spirits in Prison." By JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 116. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878.

This thin octavo is an enlargement, brought down to the demands of the present hour, of a large section of Dr. Forbes' Commentary on the Book of Romans, noticed in our Quarterly a few years ago. It is a brave and elaborate attempt to read Arminian doctrines into a Calvinistic creed, so that our Scotch brethren may talk with John Knox and hold with John Goodwin. We approve of Dr. Forbes' doctrines, and admire his dexterity in paradox, but we reject and condemn his methods. If our Christian brethren, who have unfortunately inherited a fatalistic creed, find themselves obliged to believe freedomistic doctrines, the manly and truthful way is to reject the false, both in form and meaning, and accept or reconstruct a new and true. Otherwise there is great danger that prevarication and double meaning will ensue. There are two distinct theologies: one based on fatalism, predestination, inflexible decree; the other on freedom and conditional salvation or damnation. It is worse than useless, it is falsifying, to undertake to identify these two, or to attempt to force the meaning of one into the formula of the other. Augustine did positively and essentially differ from Chrysostom, Calvin from Arminius, Episcopius from President Bogerman, and Wesley from Toplady. What would the Calvinists of Dort have said if John Hales had claimed that the theology of the Remonstrants was really expressed by the decrees of the Synod?

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religions of India. Delivered in the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, in April, May, and June, 1878. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. New York: Scribner & Sons. 1879. 12mo., pp. 382.

In the earliest "Chips" from his "German Workshop" Max Müller told us that the main impulse that inspired his researches in the ancient Aryan songs and rituals was the desire to ascertain the nature of religion as it comes to the human mind. This volume may, therefore, be considered as a mature report of his "finds" in that primeval region. He has traced in the records of those ancient breathings of the human spirit the risings of religion in the human soul to its highest attainment thus far. Those records he believes to be the most ancient of human compositions, and he has, therefore, traced our divine aspirations to their earliest historic source. His process and conclusions are stated with great clearness and confidence. "We decline," he says, "to avail ourselves of the beaten tracks of the fetich theory on the left, and the theory of a primordial revelation on the right side, in order to arrive at our goal. We want to find a road which, starting from what every body grants, namely, the knowledge supplied by our five senses, leads us straight, though it may be slowly, to a belief to what is not (or at least not entirely) supplied to us by the senses—the various disguises of the infinite, the supernatural, or the divine."

Our readers will, from this, perceive that Müller's theory of religion is entirely Pelagian. Religion springs *up*, it does not come *down*. It evolves out of man; it comes forth not from God. It is a growth, not a gift. It admits no true revelation, no witness of the Spirit, no conscious communion of the soul with God. This, of course, places him at issue with the entire structure and mass of the Old Testament and the New, an issue little diminished by his occasional complimentary quotations of some moral or divine utterance of Jesus. Yet is Max reverent, and doubtless sincere; and while he cannot be unreservedly accepted as an oracle in theology, he is admissibly a clear expositor of many valuable truths, and the liberal evangelicist will find in his pages many a rich illustration of theologic doctrine. He stands by the side of Martineau and Stanley, representatives of the very Broad Church, who are not safe teachers for the Christian Church, and yet who do often a manly service against the Tyndalls, the Huxleys, and the Haeckels of our day.

With Müller the Infinite is a central name for the supernatural, the holy, the divine. Historically, as traced through the ancient records of Aryan India, man begins at the flat hard-pan of the physical senses. The tangible, the visible, is the base of his knowledge. Thence his thoughts start upward to the semi-tangible, the hills and the mountains, and finally to the skies. At that high summit the clouds, the winds, the storms, are his gods, and, finally, the sun is his sole deity. But, dissatisfied with these secondaries, he mounts at last to the divine Primary, the true Infinite. This attainment sounds the downfall of polytheism, and disperses the Pantheon into nothingness. Thence come gradually the idea of law, of ethic, of faith, of the absolute and perfect religion. We are all on the right track, and faith assumes that we shall all, at last, attain the right goal.

We have often said that we suspect the enthusiasm of the specialist, until his theories, with the facts on which they are professedly based, have once been well ventilated and sunned by publicity. For all his brave assumptions of the supreme antiquity of Aryanism, an antiquity which he liberally measures out, *ad libitum*, by thousands of years, he has no history to show, no chronology. He has nothing but a pile of hymns and rituals, which narrate nothing, and only give us spasms of fancy, and rubrics for devotion and sacrifice. The Aryans were utterly destitute of the historic spirit. Who could by the Book of Psalms, increased to sevenfold its volume, make out a history? To place such a literature in competition with the consecutive and time-measured narrations of the Pentateuch, or even the monumental records of Egypt, is specialism. With the Septuagint figures, at any rate, we are yet to learn any insuperable obstacle to including the entire range of Aryanism within the limits of the post-Noachian chronology. And so, in our view, ages of human existence, with a divine revelation, preceded the residence of our Aryan fathers between the Amoo and the Hindu Koosh.

Periodicals.

Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature. By JOHN A. WEISSE, M. D. New York. 1879. Pp. 700.

This big volume contains a series of tables, about one hundred in number, in which extracts from English writers of different periods are analyzed, with a view to determine the relative proportions

of the several elements of our language, at every century of its history. This work, if done carefully and under proper conditions, might be of very considerable value. Students of Shakspeare know how much has been accomplished of late, merely by counting syllables, toward settling the order of his plays, and suggesting conclusions of a most interesting sort; it is quite possible that analogous methods of study might do much to give something like numerical precision to our knowledge of the nature and growth of the English vocabulary. But a very slight examination of Mr. Weisse's tables will suffice to show their real value. In the first place, the passages analyzed are too brief. It is impossible to draw any just inferences as to the general character of an author's diction from a sample only half a page in length. The attempt to do so leads to some curious results. For instance, Mr. Weisse decides that the style of Dr. Johnson is not so highly Latinized as that of Hume, of Robertson, or even that of our plain Ben Franklin. The Anglo-Saxon element he pronounces to be as large in Milton's vocabulary as in Shakspeare's, larger in Jeremy Taylor's than in John Wesley's. Such conclusions as these, it is obvious, must be mistaken. Nor are the passages analyzed sufficiently numerous to furnish data for any trustworthy judgments as to the progress or development of the language. We are asked to form an estimate of the character of the language in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and of the changes through which it passed during that time, from an examination of six meager scraps, all which together hardly occupy two octavo pages. It is further to be noticed that the extracts chosen for examination are selected with very little judgment, and are often in no sense representative of the language at the period which they are designed to illustrate. Many are taken from obscure or worthless writers, some from the newspapers, and some from purely technical writings, such as a manual of military tactics, (p. 552,) or even a cook-book, (p. 536.) And, lastly, we imagine that a careful examination of these tables will suggest grave doubts of their accuracy, and perhaps of the philological attainments of even "a thirty years' student of the English language," who repeatedly labels such words as *rice* and *moneth* "Græco-Latin," which the merest tyro in English knows to be pure Anglo-Saxon.

But Mr. Weisse's tables, poor as they are, are the best part of his book. As for the rest of this bulky volume, we hardly know how to describe it. It is a curious *olla-podrida*, into which the

author has cast all bits of information that chanced to come in his way, and then stirred them well up together. There is no glimmering sense of method or proportion. Madame Ophra Ben, who, we are told, "opened the galaxy of English female intellect," gets a couple of pages of eulogy, while Milton is turned off with a few lines, and no room at all is found for Addison, Swift, or Steele, Shelley, Keats, or Burns. Most, however, of the curious medley of facts here got together have no discoverable relation to the subject of the book; and to say that they are utterly without arrangement is to come short of the truth. In the chapter on the Nineteenth Century, after giving us various disquisitions upon the Atlantic Telegraph, Schiller, Sir William Jones, Spiritism, the Steam-engine, Madame Blavatsky, Phrenology, Daguerre, Astrology, now and then some personal reminiscences, such as a rubbishy story about the hand of an Egyptian mummy, the author draws a long breath and takes a fresh plunge, as follows: "A most attractive theme remains—Woman, whose capacities were (have been) extolled throughout this work, covering fourteen centuries."

Such a miscellany might be of some interest from its very oddity, had not the author contrived to fall into mistake in almost every statement that has any thing to do with his subject. Dates are given with great profusion, but with greater carelessness; and the more important the date the more likely is it to be wrong. The dates of the first publication of Milton's "Paradise Lost," Pope's "Essay on Man," and Johnson's "Lives of Poets," are all given wrongly. In one short passage of ten lines on Spenser (p. 349) there are six dates; three of them are incorrect. In other matters of fact the blunders are still more ludicrous and inexcusable. Students of English literature will be surprised to learn that "John Lilly penned several *dramas, among which* figured Euphues," (p. 346,) and that "Dryden immortalized himself by translating *Homer and* Virgil into English *hexameter*."—P. 426. But it is in his account of Chaucer that the author has done his worst. In one paragraph of less than a page (pp. 269, 270) there are ten distinct and separate errors in matters of fact. All the results of the last fifteen years' study of Chaucer seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. Weisse. On page 271 we are informed that "Chaucer must have had great comfort in his family: his son, Thomas Chaucer, became Speaker of the House of Commons, and his daughter, Alice, married the Duke of Suffolk." It is certainly to be hoped that Chaucer had "comfort in his family," though recent study

of his life leaves that somewhat doubtful; but if he did, it must have been from reasons other than those here mentioned. Alice Chaucer was the daughter of Thomas Chaucer, not of Godfrey; while as to Thomas Chaucer himself, there is no evidence whatever that he was in any way related to the poet. The account in the following pages of Chaucer's influence upon the formation of our tongue betrays an entire ignorance of the results of recent study, and an entire misconception of the nature and limits of the influence which any author *can* exert upon the development of the language which he employs.

Many other errors might be pointed out, but these will suffice to show the thoroughly untrustworthy character of the book. It may seem ungracious to say that the enthusiastic and well-meant but misdirected labor of thirty years is here thrown away; but nothing else would be truth. It only remains to say, that, after all his study of English, the author has not yet learned to write it.

C. T. W.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Geschichte der Reaction Kaiser Julian's gegen die Christliche Kirche. (The Emperor Julian.) Von FRIEDRICH RODE, Ph.D. Jena: H. Dabis. 1877.

It is rare that so much excellence is contained in so small a book. A critical history of the reaction of the Emperor Julian against Christianity brings us into contact with many very interesting problems. Dr. Rode's work has the advantages of careful erudition, honest objective love of the truth, and a pleasing, concise style. It is not a full history of Julian the Apostate, but only a discussion of his career under its religious aspects. By careful research the author has been able to disentangle many features in his subject which had thus far remained confused. By rectifying the general chronology of the incidents he has succeeded in depicting the incipiency, growth, outbreak, and collapse of the apostasy with a precision never before reached. The order of subjects treated of is thus: Literature of the question; the state of the Church at Julian's accession; Julian's apostasy to Hellenism; his religious attitude as regent of Constantine; the attempted reformation of Hellenism; Julian's maxims in his treatment of the Christians; the severance of the Church from the State; the relations of the Christians to the imperial court; the emperor's edict against the Christians; his proceedings at Antioch; political measures in aid

of the apostasy; Julian's relation to antichristian riots; the progress of the reaction during the war against Persia; the death of Julian, and its immediate consequences. The general verdict of Dr. Rode is justly severe against the sophist emperor, though not so dark as it is often given. He says: "Until quite recently Julian's name has been laden with crimes of which he unquestionably never was guilty. He was even charged with slaughtering human beings that he might read the future in their vitals. But while freeing his name from such slanders, the tendency has been to rush to the other extreme, and to make him out better than the facts will warrant. Julian was no magnanimous hero, nor even a clear-sighted politician. Had he returned from his Persian war, it seems probable that circumstances would have made of him a blood-thirsty tyrant." As to the long-credited report that Julian died uttering the words: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" they are not found before the time of Theodoret, and are unquestionably unworthy of credit.

Grundriss der Theologischen Encyklopædie, mit Einschluss der Methodologie. (Outlines of Theological Encyclopedia, including Methodology.) Von Dr. J. P. LANGE, Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

A compendious outlining of the whole field of theology for the use of students and of clergymen. It is written in that peculiarly comprehensive and not very enjoyable style for which Lange is noted. It therefore requires intense attention on the part of the reader; but the effort will be amply repaid. The book need not supersede Hagenbach, though it is intended to be, and is, a reconstruction and improvement of that standard work.

In his introduction Dr. Lange elaborately defines theology, theological encyclopedia, and methodology, and sketches their several relations to each other and to philosophy in general. He lays great emphasis on the fact that theology, in order to be clearly understood, must be looked upon as a synthetic process. The whole substance of revealed religion constitutes a historical life, and consists of two factors, history and doctrine. Accordingly, the theological encyclopedia will consist of two parts—a historical and a didactic. The first part sketches the formative process of objective theology, as also the formative process, that is, the history of subjective theology or methodology. The second part presents the theological encyclopedia proper, or the organic system of special theological branches. These branches are divided into historical and didactic. Among

the historical are embraced: the history of revelation, exegetics, church history, and the history of doctrine, of culture, and of polities. Among the didactic are: dogmatics, ethics, and practical theology. While the author aimed in general to move in a sphere high above all controversy, he yet could not avoid an occasional, vigorous sally against the convenient foe. We heartily commend his work.

Einfluss des Englischen Quakerthums auf die Deutsche Cultur und auf das Englisch-Russische Project einer Weltkirche. Von BRUNO BAUER. Berlin: Groffer.

A depiction of the influence of Quakerism on Germany and on the Russo-Greek Church. News to many that such an influence has been exerted at all; and yet here is a solid book, which undertakes to trace that influence through a series of really interesting and fresh chapters. It is a history of subjective religion; that is, of a tendency to break away from the mechanism of forms, and to find a common religious brotherhood in the sphere of the feelings. Mr. Bauer begins with the historical incident of the meeting of William Penn with Peter the Great, and the harmony of views which is said to have resulted. Here he describes the tidal wave of subjective and rationalistic religion which has made such havoc with formal orthodoxy during the last century and a half. Stages in this movement are: German Pietism, and the careers of Edelmann Zinzendorf, Semler, Madam Kruedener, Alexander I., and the fanatical Goldmann. The book closes with a critique of the recent union efforts between Old Catholics, Russian-Greeks, and Anglicans in the Congress at Bonn. The outcome of the book is to signalize the termination and death of Quaker influence upon Russia. In other words, Russia has renounced the policy of tolerance, and now exacts of all dissidents that they submit to the formal orthodoxy of the Russo-Greek Church. The work is the fruit of very wide reading.

La Rivista Cristiana. (The Christian Review.) Fourth Year. Florence.

A monthly theological "Review," published by the professors of the Waldensian Seminary at Florence, but using in its pages the help of the best men of all the Protestant Churches and missions in Italy. Scientific in contents and catholic in spirit, it cannot fail to strengthen the cause of a pure Gospel in the wide and promising field of united Italy. Among its large list of contributors we notice able articles from the Waldensian theologians, Comba, Geymonat, Revel, Pons, Vittorini, and Ribetti; from the Methodist

Episcopal pastor, Gay; the liberal Catholic, Perfetti; the Re formed, Jules Bonnet; and from three Lutheran pastors, Baurath, Else, and Roenneke. Among the recent articles the most valuable are of a historical character. Some of them furnish exceedingly interesting sketches, based on newly explored archives, of the progress which the Reformation had once made, and of the cruel measures by which it was arrested in fire and blood. We wish this "*Rivista*" a long life.

Die Christliche Kirche an Uebergang. Von Dr. C. BURK. Stuttgart, 1877. Verlag der Evang. Gesella.

Twelve lectures on the transition of the Church from the Greco-Roman to the Germanic age. Dr. Burk writes in popular animated style, and is thoroughly in earnest. His lectures are lively pictures of great Church movements. First, he sketches the relation of the Church to the world, then the peculiarities of the early Christian life, then the struggle against heresy, then Church usages, then Christian literature and the style of preaching; and lastly he depicts the conversion of the various western nations and the origin of the great national Churches—the French, the German, and the Anglo-Saxon. It is certainly a good sign that German prelates prepare such lectures, and that the German public flock to hear them.

Alcuin und Sein Jahrhundert. Von Dr. KARL WERNER. Paderborn, 1876. F. Schoeningh.

Thanks to the patient scholar who delves in the moth-eaten past, and restores to us animate pictures of buried centuries. Dr. Werner has done the public a good service. His theme is a magnificent one: the Age of Alcuin is the Age of Charlemagne. We have carefully read the book. It is a good one. It shows us the great *Kaiser* and the humble *Priest* joining hands to rescue Europe from the impending night of savagery and ignorance. We are let into their innermost thoughts, their little foibles and their great and good aims. We read their most private letters. We see their sincere concern for the Church of God. Romish as this Church was, it was about the only visible ark of God among men. It, or nothing, could save the nations against the stupendous clouds of blackness which threatened from every horizon. How the great Karl tried to stir up dying literature to fresh life! How the patient, laborious priest toiled to awaken the clergy to a higher sense of their sacred duties! We have only commendation for this work of Karl Werner.

Miscellaneous.

English Synonyms Explained in Alphabetical Order. With Copious Illustrations and Examples drawn from the Best Writers. To which is now added an Index to the Words. By GEORGE CRABB, A.M. 8vo., pp. 856. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A republication of an old standard work.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS. Edited by JOHN MORLEY.—*Daniel Defoe.* By WILLIAM MINTO. 12mo., pp. 167.—*Oliver Goldsmith.* By WILLIAM BLACK. 12mo., pp. 152.—*Samuel Johnson:* His Words and His Ways. Edited by E. T. Mason. 12mo., pp. 319. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1876. 8vo., pp. 942. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1878.

A Selection of Spiritual Songs, with Music for the Church and the Choir. Selected and arranged by Rev. CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D.D. 8vo., pp. 441. New York: Scribner & Co.

Coronation Hymns and Songs: For Praise and Prayer-meetings, Home and Social Singing. CHARLES F. DEEMS, D.D., LL.D., and THEODORE E. PERKINS, Editors. Pp. 148. New York; Chicago and New Orleans: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1878.

Voices from Babylon; or, The Records of Daniel the Prophet. By JOSEPH A. LEWIS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 391. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

A scholarly and eloquent work, maintaining the authenticity of Daniel, furnishing an exposition of his visions, and favoring premillennial conclusions.

Jesus of Nazareth. By Rev. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D. 16mo., pp. 320. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

Evangelical Rationalism; or, A Consideration of Truths Practically Related to Man's Probation. By LOREN L. KNOX, D.D. 16mo., pp. 250. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Dr. Knox is a clear and reflective thinker, striking out his own paths of thought. His unpretending volume is worthy the perusal of Christian inquirers.

An Introduction to the Greek of the New Testament. By GEORGE L. CARY. 12mo., pp. 66. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1879.

A very convenient manual for students who do not intend a classical course, but desire an initiation into New Testament Greek.

Camp-meetings: Their Origin, History, and Utility. Also, Their Perversion, and How to Correct It. Embracing a Careful Review of the Sabbath Question. By S. C. SWALLOW. 16mo., pp. 68. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

What shall I Read? A Confidential Chat on Books. 16mo., pp. 186. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

The Live Boy; or, Charley's Letters. By EDWIN A. JOHNSON, D.D. 16mo., pp. 224. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1878.

The Thirty Years' War. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 211. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Wells of Baca; or, Solaces of the Christian Mourner, and Other Thoughts on Bereavement. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 24mo., pp. 119. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Berean Question Book. (International Series.) For 1879. Square 16mo., pp. 132. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Stories from Herodotus and the Seventh Book of the History. With English Notes. By ROBERT P. KEEP, Ph.D. 16mo., pp. 338. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

M. Tullii Ciceronis de Natura Deorum, de Divinatione, de Fato. Recognovit REINHOLDUS KLOTZ. 18mo., pp. 270. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Shakspeare's Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A. M. With Engravings. Square 16mo., pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A Brief Sketch of the Efforts of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, to Promote the Civilization and Improvement of the Indians, etc. In paper, 8vo., pp. 56. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store. 1879.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1878. Pp. 64.

The Methodist Almanac. 1879. Edited by W. H. DE PUY, D.D. 16mo., pp. 64. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Memorial Days of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Pp. 48. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1878.

Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver; or, The General Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, etc. By Rev. C. W. MILLEN. 16mo., pp. 36. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Proceedings of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, at the Annual Meeting, Jan. 1, 1879. In paper, 8vo., pp. 45. Boston: The Society's House.

The Expositor. March, 1879. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. Contents: 1. The Letter and the Spirit; by Rev. R. E. Bartlett, M. A. 2. Studies in the Life of Christ: XII—The Later Miracles; by Rev. Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D. 3. Various Readings in the Epistle to the Romans; by Rev. Canon Farrar, D.D. 4. The Atonement—An Illustration. By S. E. C. T. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Lectures on Astronomy and Kindred Subjects. Based on the Eclectic Theory, etc. By B. T. KAVANAUGH, M.D., D.D. In paper, 8vo., pp. 63. Cincinnati: Printed by Hitchcock & Walden for the Author. 1878.

Vick's Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Feb., 1879. Rochester, N. Y.

Captain Nelson. A Romance of Colonial Days. By SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

HARPER'S HALF-HOUR SERIES, 32mo. *English Literature Primers: Modern Period.* By EUGENE LAWRENCE.—*Modern France.* By GEORGE M. TOWLE.—*A Primer of Spanish Literature.* By HELEN S. CONANT.—*The Poems of Oliver Goldsmith. She Stoops to Conquer, and The Good-Natured Man,* Comedies. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH.—*The Vicar of Wakefield.* By OLIVER GOLDSMITH.—*The Adventures of Ulysses.* By CHARLES LAMB.—*Afghanistan.* By A. G. CONSTABLE.—*Sir Roger de Coverly.* From *The Spectator.* With Notes by W. HENRY WILLS.—*John;* or, Our Chinese Relations. By THOMAS W. KNOX.—*The Awakening.* By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID. New York: Harper & Brothers.

FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *Through Asiatic Turkey,* etc. By GRATTAN GEARY.—*Journal of the Plague in London.* By DANIEL DEFOE.—*The Irish Bar,* etc. By J. RODERICK O'FLANAGAN.—*Within Sound of the Sea.* By the Author of "Isentle."—*All or Nothing.* By Mrs. F. CASHEL HOEY.—*Vixen.* By Miss M. E. BRADDON.—*A True Marriage.* By EMILY SPENDER.—*Man and Wife.* By WILKIE COLLINS.—*The Bubble Reputation.* By KATHERINE KING.—*The Grahams of Invermoy.* By M. C. STIRLING.—*Auld Lang Syne.* By the Author of "The Wreck of the Grosvenor."—*The Last of her Line.* By the Author of "St. Olave's," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1879.

ART. I.—ARMINIANISM AND ARMINIUS.*

ARMINIANISM, as the customary antithesis to Calvinism, is, within the limits of the evangelical doctrines, the theology that tends to freedom in opposition to the theology of necessity, or absolutism. This contrast rises into thought among all nations that attain to reflection and philosophy. So in Greek and Roman thinking, Stoicism and all materialistic atheism held that mind, *will*, is subject to just as fixed laws in its volitions as physical events are in their successions. When, however, men like Plato and Cicero rose to a more transcendent sense of moral responsibility, especially of eternal responsibility, they came to say, like Cicero, "Those who maintain an eternal series of causes despoil the mind of man of free-will, and bind it in the necessity of fate."

Theistic fatalism, or Predestination, consists in the predetermination of the Divine Will, which, determining alike the volitions of the will and the succession of physical events, reduces both to a like unfreedom; but those who hold Predestination very uniformly hold also to volitional necessity, or the subjection of will in its action to the control of strongest motive force. And as the Divine Will is held subject to the same law, so Necessity, as master of God, man, and the universe, becomes a universal and absolute Fate. This doctrine, installed by

* The above article is here inserted from "Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia," by courtesy of the proprietor of that work, A. J. Johnson, Esq.

Saint Augustine, and still more absolutely by John Calvin, in Christian theology, is from them called Augustinianism, or, more usually, Calvinism.

In opposition to this theology, Arminianism maintains that in order to true *responsibility*, *guilt*, *penalty*, especially *eternal penalty*, there must be in the agent a *free-will;* and in a true responsible free-will the freedom must consist in the power, even in the same circumstances and under the same motives, of *choosing either way.* No man can justly be eternally damned, according to Arminianism, for a choice or action which he cannot help. If fixed by Divine decree or volitional necessity to the particular act, he cannot be held responsible or justly punished. In all such statements, however, it is presupposed, in order to a just responsibility, that the agent has not responsibly abdicated or destroyed his own power. No agent can plead in bar of responsibility any incapacity which he has freely and willfully brought upon himself. It is also to be admitted that there may be suffering which is not penalty —finite sufferings for which there are compensations, and for which every one would take his chance for the sake of life. But eternal suffering, for which there is no compensation, inflicted as a *judicial penalty* on the basis of *justice*, can be justly inflicted only for avoidable sin. If Divine decree or volitional necessity determine the act, it is irresponsible, and judicial penalty is unjust.

Arminianism also holds that none but the person who freely commits the sin can be guilty of that sin. One person cannot be guilty of another person's sin. A tempter may be guilty of tempting another to sin, but then one is guilty of the sin, and the other of solely the sin of temptation. There can thus be no vicarious guilt: and as punishment, taken strictly, can be only infliction *for guilt upon the guilty*, there can literally and strictly be no vicarious punishment. If innocent Damon die for Pythias guilty of murder, Damon is not guilty because he takes Pythias' place in dying, and his death is not to *him* a punishment, but a suffering, which is a substitute for another man's punishment. The doer of sin is solely the sinner, the guilty, or the punished. These preliminary statements will elucidate the issues between Calvinism and Arminianism on the following points:—

1. *Foreordination.*—Calvinism affirms that God does, unchangeably and eternally, foreordain whatsoever comes to pass. That is, God, from all eternity, predetermines not only all physical events, but all the volitions of responsible agents. To this Arminianism objects that the predetermination of the agent's volitions destroys the freedom of his will; that it makes God the responsible predeterminer and willer of sin; and that it makes every sinner to say that his sin accords with the Divine Will, and, therefore, so far as himself is concerned, is right. It makes God first decree the sin, and then punish the sinner for the sin decreed. The Arminian theory is this: God does, from all eternity, predetermine the laws of nature and the succession of physical and necessary events; but as to free moral agents, God, knowing all possible futurities, does choose that plan of his own conduct which, in view of what each agent will ultimately in freedom do, will bring out the best results. His system is a system of his own actions. And God's predeterminations of his own acts are so far contingent as they are based on his prerecognition of what the agent will freely do; yet as his omniscience knows the future with perfect accuracy, so he will never be deceived nor frustrated in his plans and providences.

Some Arminians deny God's foreknowledge, on the ground of the intrinsic impossibility of a future contingency being foreknown. As the performance of a contradictory act is impossible, intrinsically, even to Omnipotence, so, say they, the knowability of a future contingency, being an essential contradiction, is impossible even to Omniscience. A contradiction is a nothing; and it is very unnecessary to say in behalf of God's omnipotence that he can do all things, and all nothings too. So it is equally absurd to say in behalf of his omniscience that he knows all things and all nothings too. The exclusion of contradictions does not *limit* God's omnipotence or omniscience, but *defines* it. Arminians do not condemn this reasoning, but generally hold that their theory is maintainable against Calvinism on the assumption of foreknowledge. They deny, as against the Calvinist, that foreknowledge has any influence upon the future of the act, as predetermination has. Predetermination *fixes* the act—foreknowledge *is fixed* by the act. In foreordination God determines the act as he pleases;

in foreknowledge the agent fixes the prescience as he pleases. In the former case God is alone responsible for the creature's act; in the latter case God holds the creature responsible, and a just divine government becomes possible. Yet most Arminians, probably, would say, with the eminent philosopher, Dr. Henry More, If the divine foreknowledge of the volitions of a free agent contradicts the freedom, then the freedom, and not the foreknowledge, is to be believed.

2. *Divine Sovereignty.*—Calvinism affirms that if man is free God is not a sovereign. Just so far as man is free to will either way, God's power is limited. Arminians reply that if man is not free, God is not a sovereign, but sinks to a mere mechanist. If man's will is as fixed as the physical machinery of the universe, then *all* is machinery and not a government, and God is a machinist and not a ruler. The higher man's freedom of will is exalted above mechanism, so much higher is God elevated as a sovereign. Here, according to Arminians, Calvinism degrades and destroys God's sovereignty, and Arminianism exalts it; that the freedom of man no more limits God's power than do the laws of nature by him established; that in both cases, equally, there is simply a self-limitation by God of the exercise of his power; that Arminianism holds to the absoluteness of God's omnipotence just as truly as Calvinism, and to the grandeur of his sovereignty even more exaltedly.

3. *Imputation of Adam's Sin.*—Calvinism affirms that Adam's posterity is truly *guilty* of Adam's sin, so as to be eternally and justly punishable therefor without a remedy. As *guilty* of this sin, God might have the whole race born into existence under a curse, without the power or means of deliverance, and consigned to eternal punishment. Upon this Arminians look as a dogma violative of the fundamental principles of eternal justice. They deny that guilt and literal punishment can, in the nature of things, be thus transferred. Their theory is, that upon Adam's sin a Saviour was forthwith interposed for the race as a previous condition to the allowance of the propagation of the race by Adam, and a provision for inherited disadvantages. Had not a Redeemer been provided, mankind, after Adam, would not have been born. The race inherits the nature of fallen Adam, not by being held *guilty*

of his sin, but by the law of natural descent, just as all posterity inherit the species-qualities, physical, mental, and moral, of the progenitor. Before his fall the presence of the Holy Spirit with Adam in fullness supernaturally empowered him to perfect holiness—the tree of life imparted to him a supernatural immortality. Separated from both these, he sunk into a mere *nature*, subject to appetite and Satan. The race in Adam, without redemption, is totally incapable of salvation; yet under Christ it is placed upon a new redemptive probation, is empowered by the quickening Spirit given to all, and through Christ may, by the exercise of free agency, attain eternal life.

4. *Reprobation.*—Of the whole mass of mankind thus involved in guilt and punishment for sin they never actually committed, Calvinism affirms that God has left a large share "passed by"—that is, without adequate means of recovery, and with no intention to recover them—and this from the "good pleasure of his will" and for a display of his "glorious justice." The other portion of mankind God does, from "mere good pleasure," without any superior preferability in them, "elect" or choose, and confers upon them regeneration and eternal life, "all to the praise of his glorious grace." The Arminians pronounce such a proceeding arbitrary, and fail to see in it either "justice" or "glorious grace." The reprobation seems to them to be injustice, and the "grace," with such an accompaniment, unworthy the acceptance of honorable free agents. Election and reprobation, as Arminianism holds them, are conditioned upon the conduct and voluntary character of the subjects. All submitting to God and righteousness, by repentance of sin and true self-consecrating faith, do meet the conditions of that election; all who persist in sin present the qualities upon which reprobation depends. And as this preference for the obedient and holy, and rejection of the disobedient and unholy, lies in the very nature of God, so this election and reprobation are from before the foundations of the world.

5. *Philosophical or Volitional Necessity.*—Calvinism maintains the doctrine that all volitions are determined and fixed by the force of strongest motive, just as the strokes of a clock-hammer are fixed and determined by the strongest force. The

will can no more choose otherwise in a given case than the clock-hammer can strike otherwise. There is no "power of contrary choice." Calvinism often speaks, indeed, of "free agents," "free-will," "self-determining power," and "will's choosing by its own power;" but bring it to analysis, and it will always, say the Arminians, be found that the freedom is the same as that of the clock-hammer—the freedom to strike as it does, and no otherwise. Arminianism affirms that if the agent has no power to will otherwise than motive-force determines, any more than a clock-hammer can strike otherwise, then there is no justice in requiring a different volition any more than a different clock-stroke. It would be requiring an impossibility. And to punish an agent for not performing an impossibility is injustice, and to punish him eternally, an infinite injustice. Arminianism charges, therefore, that Calvinism destroys all just punishment, and so all free volition and all divine government.

6. *Infant Damnation.*—Holding that the race is truly *guilty*, and judicially condemnable to endless torment for Adam's sin, Calvinism necessarily maintains, according to Arminians, that it is just for God to condemn all infants to eternal punishment, even those who have never performed any moral act of their own. This was held by Augustine, and wherever Calvinism has spread this has been a part of the doctrine, more or less explicitly taught. Earlier Calvinists maintained against the Arminians that there is actual reprobation—that is, a real sending to hell—as well as particular election of infants. Arminianism, denying that the race is judicially *guilty*, or justly damnable for Adam's sins, affirms the salvation of all infants. The individual man as born does, indeed, irresponsibly possess within his constitution that nature which will, amid the temptations of life, commence to sin when it obtains its full-grown strength. He is not, like the unborn Christ, "that holy thing." There is, therefore, a repugnance which God and all holy beings have toward him by contrariety of nature, and an irresponsible unfitness for heaven and holy association. If born immortal, with such a nature unchangeable, he must be forever unholy, and forever naturally unhappy under the divine repugnance. Under such conditions Divine Justice would not permit the race, after the fall, to be born. But at once the

future Incarnate Redeemer interposes, restores the divine complacency, and places the race upon a new probation. Man is thereby born in a "state of initial salvation," as Fletcher of Madeley called it, and the means of final salvation are amply placed within the reach of his free choice.

7. *Pagan Damnation.*—On its own principle, that power to perform is not necessary in order to obligation to perform, Calvinism easily maintains that pagans, who never heard of Christ, are rightly damned for want of faith in Christ. They may be damned for original sin, and for their own sin, and for unbelief in Christ, without any Saviour. Arminianism, on the contrary, maintains that there doubtless are many in pagan lands saved even by the unknown Redeemer. They, not having the law, are a law unto themselves. Nay, they may have *the spirit of faith*, so that were Christ truly presented he would be truly accepted. They may have faith in that of which Christ is the embodiment, like the ancient worthies enumerated in Heb. xi. There may not be as great differences in the chances for salvation in different lands as Calvinism assumes. Where little is given, much is not required. Arminianism holds that no one of the human race is damned who has not had full chance for salvation. Missions are none the less important in order to hasten the day when *all* shall be converted. If that millennial age shall come, and be of long duration, Arminianism hopes that the great majority of the entire race of all ages may be finally saved.

8. *Doctrines of Grace.*—Calvinism maintains that the death of Christ is an expiation for man's sin: first, for the guilt of men for Adam's sin, so that it is possible for God to forgive and save; and second, for actual sin—that thereby the influence of the Spirit restores the lapsed moral powers, regenerates and saves the man. But these saving benefits are *reserved for the elect only.* Arminianism, claiming a far richer doctrine of grace, extends it to the very foundations of the existence of Adam's posterity. Grace underlies our very nature and life. We are born and live because Christ became incarnate and died for us. All the institutes of salvation—the chance of probation, the Spirit, the Word, the pardon, the regeneration, the resurrection, and the life eternal—are through him. And Arminianism, against Calvinism, proclaims that

these are for ALL. Christ died for all *alike;* for no one man more than for any other man, and sufficient grace and opportunity for salvation is given to every man.

Calvinism maintains the irresistibility of grace; or, more strongly still, that grace is *absolute*, like the act of creation, which is called *irresistible* with a sort of impropriety from the fact that resistance in that connection is truly unthinkable. Against this Arminians reply that will, aided by prevenient grace, is free even in accepting pardoning grace; that though this acceptance is no more meritorious than a beggar's acceptance of an offered fortune, yet it is accepted freely and with full power of rejection, and is none the less grace for that.

9. *Justifying and Saving Faith.*—Faith, according to Calvinism, is an acceptance of Christ wrought absolutely, as an act of creation in the man, whereby it is as impossible for him not savingly to believe as it is for a world to be not created or an infant to be not born. And as this faith is resistlessly fastened in the man, so it is resistlessly kept there, and the man necessarily perseveres to the end. Faith, according to Arminianism, is, as a *power*, indeed the gift of God, but as an *act* it is the free, avoidable, yet really performed act of the intellect, heart, and will, by which the man surrenders himself to Christ and all holiness for time and eternity. In consequence of this act, and not for its meritorious value or its any way compensating for or earning salvation, it is accepted for righteousness, and the man himself is accepted, pardoned, and saved. And as this faith is free and rejectable in its beginning, so through life it continues. The Christian is as obliged, through the grace of God assisting, to freely retain it as first freely to exercise it. It is of the very essence of his probationary freedom that he is as able to renounce his faith and apostatize as to reject it at first.

10. *Extent of the Atonement and Offers of Salvation.*—Earlier Calvinism maintained that Christ died for the elect alone; later Calvinism affirms that he died for one and all, and so offers salvation to all on condition of faith. But Arminianism asks, With what consistency can the atonement be said to be *for all* when, by the eternal decree of God, it is foreordained that a *large part* of mankind shall be excluded from its benefits? How also can it be *for all* when none can accept it but by

efficacious grace, and that grace is arbitrarily withheld *from a large part?* How can it be for *all* when God has so fastened the will of a large part of mankind, by counter motive-force, that they are unable to accept it? The same arguments show the impossibility of a rightful *offer* of salvation to *all*, either by God or by the Calvinistic pulpit. How can salvation be rationally offered to those whom God by an eternal decree has excluded from salvation? What right to exhort the very men to repent whom God determines, by volitional necessity, not to repent? What right to exhort men to do otherwise than God has willed, decreed, and foreordained they shall do? If God has decreed a thing, is not that thing right? What an awful sinner is the preacher who stands up to oppose and defeat God's decrees? If a man is to be damned for fulfilling God's decrees, ought not that imaginary God to be, *a fortiori*, damned for making such decree? If a man does as God decrees, ought he not to be by God approved and saved? And since all men do as God decrees, wills, and determines they shall do, ought not all men to be saved, so that the true theory shall be Universalism? How can grace be offered to the man whom God had decreed never to have grace? or faith be preached to those to whom God has made faith impossible? or conditions proposed to those from whom God withholds the power of performing conditions? Hence, the Arminian affirms that in all public offers of a free or conditionals alvation to *all*, the Calvinistic pulpit contradicts its own creed.*

* The following paragraph, which was interpolated into the text by some hand to us unknown, we insert as a foot-note. It hardly need be said that we do not concur with its views, invalidating as it does the great share of the foregoing argument:—

Such is an outline of the usual argument on the subject; and it is not difficult to determine on which side the logic predominates. If we consider the question from its more abstract, more metaphysical premises, the Arminian theory has equally the advantage. Most of the difficulties of this and all similar inquiries doubtless arise from the limitations of our faculties, or, rather, of our language. We unwarrantably attribute to the Infinite Mind the modes of thought which are peculiar to our finite intellects. The most subtle perplexity of this controversy grows out of the idea of *time*—its past, present, and future—and the attempt to reconcile foreknowledge with contingency or free will. But what is time? It is no entity, no substance, like iron, air, oxygen. It is, as Kant teaches, subjective, not objective. It is but a habit of the mind, an association of thought, suggested, as Locke says, by the succession of ideas, and arising from the finite limitations of our faculties. We cannot, therefore, logically transfer to the Infinite Mind the

11. *Analogy of Temporal Superiorities.*—Calvinism argues that in this world God distributes advantages, such as wealth, rank, beauty, vigor, and intellect, not according to desert, but purely as a sovereign. Hence, in the same way he may bestow on one faith and eternal life, and on others unbelief and eternal death. Arminianism replies that this very analogy between the temporal and the eternal bestowment proves the precise reverse. In this probationary world advantages are *professedly* distributed *without regard to judicial rectitude.* Men are not rewarded according to their works or voluntary character. The wicked are set on high, and Satan is this world's god. And the very difference between the dispensation of the world and that of the kingdom of God is, that in the latter blessedness is placed at every man's choice, and the result is judicially according to voluntary faith and works. The Bible nowhere places beauty or intellect at our own choice, but it does declare faith, repentance, and eternal life to be in our own power, and holds us responsible for not exerting the power.

Basis of Morality.—Calvinism claims that the very severity of its system, its deep view of human guilt and necessary damnability by birth and nature, its entire subjection to divine ab-

temporal distinctions of past, present, and future. A succession of ideas, by which alone the conception of time is possible, necessarily implies a limitation which cannot be predicated of the Absolute Mind. Nor is it necessary for us to assume that all duration is an *eternal now* with God; for here, again, we use a distinction of time. We can rightly assume but three facts: first, that, owing to limitations of our faculties, and especially of language, we have habitudes of thought which do not belong to the Infinite Mind, and from which arise our baffling difficulties in the investigation of themes like the present. Secondly, that, however incomprehensible to us, may be the nature and action of the Divine Mind, yet the obvious facts of the conscious freedom of man's will and his moral responsibility—facts which are the indisputable basis of laws and rights, of reward and penalty, of virtue and society—must remain incontestable, and be, in some way, perfectly reconcilable with the divine government. They are facts within the comprehension of our finite faculties, they are positive and certain, and therefore the mysterious, the unknown, cannot be incompatible with them. With better faculties, and especially with a better terminology, the chief difficulties of this controversy may vanish, and it may be seen that we have been contending only about words, and confounded in a mere logomachy. Hence, as Buckle (*History of Civilization*, i, 1) says, "Among more advanced thinkers there is a growing opinion that both doctrines (predestination and free-will) are wrong, or, at all events, that we have no sufficient evidence of their truth."

solutism irrespective of human ideas of justice, tends to produce a profound piety. Arminianism replies that this is missing the true ideal of piety. It seems to be basing Christian morality on fundamental immorality. For God to will and predetermine the sin, and then damn the sinner—for him to impute guilt to the innocent, and so eternally damn the innocent as guilty—are procedures that appear fundamentally unrighteous, so far as the deepest intuitions of our nature can decide. Thus, first to make God in the *facts* intrinsically and absolutely bad, and then require us to *ascribe* holiness and goodness to his character and conduct, perverts the moral sense. It is to make him what we are in duty bound to hate, and then require us to love and adore him. Such adoration, secured by the abdication not only of the reason, but of the moral sense, and the prostration of the soul to pure, naked absolutism, naturally results in the somber piety of fear; just as children are frightened into a factitious goodness by images of terror. While the pity of Jesus is serene, firm, winning, and gently yet powerfully subduing, the piety of absolutism tends to be stern and Judaic-like. While thus apparently defective at the roots, it does nevertheless often present an objective character of rectitude, a practical hardihood and aggressive energy in the cause of morality and regulated freedom. Arminianism, in order to a true and rational piety, sees the ideal of rectitude in the divine character and conduct, not by mere *ascriptions* contradicted by *facts*, but both in the *facts* and the *ascriptions*. A harmony of facts and intuitive reason is produced, love to the Divine Being becomes a rational sentiment, and a piety cheerful, hopeful, merciful, and gladly obedient, becomes realized.

Civil and Religious Liberty.—As the freedom of the individual, and his own intransferable responsibility for his own voluntary character and conduct, are fundamental principles with Arminianism, it is in its own nature adverse to civil or religious despotism. It has been said that when Romanism persecutes, it accords with its fundamental *principle*, the denial of right of private judgment, while when Protestantism persecutes, it contradicts itself. So when Calvinism persecutes, it obeys an intrinsic absolutism, while if Arminianism persecutes, it contradicts its own freedom and individualism. Yet *position* has often in history produced in all these parties palpable

violations of, and discordance with, their *principle*. Romanists often become by *position* asserters of ultra-democracy, and Protestants of absolute despotism. And so Calvinism has, historically, been *by position* the advocate for revolution, and Arminianism the asserter of authority. In fact, as Arminianism has been, as above shown, the ruling doctrine of the Church, and Calvinism an insurgent specialty, so the historical *position* of the first has been favorable to the assertion of authority, and the normal position of the latter has been revolt. This may be called one of the *accidents of history*. So the learned Selden in his "Table-Talk" remarked on the curious contradiction in the English civil war, that the advocates of absolutism in religion were the advocates of political liberty, and *vice versa*. Yet it may, perhaps, be truly said that when the religious absolutist gains the power he is apt to be an absolute though a conscientious despot. He makes a better rebel than ruler. Prof. Fisher, a Calvinist, gives a severely true picture of the conscientious despotism of Calvin at Geneva. A similar despotism, on a larger scale, in England under Cromwell, rendered the nation willing by reaction to rush into the depravities of the Restoration. Driven to America, even while under the rule of an Arminian monarchy, a similar despotism, on a small scale, overspread New England.

Nor was Calvinism, as Prof. Fisher truly affirms, the advocate of liberty of conscience. Not only did Calvin himself banish Bolsec, ruin Castellio, and favor the execution of Servetus, but he maintained, doctrinally, the *duty of the magistrate to punish heresy*. Beza, his learned successor, wrote a treatise in favor of punishing heretics. Bogerman, the president at the Synod of Dort, was the translator of Beza's essay. It is but too evident that the Protestant Calvinists differed with the Romanists not about the punishment of heretics, but about who the heretics to be punished were. In this respect the Calvinism of the new Church and the Arminianism of the old were nearly upon a par. The new Church, however, belonged to the progressive order of things; but whether, finally, the Calvinism or the Arminianism of the new Church first actually proclaimed toleration is a matter of question.

Comparative Morality.—Mr. Froude endeavors by comparison to show that Calvinism is superior to Arminianism in

morals, by selecting his own examples. But the Arminian may, perhaps, in reply make also *his* selections. Scottish Calvinism has an unquestioned severity of morals, but are Scotch character and history, as a whole, even ethically superior to the English? Is the morality of Presbyterianism, in its entire aspect, superior to that of Moravianism, Quakerism, or Wesleyan Methodism? Are our American Calvinistic Baptists more Christian in morals than the Free-will Baptists? Is there any umpire qualified to decide that the devout Presbyterian is superior to the devout Episcopalian? Did Jonathan Edwards present a type of piety superior to that of Fletcher of Madeley? or John Calvin to that of James Arminius? Can Calvinism show a grander type of an evangelist than was John Wesley in England or Francis Asbury in America? Has she produced, in all her history, a system of evangelism as earnest, as self-sacrificing, as aggressive, as the itinerant ministry of English and American Methodism? Taking the entire body of Calvinism since the Reformation, does it excel in purity, martyrdom, doctrine, and missionary enterprise the (Arminian) Church of the first centuries? If it comes to counting persons, has any section of the Church nobler names than Justin Martyr, Ignatius, Irenæus, Origen, Athanasius, Tertullian, Jerome, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Hincmar of Rheims, Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Sir Thomas More, Calixtus, Savonarola, Arminius, Grotius, Episcopius, Limborch, Curcellæus, John Milton, John Goodwin, Jeremy Taylor, Cudworth, Bishop Butler, Bishop Bull, Bengel, Wetstein, Wesley, Fletcher, and Richard Watson?

Comparative Republicanism.—Nor did, nor does, Predestination, as compared with Arminianism, possess any peculiar affinity with republicanism against monarchy. By its very nature Calvinism establishes an infinite and eternal distinction between different parts of mankind made by divine prerogative, by which one is born in a divine aristocracy, and the other in an eternal helpless and hopeless pariahism; while Arminianism, holding every man equal before God, proclaims an equal yet resistible grace for all, a universal atonement and Saviour alike to all, an equal power of acceptance in all, a free, unpredestined chance for every man to be the artificer of his own eternal, as well as temporal, fortunes. Caste, partialism,

are the characteristics of the former; equality, universality, republicanism, of the latter. It is as plain as consciousness can make any fact that it is the latter that is the natural ally, not of monarchies, aristocracies, or hierarchies, but of regulated freedom. Hence, neither Luther nor Calvin was any more a republican than Eck or Erasmus. Augustine and Gottschalk were good papists, and Augustinianism was as entirely at home under the tiara of Gregory the Great as under the cap of Bogerman—in the court of Charlemagne as in the camp of the Covenanter. Irrespective of their Calvinism, the Reformers every-where acted *according to conditions.* Where kings and nobles favored them, they favored kings and nobles; where (as was generally the case) they were rejected by rank and power, and had nothing to make royalty and aristocracy out of, they fashioned a theocratic Commune, out of which modern political experience has picked some aids and methods for voluntary government. Modern experience has eliminated the theocracy, the intolerance, and the predestinarianism, and added the elements to make republicanism. For all this it duly thanks the Reformers, but does not thank their Calvinism.

History of Arminianism.—The theology of freedom, essentially Arminianism, in opposition to predestination, necessitated volitions, and imputation of guilt to the innocent, is universally acknowledged to have been the doctrine of the entire Christian Church through its most glorious period, the martyr age of the first three centuries. The Calvinistic historian of theology, Hagenbach, says, (vol. i, p. 155:) "All the Greek Fathers, as well as the apologists Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and the Latin author Minucius Felix, exalt the autonomy or self-determination of the human soul. They know nothing of any imputation of sin, except as a voluntary and moral self-determination is presupposed. Even Irenæus and Tertullian strongly insist upon this self-determination in the use of freedom of the will." Again, (157:) "Even the opponents of human liberty, as Calvin, are compelled to acknowledge this remarkable unanimity of the Fathers, and in order to account for it they are obliged to suppose a general illusion about this doctrine!"

Arminians contend that we know as well when predestination was introduced into the Church—namely, by Augustine—

as we do when transubstantiation and image-worship were introduced; that it was in the fourth century, when Pelagius upon one extreme made free-will dispense with divine grace, Augustine on the other extreme made divine grace irresistibly nullify free-will, and thus both lost their balance; that both invented dogmas never before recognized in the Church; that, tried by the previous mind of the Church, both were equally heretical; that the heresy of one, pushed to extreme, becomes rationalism and pure deism—the heresy of the other, pushed to extreme, becomes presumptuous antinomianism. They assert that the Eastern Church maintained her primitive position, neither Pelagian on one side nor Augustinian on the other, essentially in the position of modern Arminianism; that hence Arminianism is not a *compromise*, but the primitive historical position, the permanent center, rejecting innovations and extremes on either side; that the Western Church, in spite of the great name of Augustine, never became Augustinian. It is, indeed, customarily said by anti-Arminian writers that this was because the "age of systematic theology" had not then arrived. Arminians reply that a theology not only unrecognized during that best period of the Church, but, still more, a theology unanimously condemned as heretical by that period, has little right now to lay claim to pre-eminent Christian orthodoxy. The Eastern Church—namely, the Churches of Asia, with whom the language of our Lord and his apostles was essentially vernacular; the Greek Church, to whom the language of the New Testament was vernacular; and the Russian Church, embracing many millions—all inherited and retain, firmly and unanimously, the theology of freedom, essential Arminianism. The learned Calvinistic scholar, Dr. Shedd, in his "History of Doctrines," (vol. ii, p. 198,) says: "The Augustinian anthropology was rejected in the East, and, though at first triumphant in the West, was gradually displaced by the semi-Pelagian theory, or the theory of inherited evil [instead of inherited guilt] and synergistic [or co-operative] regeneration. This theory was finally stated for the papal Church in exact form by the Council of Trent. The Augustinian anthropology, though advocated in the Middle Ages by a few individuals like Gottschalk, Bede, Anselm, slumbered until the Reformation, when it was revived by Luther and Calvin, and

opposed by the papists." It will thus be seen, on a review of the universal Church in all ages, how small though respectable a minority Augustinianism, before the Reformation, ever was. With minor exceptions, Arminianism was the doctrine of the universal Church.

The accuracy of Dr. Shedd's statement of the general non-existence of Augustinianism during the Middle Ages is not invalidated by the fact of the great authority of Augustine's name, arising from the powerful genius and voluminous writings of the man. It was no proof that a man was truly Augustinian because he belonged to the "Augustinian order," or quoted Augustine's authority. Such Schoolmen as Bernard, Anselm, and Peter Lombard modified Augustine's doctrine materially; Bonaventura and Duns Scotus were essentially Arminians, and Hincmar, of Rheims, and Savonarola literally so. Gottschalk, the high predestinarian, was condemned for heresy, and Thomas Bradwardine, the "second Gottschalk," made complaints, doubtless overstrained, that in his day "almost the whole world had become Pelagian."

At the Reformation, however, we encounter the phenomenon that all the eminent leaders at first not only adopted, but even exaggerated, the absolutism of Augustine. This might seem strange, for it was apparently natural that the absolute papacy should identify itself with the absolute, and that asserters of freedom would have stood on the free-will theology. The twin doctrines of the supremacy of Scripture and of justification by faith were amply sufficient, without predestination, for their purpose to abolish the whole system of popish corruption. The former dethroned alike the authority of tradition and the popedom; the latter swept away alike the mediations of Mary, saints, and priests. But the first heroic impulse of reform tends to magnify the issues to their utmost dimensions. The old free-will theology belonged universally to the old historic Church, and was identified by the first Reformers with its corruptions. Luther at first, in his reply to Erasmus "On the Bondage of the Will," uttered fatalisms that probably had hardly ever before been heard in the Christian Church, and perhaps it would be hard to find a Calvinist at the present day who would adopt the trenchant predestinarian utterances of Calvin. Under the indoctrinations of these leaders, especially

of Calvin at Geneva, the absolute doctrines were diffused and formed into the creeds of Germany, the Netherlands, France, England, and Switzerland. But in Germany the "second sober thought" of Melanchthon, who at first coincided with Luther, receded from predestination, and Melanchthon himself intimates that Luther receded with him; so that the Lutherans are now essentially Arminian. In the Netherlands the same "second thought," led by Arminius himself, was suppressed by State power. In France, Protestantism, which was Calvinistic, was overwhelmed in blood. In England the Calvinism was generally of a gentle type, and the same "second thought" was awakened by the Arminian writings of Grotius and Episcopius diffused through Europe. And as the English Church gradually inclined to the ancient high episcopacy of the old Church, so it adopted the ancient Arminianism. Calvinism, persecuted and oppressed, overthrew monarchy and Church, and for a brief period ruled with hardly less intolerance, until, overthrown in turn, Calvinism took refuge in America, and laid foundations here. Even here past sufferings did not teach tolerance, and that doctrine had to be learned from checks and lessons administered by surrounding sources. Calvinism has, nevertheless, here acted a noble part in our Christian civilization. It, perhaps, about equally divides the evangelic Church with Arminianism.

Arminianism, proper and Protestant, came into existence under the severe persecution by Dutch Calvinism, in which the great and good Arminius himself was a virtual martyr. The Synod of Dort, the standard council of the Calvinistic faith, made itself subservient to the unprincipled and sanguinary usurper Maurice; and even during its sessions the judicial murder of the great Arminian and republican statesman Olden Barnevelt was triumphantly announced at Dort, to overawe the Arminians at the synod, who were bravely maintaining their cause under the leadership of the eloquent Episcopius. Then followed the banishment of Episcopius, the imprisonment of Grotius, the ejection of hundreds of Arminian ministers from their pulpits, and the firing of soldiers upon the religious assemblies of Arminian worshipers. The great Arminian writers of Holland, Episcopius, Grotius, and Limborch, are claimed by Arminian writers to be the first public proclaimers

of the doctrine of liberty of conscience in Europe, as those two Arminian Puritans, John Milton and John Goodwin, were its earliest proclaimers in England.

Wesleyan Methodism is now by all admitted to be a great modern Arminian development. Beginning most humbly as a half-unconscious awakening amid the general religious chill of Protestantism, it has not only quickened the religious life of the age, but gathered, it is said, twelve millions of worshipers into its congregations throughout the world. Its theology is very definite, and very nearly the exact theology of James Arminius himself, and of the first three centuries. Cradled in both the Arminianism and High Churchism of the English establishment, Wesley's maturer years earnestly approved the Arminianism, but severed it from the High-Churchism. The connection between Arminianism and High-Churchism is hereby clearly revealed to be historical and incidental rather than intrinsic or logical. Yet, even after adopting the doctrine that every Church has the right to shape its own government, as a lover of the primitive, post-apostolic Church, as well as from notions of Christian expediency, Wesley preferred, and provided for American Methodism, an episcopal form of government. Arminian Methodism has, in little more than a century of her existence, apparently demonstrated that the Augustinian "systematic theology" is unnecessary, and what it deems the primitive theology amply sufficient for the production of a profound depth of piety, a free ecclesiastical system, an energetic missionary enterprise, and a rapid evangelical success. She exhibits in her various phases every form of government, from the most decisive system of episcopacy to the simplest congregationalism, all voluntarily adopted, and changeable at will. The problems she has thus wrought suggest the thought that the free, simple theology of the earliest age may be the universal theology of the latest.

Personal History of Arminius.—The name of Arminius in his native language was Jacobus Hermans, identical with Herman, the name of the hero of Germany, who destroyed the Roman legions under Varus. And as this name was transformed into Arminius by Tacitus and other Roman writers, so, in accordance with the custom of the age when Latin was the language of current literature, this name

was Latinized, and has come down in modern English as JAMES ARMINIUS. He was born in 1560 at Oudewater, ("Old water,") a small town in the Southern Netherlands. He lost his father in early childhood, and, his mother being left in straitened circumstances, the promising intellect of the boy so attracted the attention of patrons that he was taken to school at Marburg. When fifteen years of age his native town, Oudewater, was taken by the Spaniards, and his mother, brother, and sister were all massacred, leaving him the sole survivor of his family. He was sent by his patrons to the new university at Leyden, where he remained six years. Such was his proficiency that the city of Amsterdam adopted him as her *vesterling* or foster-child, to be educated at the public expense, being bound by a written obligation to be at the command of the city through life. He studied at Geneva under Beza, as well as at Basle under Gryneas. At the latter place he was offered a doctorate, but declined the offer on account of his youth. By Beza he was commended to Amsterdam in high terms. He then went to Italy to become accomplished in philosophy under Zerabella, and, having visited Rome and the other principal cities, returned to Amsterdam, where he was installed minister at the age of twenty-eight.

Arminius's ministry in Amsterdam, of fourteen years' duration, forms the second period of his life. His learning and eloquence were rapidly rendering him one of the leading theologians and preachers of his age. He was of middling size, had dark, piercing eyes, and voice light but clear, and possessing a winning mellowness. His manners were magnetic, and he had the power of fastening firm friends. He was condescending to the lowly, and a sympathizing guide to the religious inquirer. At the same time he was an independent seeker and follower of truth.

In 1585 the extreme predestinarianism prevalent in the Netherlands had been for ten years so effectively attacked by Richard Coornhert, an eminent patriotic and acute layman of Amsterdam, that Arminius was invited by the city to refute him. In a debate at Delft between Coornhert and two high Calvinistic clergymen, the latter were so hard pressed that they yielded, and took the lower or sublapsarian ground, and published a pamphlet against the higher view. The extreme

Calvinists called upon Martin Lydius, professor of theology in Friesland, to refute them, but he handed over the task to Arminius, who had thus a double request on his hands. He bravely undertook the task, but was soon convinced of the untenableness of either the higher or lower predestination. At the expense of an ignominious failure in even *attacking* Coornhert, he resolved to pursue the light of honest conviction. Avoiding the entire subject in public, he prosecuted his investigations with earnest study. Yet, in lecturing on Romans vii, having given the non-Calvinistic interpretation, he found himself generally assailed by the high Calvinists as a Pelagian and Socinian. He was arraigned before the ecclesiastical courts, where he successfully defended himself on the ground that, though adverse to the prevalent opinions, his interpretation contradicted nothing in the standards; namely, the Belgic Confession and the Catechism. Being questioned as to predestination, he declined to answer, as no fact was alleged against him.

In prosecuting his inquiries he determined to consult privately the best theologians of the day. He commenced a confidential correspondence with Professor Francis Junius, of the University of Leyden, the most eminent of the Dutch theologians. He was delighted to find how far Junius coincided with him, but when he addressed to Junius the arguments for still more advanced views, the professor kept the letter by him unanswered for six years, when he died. The friends of Arminius believed that this silence arose from the fact that Junius found more than he could answer or was willing to admit. Unfortunately, this correspondence was inadvertently exposed by Junius to discovery, and was used to the disadvantage of Arminius. Arminius, also, having received a treatise in favor of predestination by Professor Perkins, of Cambridge, prepared an epistle to him, but was prevented by Perkins's death from sending it. His letters both to Junius and Perkins are embodied in his published works, and, whatever may be thought of the validity of the argument, no one will deny that in candor, courtesy, and Christian dignity they are hardly to be surpassed.

On the death of Junius the curators of the University of Leyden looked to Arminius as his successor. The reluctant

consent of Amsterdam being at length gained, Arminius assented. But the predestinarians, led by Gomarus, senior professor of theology at Leyden, opposed his election. After a long series of strifes, Arminius offered to meet Gomarus and satisfy his objections. The meeting took place, and Gomarus, admitting that he had judged Arminius by hearsay, after Arminius had fully declared his entire opposition to Pelagianism and Socinianism, fully renounced his objections. So far as predestination was concerned, each professor was to deliver his own sentiments with moderation, and all collision with the other was to be avoided; and Arminius was thereupon elected.

The six years of his Leyden professorship closing with his death are the most important yet troublous period of his career. The terms of peace were broken within the first year by Gomarus, who delivered a violent public harangue on predestination in terms of insult to Arminius, who was personally present; to which the latter prepared a refutation clothed in terms of personal respect toward his opponent. Gomarus afterward confessed that he could easily live at peace with Arminius but for the clergy and Churches, who were intensely hostile to his liberal doctrines. Their Belgic Confession, Calvinistic as it was, was sacred in their hearts as being the banner under which they had fought the battle of civil and religious liberty against Spain and popery; and they now, alas! were making it the instrument of religious intolerance. Arminius was held as invalidating that Confession, and so was every-where traduced by the clergy as a papist, a Pelagian, and a Coornherter. Yet, really, the doctrines he taught were essentially the doctrines of St. Chrysostom, Melanchthon, Jeremy Taylor, and John Wesley. In regard to the Confession, he ever treated it with reverence, and only claimed the right of that same liberality of interpretation which Lutherans exercised with the Augsburg Confession—a liberality similar to that which the English clergy now exercise in regard to the seventeenth of their Thirty-Nine Articles. A voluntary Church may, like any other voluntary association, be, if it pleases, stringent in its interpretations, but a State Church, which strains all to a tight interpretation of a specific creed under pain of State disabilities, runs into religious despotism. This was, therefore,

a genuine contest for religious liberty. Arminius was proscribed by the clergy, harassed by irresponsible deputations, and his students were subjected to persecutions and exclusions from the ministry. The more intelligent laity, including the magistracy, and especially the chief magistrate, Olden Barnevelt, were favorable to Arminius, who at length appealed to the national legislature (called the States-General) for protection. That body appointed a committee or council, who, having heard both Gomarus and Arminius in full, reported that the latter taught nothing but what could be tolerated. Before the States-General themselves Arminius delivered a full oration, expounding his entire views, which is published in the American edition of his works. The clergy demanded the appointment of a national synod, consisting purely of ecclesiastics, but the States-General, well knowing what would be the fate of Arminius in their hands, refused. Under the constant pressure of these years of persecution the gentle spirit of Arminius at length sunk. He was taken from the bloody times that followed the Synod of Dort. His nervous system was prostrated, and, attended by his faithful pupil, the afterward celebrated Episcopius, he died in the faith he had maintained, October 19, 1609, a martyr to his views of truth.

Art. II.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CHINA.

Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10–24, 1877. Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878.

The gathering of public assemblies for the free and exhaustive discussion of important topics may be noted as one of the characteristics of the present age. As this fact is due to the liberal and enlightening influences of Christianity, it seems in the highest degree fitting that a due proportion of those assemblies should have for their object the propagation of Christianity itself. That object has, in fact, been promoted through various auxiliary agencies, and great good has resulted to it during recent years through the several causes of education, missions, Sunday-schools, and temperance, in behalf of which conventions, conferences, congresses, and assemblies of various

kinds, have been held in Christian lands. It is now a matter of rejoicing that the time has also come for the holding of great Missionary Conferences in heathen lands.

India, as one of the oldest mission fields of the English and American Churches, was the first to witness a great assemblage of missionary workers, met for the purpose of comparing views, aggregating results, and discussing principles and plans of effort. A sublime spectacle was that presented before the eyes both of the heathen and Christian world, when the great Missionary Conference assembled at Allahabad in 1873. The proceedings of that Conference were in due time published, forming a volume of the highest interest and instructiveness in reference to all the great topics involved in the past history and future prospect of efforts to promote the evangelization of India.

Of no less importance and interest was the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in China, held at Shanghai in 1877. Months of previous planning and correspondence had been necessary to arrange the preliminaries. But that important task seems to have been so thoroughly and wisely accomplished as to command general approbation. At the appointed time a grand total of 142 actual and honorary members assembled to participate in the proceedings of the Conference. Of these, 52 were ladies, by several of whom most valuable papers were furnished.

The Missionary Societies represented were eighteen in number, of which nine were American, namely: Presbyterian, Southern Presbyterian, Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal, Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, Southern Baptist, Southern M. E. Church, and Reformed. The English Societies were: The Church Missionary Society, the London, the English Presbyterian, the Wesleyan, the United Methodist Free Church, the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Besides these were the Basle and China Inland Missionary Societies, and the American and British and Foreign Bible Societies. Of the 126 members proper of the Conference, 45 were Presbyterians, 23 Episcopalians, 21 Congregationalists, 16 Baptists, 16 Methodists, 1 Lutheran, 4 unconnected. The assembly met in the Temperance Hall of Shanghai. Morning and afternoon ses-

sions were held, with occasionally an evening session, during twelve consecutive days. The Conference was opened by a sermon on the work of missions, and followed by an address on the Holy Spirit in connection with the missionary work. The general order on subsequent days was the reading of a carefully prepared essay upon some assigned topic, followed by extemporaneous remarks from members present. When the Conference approached its close, two of its members, the Rev. Messrs. Mateer and Yates, generously offered to assume the financial responsibility of printing the record of its proceedings. Their proposition was gratefully accepted. A tender of $250 having been made by three friends in England toward the expenses of the Conference, it was resolved to hand that sum to the Editorial Committee, to be used in sending the printed records to the principal colleges in Europe and America, and to theological seminaries. In due time an octavo volume of about five hundred pages, embellished with maps, was issued in good style from the Mission Press of Shanghai. It is saying but little to affirm that the volume in question is one of rare and peculiar interest, and that its general circulation and perusal would do much to promote a deeper and more intelligent appreciation of all that relates to the evangelization of the million-peopled empire. While the discussions reported bear definitely upon missionary work, they also incidentally illustrate in a most satisfactory manner numerous topics of general interest.

The object of the present article is not to present an abstract of the book, but rather to illustrate by specimen references and quotations its great availability for interesting and instructing those who may peruse it on various topics not well understood out of China. Mere travelers, in the best known countries, are liable to form superficial and even erroneous judgments. But especially in China, nothing short of long residence, a familiar acquaintance with the language, both spoken and written, and actual association with the people, can enable foreigners to understand the Chinese. These qualifications the missionaries have attained more fully than any other class of persons, and in their conference with each other they portray facts with a minuteness and definiteness that leave nothing to be desired.

Before proceeding to the various topics of discussion, we cannot forbear a remark on the beautiful illustration given by the Conference of the great principle of Christian unity. While the names of the societies represented, as well as of the missionaries present, are given, with due reference to their personal and denominational individuality, yet all are seen mingling together in loving confraternity on the broad basis of mutual recognition and respect. In this important particular the Conference has given an example to Christians in home lands of great value, and one that may be followed on many future occasions, not only with mutual profit and spiritual edification, but with such an increase of moral power as Protestantism, in the face of its worldly and ecclesiastical opponents, greatly needs.

Adopting a logical distribution of the more important topics treated in the volume referred to, we proceed to consider, successively, the magnitude of the Chinese mission field, the accessibility of its population to missionary influences, the obstacles to the introduction and success of Christianity, the results and advantages already secured, and the hope and promise of the future.

I. *The Magnitude of the Chinese Mission Field.*—Rev. A. Williamson, LL.D., of the Scotch United Presbyterian mission at Chefoo, presented an essay on "The Field in all its Magnitude," from which the following paragraphs are taken:—

> Each province is about as large as Great Britain, so that China proper may be compared to eighteen Great Britains placed side by side. But when we include Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, Thibet, and other dependencies, we find that the vermilion pencil lays down the law for a territory as large as Europe, and about one third more. Moreover, extending south several degrees within the tropics, and penetrating to the limit of the temperate zone, possessing every description of soil and degree of altitude from the sea level to the line of perpetual snow, China produces every thing necessary, not only for the daily wants, but for the luxury, of man. Perhaps there is nothing, animal or vegetable, which grows in any part of the world, that would not also flourish in some part or other of this great country.
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> The products of the soil, however, wane in importance when compared with the mineral resources of the empire.
>
> As the Chinese advance in acquaintance with the laws of agriculture and horticulture, etc., and the higher the appliances they use, the more rich and valuable will be the yield in every depart-

ment. The mineral resources alone, as yet all but untouched, justify us in believing that the sun of this country's great destiny is just rising, hardly yet above the horizon. These stores of mineral wealth have not been reserved to this age of the world without some purpose, and I think that they intimate clearly the designs of Providence. With the exception of the Western States of America there is no part of the world that can for one moment be placed in comparison with China. I therefore believe that the two great countries of the future will be the Western States of America and the Provinces of the Flowery Land.

There is a trait in the Chinese character, not so often attended to, but which demands special notice at the present moment. I refer to the fact that they are the great colonizers of the East.

Every one knows what immense tracts of country, both continental and insular, remain comparatively untouched, in a state of nature, the home of wild beasts. By far the greatest part of Anam, Cambodia, Siam, Burmah, Sumatra, Java, Philippine Islands, Timor, Borneo, the Celebes, Papua, the Sandwich Islands, and others —literally, millions of square miles—about as much as our largest continent, yet remain covered with jungle. The natives are, comparatively, a lazy and a hopeless race. Europeans fall before the insalubrity of some of these climates. The Chinese alone have proved themselves able to maintain a vigorous physical life in these unwholesome regions. They are entering these districts by thousands, and every year they are extending their points of emigration. There is hardly a tiny islet visited by our naturalists in any part of these seas, but Chinamen are found. The probability is, this will increase; and the natives will either fall before them, or become incorporated with them. It is clear the Chinese will ultimately become the ruling spirits in these lands. The same holds good in reference to Thibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, the north of the Amoor, and Asiatic Russia.

Our field, therefore, is not confined to China proper. The religion we impart, the education we communicate, the influence we exert, and the books we publish, will tell in all directions, and every year more and more. They alone, as far as we can see, are fitted by providence for domination and permanence in these stupendous regions. As we evangelize them, they will carry the torch of truth to the dark, benighted races which inhabit these countries.

Here, then, we are face to face with a country whose resources are as yet intact and of infinite promise; a people which, if scattered over the whole earth, would so occupy the world that every third man we met in any part of the globe would be a Chinaman, and every third house a Chinese dwelling; a race possessing the most vigorous physical powers, unwearying patience, and the most dogged perseverance, destined to domination all over the East and the islands of the sea; a people whose intellect is in all important aspects quite equal to our own—and who are just awakening to life, like some mighty giant from a long sleep, arousing himself, shaking his hoary locks, robing his dim eyes, surveying

his position, feeling he must act, but not knowing how. Not a giant! I am wrong; but three hundred millions of immortal spirits made in the image of God, aroused from the dead past, and looking all around for guidance.

The Church of God has prayed long for the opening of China. God has more than answered our prayers! The evangelization of the empire is now thrown upon this generation. The Church must either accept the responsibility, or answer for it.

Respecting the moral and spiritual condition of the inhabitants of the vast regions occupied by the Chinese, more is implied than actually stated in the various essays and discussions. Nevertheless, a few significant statements may be quoted, which place that subject in its true but appalling impressiveness. In the appeal to the Churches, adopted near the close of the conference, these words are used:—

The dark features of Chinese life and character oppress us. Chinese civilization has been set against Christian civilization. Those who draw this comparison cannot have mingled with the Chinese people. Underneath their showy exterior the most pitiful, debasing, and cruel customs prevail. The highest authority in the land testifies to this. The "Peking Gazette" day by day demonstrates the prevalence of the grossest superstition among all classes, from the emperor downward.

We will not seek to harrow your feelings by entering into details. Of old it was said that men changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and to four-footed beasts and creeping things. The Chinese go further than this. They not only worship the dead, and idols of wood and stone, but also, in many districts, the most loathsome creatures. Mere civilization is no criterion of the moral condition of the people. We have all read of the debasing worship of the ancient Egyptians, the horrid rites of the cultivated Phenicians, and have stood aghast at the immorality of Greece and Rome during the most glorious epochs of their history. We do not say that the Chinese have reached the same depths of iniquity; but we do affirm that, with the exception of immoral rites in religious services, parallels can be pointed out in China, at the present day, to almost every form of degradation, cruelty, and vice, which prevailed in those ancient kingdoms. And what aggravates the case is, that the *literati* and rulers of all grades, notwithstanding the occasional proclamations to the contrary, make use of the prevailing superstitions to influence and govern the people. Thus the educated, instead of seeking to enlighten and elevate the masses, only bind the fetters of ignorance more effectually upon them. *There is, therefore, no hope for China in itself.*

Under these circumstances millions pass into eternity every

year! What an agonizing thought—souls of men, endowed with the most glorious faculties, perishing for lack of that knowledge which has been intrusted to us for diffusion!

II. *The Accessibility of the Chinese People to Missionary Influences.*—In this respect one of the marvels of Providence has already been wrought out. A vast empire, which until about forty years ago had been almost hermetically sealed against even the entrance of foreigners, now lies practically open to Christian influence of every description. Not only may the Bible and Christian literature be circulated, but ministers of the Gospel, though foreigners, may reside, travel, and preach throughout the vast interior. Nor is this merely by sufferance. It is by guaranteed treaty rights, as between China, England, and the United States.

Article XXXIX of the United States Treaty is as follows:—

> The principles of the Christian religion as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any persons, whether citizens of the United States, or Chinese converts, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teach and practice the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested.

The circumstances under which such an important concession was made by such an empire, are nearly as remarkable as the fact itself:—

> None of the ministers who were engaged in negotiating treaties with China were authorized by their respective Governments to insist upon the insertion of such an article in the treaties, and if the representatives of the Chinese Government had not urged it, there is no probability that such clauses would have been inserted. It would then appear that Christian missionaries, in coming to China to preach the doctrines of Christianity, are pursuing their calling at the invitation, and under the authority and sanction, of the emperor of China.

Under the treaties referred to, and the proclamations made in illustration and enforcement of them, not only have toleration and protection been secured for foreign missionaries, but also for native converts to Christianity.

That there have been in many cases vexations and annoyances, and in several instances serious disturbances, in con-

nection with the setting forth of the strange doctrines of the cross, and the maintenance of Christian worship, is perhaps less a matter of wonder than that there should have been so few disorders of either character. Yet nothing like a general persecution has taken place or is feared. With a surprising promptness the people of China, wherever they have as yet been reached, seem to have accepted the idea that the Imperial Government is in some sense favorable to the religion of Jesus, and the importance of this fact can hardly be over-estimated. The missionaries bear cheerful testimony to the fair, and even friendly, treatment which they have received from magistrates in various parts of the country, and it is to be hoped that the influences of Christian teaching and practice will greatly increase the good impressions already made both upon the people and their rulers.

III. *Obstacles to the Introduction and Success of Christianity in China.*—If the "natural man," even in Christian countries, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned," it is certainly no less so in heathen lands. In addition to this fact, it is necessary to take into view the universal pre-occupation of men's minds by false religions, in order to form a just estimate of the obstacles which confront Christianity and its work in China. Therefore, passing by the great difficulties common to all countries, we may mention, as the special, but colossal, difficulties to be encountered in China, the great systems of Buddhism, Tauism, Confucianism, and ancestral worship.

In the programme of the Conference the important topic, "Confucianism in Relation to Christianity," had been assigned to the Rev. Dr. Legge, who was not only absent, but, unfortunately, had no substitute. This fact caused an omission which readers in other countries must seriously regret, and the more so in view of the thoroughness with which the other false religions of China were discussed.

To the Rev. Dr. Edkins, of Peking, was assigned the topic of "Buddhism and Tauism in their Popular Aspects." In his able elucidation of his topic, as well as in the discussions following, incidental allusions to Confucianism were made, by means of which the relations of the three great false religions

of China to each other were strikingly shown. Dr. Edkins said:—

We see the effect of Buddhist and Tauist teaching in the present race of Chinese. The Tauist especially is responsible for those superstitions which have a dangerous character. The epidemic of the fairy powder was fatal to the peace of communities. It is dangerous to the State that religious teachings should be encouraged which tend to foster and originate popular delusions, entailing such frightful results. The Tauists accept and indorse the whole system of popular delusion which originated the tail-cutting. They believe in the existence of just such fairies as are said to cut off men's queues. They make money by selling the charms which are represented to be a protection against such demons. Popular Tauism, then, is worthy of a decided condemnation from every Christian and enlightened lover of mankind, whatever be his belief. There is pressing need for the extension of a system of education which should strike at the root of superstition, and enable the rising youth of the country to avoid falling into the thrall of those delusive imaginations which have grown up under the fostering care of the Tauists during the last two hundred years.

It is a great misfortune for a nation to have a great sacerdotal caste, whose interest it is to continue, generation after generation, the belief in deceptive fancies which check the free growth of true ideas and all healthy habits of thought. Their livelihood depends on the people continuing to believe in demons, fairies, and charms.

Among the prominent and most pernicious evils for which the popular Buddhism of the present day is responsible is idolatry. It is an enormous evil that Buddhism has placed the Buddhas in the position in the reverence of the people that ought to be held only by the Creator and Father of the world. Idolatry puts fiction in the stead of truth, and, as we every day see in China, renders the mind indifferent to truth. This, too, is a vast evil. Confucianism makes every thing of morality, and the worship of Buddhist images, when it is complied with, becomes a moral duty on the part of the emperor or the magistrate only because it is *li*, (ceremonial duty,) not because the Buddhist religion itself can have any claim to it. But Buddhism, by putting forward the image, debases and misleads the national mind by drawing it away from the proper object of worship. Our great contest, as Christian missionaries, is with Confucianism. There is found the intellect, the thought, the literature, the heart, of the nation. But we have, also, a preliminary struggle with Buddhism and Tauism. These constitute three mighty fortresses, erected by Satanic art, to impede the progress of Christianity. Confucianism is the citadel of the enemy, raising its battlements high into the clouds, and manned by multitudes, who are animated by a belief in their superiority and their invincible strength. The taking of this fortress is the conclusion of the war. But Buddhism and Tauism each represents a fortress, which

must also be captured and destroyed. So far as argument and intellect are concerned, these fortresses are weakly manned. But think of the numbers, the millions on millions, who are deceived by these superstitions, and held fast by chains of spiritual darkness. Let the Christian host of soldiers press on, and detail its battalions first to overthrow these strongholds of sin and Satan, and, when they are destroyed, let another earnest effort be made to destroy the last and strongest of the towers of the enemy. Then, when all these three fortresses are overthrown, and China becomes a subject kingdom under Messiah's peaceful reign, it will be the greatest triumph ever achieved for Christianity.

Some very striking remarks were made on these subjects in the discussion which followed Dr. Edkins' essay. Rev. Dr. Muirhead, of Shanghai, said:—

In regard to the religion of the Chinese, every man and woman claimed to belong to Confucius. This arose from the celebrity of the sage, and the indebtedness of the whole nation to him for their literature and learning. For religious purposes, however, the system was altogether too secular for general use. It did not meet the instinctive cravings of human nature. Man will worship, and from the inadequacy of Confucianism Buddhism and Tauism have come into extensive operation. Indeed, whatever may be said of the power and prevalence of the one, it conflicted little with the popularity of the other. These two systems met the wants and feelings of all classes, and, though the priests and superstitions connected with them were of the most ignorant and stupid kind, they formed the only supply to the religious appetite of the nation. From the very dawn of their being the Chinese were taught at home and in the temples to pay honor and respect to the idols, and to attach the highest importance to them in all the affairs of life.. The present world and the next were alike under their control in some mysterious manner, and it was universally considered to be the wisest and safest thing to secure their favor and protection. The secret of the whole was, no doubt, the maternal habit of instructing the children in public and private in acts of idolatrous worship. This was every-where to be seen, and was one of the most affecting sights to be witnessed in China. The juvenile headdresses were adorned with emblems of idolatry, and the young were largely brought into contact with similar associations. Indeed, it was the mothers of China who were the chief upholders of the system, and, apart from them, it would soon become effete and powerless. All honor, therefore, to our missionary sisters, who have come hither specially to benefit this important class. Their influence is calculated to be most useful, and in proportion to their success among their own sex, in that degree, shall we be prepared to see the downfall of idolatry, and the establishment of a purer and a better state of things.

Rev. C. W. Mateer, of Tungchow, said:—

I wish to file one charge against Buddhism, namely, the doctrine of Metempsychosis. With the exception of Confucianism, Christianity finds no greater obstacle in China than this doctrine. It meets us at every turn, and modifies and neutralizes our preaching. We preach a future life, with its rewards and punishments, but our hearers understand it all in accordance with their preconceived ideas of transmigration. I rarely preach to the heathen without trying to disabuse their minds on this subject. Practically they all believe it in China, Confucianists just as much as others. Properly speaking, there are not three sects in China. There is only one, which is a conglomeration of the three. The mass of the Chinese are alike Buddhists, Tauists, and Confucianists.

Ancestral worship was treated in a very able essay by the Rev. Dr. Yates, of Shanghai, an essay which, in fact, appears exhaustive. None of its statements were called in question by any members of the Conference. Hence, it may be accepted as a reliable exposition of a practice peculiar to the Chinese, and hitherto very imperfectly comprehended in Christian countries. There is so much plausibility in the terms ancestral worship and filial piety that many Christians have been led to infer very favorably of a practice the full character and bearing of which are not easily fathomed even by residents in China. Somewhat extended quotations will be necessary to place the subject in its true light. Dr. Yates said:—

Ancestral worship, or the worship of the dead, has not hitherto been classed among the Chinese systems of religion, but has been regarded merely as a commendable reverence for parents, or filial piety.

Those who form their opinion on the subject upon what they have found recorded in the Chinese classics would naturally arrive at this conclusion; but the classics, which constitute our only guide as to what ancestral worship was in ages gone by, do not chronicle the changes, innovations, and additions made in the system during the last two thousand years. Therefore they cannot be regarded as the true exponent of the system in our day. Filial piety, as inculcated by the Confucian philosophy, we are told, consisted in reverence for and devotion to parents, and to superiors in age and position; but it cannot be denied that, as practiced in our day, it consists mainly in devotion to the dead, expressed by offerings and prostrations before the ancestral tablets, the grave, and the *Sung Wong*, or magisterial deity, within whose jurisdiction the spirits of the departed are supposed to be incarcerated.

The term filial is misleading, and we should guard against

being deceived by it. Of all the people of whom we have any knowledge, the sons of the Chinese are the most unfilial, most disobedient to parents, and pertinacious in having their own way, from the time they are able to make known their wants. The filial duties of a Chinese son are performed after the death of his parents. A son is said to be filial if he is faithful in doing all that custom requires for his deceased ancestors. If, then, we take the dogmas and practices of the present time to be the true exponents of the religious systems with which we in this day have to contend, all who give the subject careful attention will be forced to the conclusion that ancestral worship, and not filial piety, so called, is the principal religion of the Chinese, it being the only system that unites all classes, and calls forth any thing like deep feeling.

Practically all the other systems are merely its adjuncts; for it was inculcated by Confucius and his commentators; and the Tauist and Buddhist priests, while they have their separate and distinct systems, devote most of their time and attention ostensibly to the more profitable business of propitiating the spirits of the departed, in order to preserve harmony and good-will between the living and the dead. These sacerdotal functions consist in convincing their adherents that sickness and all other calamities are punishments inflicted for their inattention to the comfort of the dead, and in performing the necessary services to ameliorate the condition of the dead, and to restore tranquillity to the living.

It is true that the teaching of the Chinese sages has done much to perpetuate the unity of this populous empire; but it has also been made the means of perpetuating, if not of inaugurating, a system that has during successive dynasties fastened upon the millions of its inhabitants a most degrading slavery, the slavery of the living to the dead. But it may be asked, Is the reverence of the Chinese for their dead, worship? A close analysis of all their worship of idols shows that it consists in prostrations and offerings for the purpose of propitiating certain imaginary deities, of whom they stand in dread—with each one of which is supposed to reside the spirit of some departed worthy, or hero—with the main, if not the sole, object of averting calamity or securing temporal good. And this is precisely what they do when they worship the dead. If the one is worship, so is the other; in fact, most of the worship which we witness in the temples and in private houses, and all the processions which we see on the streets, are, either directly or indirectly, connected with the worship of the dead. As a system, ancestral worship is tenfold more potent for keeping the people in darkness than all the idols in the land not connected with it. By its deadening influence the nation has been kept for ages looking backward and downward, instead of forward and upward. The insincerity and evasions of the educated, through fear of being ridiculed by us, have added so much to the difficulty of investigating this mysterious subject that there are some who are ready to regard ancestral worship as commem-

orative only, and maintain that the gross superstition connected with it, is restricted to the common ignorant people. But enough is known to prove that the fear and worship of the dead extend to all classes of society, and exercise a controlling influence in every department of life. Social customs, judicial decisions, appointments to the office of prime minister, and even the succession to the throne, are influenced by it. In regard to the succession to the throne, the exigencies of the empire may be of the most serious and weighty character, demanding the guidance of a strong arm and a wise head; and although there may be such men among the princes of royal family, yet at the death of an emperor, even if it occurs when he is very young, his successor *must be his junior*, because he must worship his predecessor, and this sort of homage is never rendered by the elder to the younger.

This rule cannot be set aside, even though the welfare of 400,000,000 is jeoparded. This was strikingly illustrated in the recent accession of Kwang Sü. The late emperor, Tung Chi, died young, without issue, and the choice of a proper person to occupy the vacant throne would naturally seem to fall upon the Prince Kung, an able and experienced statesman, and head of the *Tsung li Yamen*, or upon some of the other numerous adult princes. But while this arrangement might have promoted the interests of the living, it would not have met the requirements of the dead, for the successor *must* be younger than the late Tung Chi. It so happened that the only member of the royal family who met the demand was a boy of three or four years. He was, therefore, agreed upon, and solemnly crowned emperor, under the title of Kwang Sü; and the vast interests of the empire once more committed to the regency of the empress dowagers. And so thoroughly was the necessity of this order of things believed in, that princes, officers, and people submitted to the inconvenience it entailed, in order that the tranquillity of the soul of the late emperor, Tung Chi, might be provided for, as emperor, by securing the homage of his successor.

Dr. Yates gives the following summary of what the Chinese believe in regard to the dead and to the future world:—

1. They believe in the existence of two states of being: the world of light—this world—and the world of darkness, in which the spirit lives under government for a season after death.

2. They believe that those who have passed into the spirit world stand in need of, and are capable of enjoying, the same things—houses, food, raiment, money, etc.—that they enjoyed in the world of light, and that they are entirely dependent on their living relatives for these comforts.

3. They believe that as the dead have become invisible, every thing that is intended for their use, except food, must also be made invisible by burning.

4. They believe that those who are in the spirit world can see

their living friends in the world of light, and that it is in their power to return to the abodes of the living, and reward or punish them, according to their faithfulness or unfaithfulness in making the necessary offerings for those who are in the prison of the spirit world.

5. They believe that the dead ancestors who are neglected by their living relatives, as well as the spirits of those whose families have become extinct, become beggar spirits in the world of darkness, and are forced, in order to secure even a wretched existence, to herd with the spirits of the multitudes who have died in war, at sea, or by starvation, or in foreign countries, who, in consequence of their burial places not being known, or having no relatives to sacrifice to them, are entirely dependent upon public charity.

6. They believe that nearly all the ills to which flesh is heir, as sickness, calamity, and death are inflicted by these unfortunate and demoniacal spirits, who, in attempting to avenge themselves, prey upon those in the world of light who are in no way responsible for their forlorn condition.

7. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and in certain kinds and degrees of rewards and punishments in the spirit world; but they also believe that there are many chances of evading their just deserts in both worlds.

8. They believe that a man has three souls, and that at death one remains with the corpse, one with the ancestral tablet, and that the other is arrested and imprisoned in the world of darkness.

The amazing extent to which these beliefs have been incorporated into the practical life and superstitious practices of the Chinese is illustrated by the essayist at length, showing that not only in the ceremonies of presenting offerings at the graves of the dead, but that in nearly every custom relating to business and social intercourse, the people, from high to low, are governed by them. The following are enumerated as some of the evils growing out of ancestral worship:—

1. The betrothal of children at an early age, by which so many thousands are made miserable for life.

2. Polygamy, the fruitful source of so much anguish and death by suicide; both of which are designed to secure the perpetuation of the family, and, consequently, the perpetuation of the benefits of ancestral worship.

3. The heavy tax in support of this rite, as per statistics.

4. The loss, in an industrial point of view, from the large numbers of men and women who are constantly engaged in manufacturing the articles required in connection with this worship. It is estimated that a large portion of the females in cities devote the time not required for domestic duties, to making "*din*," and other articles used in worshiping the dead.

5. The aversion of the Chinese to colonize when they emigrate. They fear the consequences of neglecting the tombs of their ancestors. Consequently, the country is kept overcrowded. The result is squalidness, vice, theft, piracy, and insurrection. Hence they devour each other while chained to the tombs of their ancestors.

In relation to the taxation laid upon the people by the rites in question, the essayist has entered into detailed estimates, by which he shows that it aggregates over $151,000,000 a year. While that enormous expenditure has a certain show of charity or benevolence to the departed, it is in fact a penalty to servile fear. The spirits of the departed are propitiated, that they may not become the cause of misfortune and calamity to the living.

Let it not be supposed that this great and all-pervading system of idolatry is the natural outgrowth of human hopes and fears. It is rather the result of a gigantic and protracted combination of priestly deception, which, in the whole history of mankind, has not a parallel. Witness the following statements and illustrations:—

The priests have for ages so thoroughly drilled the people in regard to all that is necessary to connect the happiness of the living with the comfort of the dead, that this knowledge forms a part of their nature and constitution. It is handed down from father to son, from generation to generation; the sons having it indelibly impressed on their minds at an age of which they have no recollection when they become men. They, however, are still dependent on the priests—the interpreters of the gods—for their knowledge of the condition of their departed ancestors, as well as of what is necessary to relieve them when in trouble. The priests have learned a lesson from the Chinese officials, and seize upon every favorable opportunity to squeeze the rich. In their watchful devotions before their deities, they have no difficulty in discovering that some one of their parishioners, who a short time ago was arrested and taken to the spirit world, and whose family is well-to-do in life, is in wretched condition in the world of darkness; and they manage very delicately to convey the information of the fact to the family of the deceased. The family, greatly distressed and alarmed—for they thought that they had done all in their power to settle the spirit of their departed relation—send for the priest, who has no fears of exposure, goes into an investigation, and discovers that the unfortunate man is confined in a deep pit, and guarded by sword and spear; and, with some show of emotion, informs the family that nothing short of three days of *kung-teh*—meritorious service—and a large expenditure of money, will rescue him from that place of confinement. The family, anxious to do something for his relief, urgently inquire what sum will be required.

The answer to this question is usually in accordance with the position and supposed ability of the family to pay. We will say his demand in this instance is 1,000 taels. The astonished family plead their inability to pay so much. The priest is not disposed to undertake it for less, and reminds them that the consequences of allowing their friend to remain where he is will rest upon them. They hold a hasty consultation as to what they shall offer. 500 taels is agreed upon. The priest refuses to undertake it for that sum. After further conference they offer 700 taels. The priest, with some hesitation, agrees to undertake it for that amount; at the same time he informs them that it will be very difficult to accomplish it for that money.

A day is appointed; the family hall is stripped of all its ordinary furniture, and decorated by the priests in a gorgeous manner with temple regalia—emblems of authority in the spirit world.

The ancestral tablet of the unfortunate one is placed on a table in the center of the hall, and surrounded by small idols and insignia of authority. Around this table the priests, five, seven, or nine, attired in richly embroidered imperial robes, march in measured pace, chanting their incantations. This ceremony is continued day and night, enlivened at intervals by music and gong.

Meanwhile, all the relatives and friends who have been invited to help, and the priests, live on the family. On the afternoon of the second day the abbot, or master of ceremonies, with some confusion and great emotion, informs the family that the position of the unfortunate is unchanged, and that the authorities of the spirit world will not entertain the idea of releasing him for 700 taels. The family and relatives bestir themselves to borrow, if they cannot otherwise raise, the additional sum of 300 taels. The priests return to their work with renewed zeal. The chanting is more energetic, the step is much quicker, and the ringing of the abbot's bell is more frequent, while the family weep over their misfortune.

In due time, the master of ceremonies announces a commotion in the prison of the spirit world, and that the unfortunate spirit is about to be released. The news is proof that the additional 300 taels had the desired effect, and is some consolation to the anxious family for their unexpected outlay. On the third day the master of ceremonies makes another examination as to the actual condition of the man, after which he, with great agitation, informs the family that the unfortunate man is nearly out, that he is simply clinging to the mouth of the cave, and is looking with anxious solicitude for further aid, but those in charge will not let him go unless they are paid: now what is to be done?

The family, frantic with anxiety, tear the bangles from their arms and the rings from their fingers, and produce other jewels and articles of value, upon which money can be had at the pawnbroker's, and pay an additional sum of 200 taels. The priests, judging from appearances that they can get no more, return to their arduous undertaking with redoubled zeal, and ere the sun sets the fearful din of gongs and fire-crackers announces to the

anxious family that the incarcerated spirit has been set at liberty. The design of the great noise of gong and crackers is to frighten the spirit away from that horrible pit. Congratulations are exchanged, and the family is relieved of much anxiety and a large sum of money. This *kung-teh* may be repeated, if the priests, who are ever on the alert for opportunities, can make the necessity of it apparent, as in the case of great affliction in the family.

One feature of this *kung-teh*, whether performed by Tauist or Buddhist priests, is worthy of note. The relief afforded an unfortunate prisoner in Chinese purgatory is only temporary. They do not profess for the consideration received to rescue a person and remove him to a place of safety or rest. They only propose to rescue him from present difficulty. Indeed, a heaven, or a place where the good can find protection and be at rest, is not predicated by any of the Chinese systems of religion. They have no heaven presided over by a God of justice and mercy, and, therefore, an object of desire, for they have no such official in the world of light. Devils, demons, and spirits reign in the spirit world. There is no charity there. Those who are incarcerated in that world must be supported and relieved, as men in prison are in this world, by their friends; hence the necessity of ancestral worship, and the high estimate placed upon sons.

At the conclusion of the essay so largely quoted, the writer emphatically, and with reason, declares that "the worship of the dead, both by high and low, is the national religion of China, and is, by far, the most formidable object to the introduction of Christianity." Yet he is not appalled with the magnitude and inveteracy of even this obstacle, but confidently points to the pure Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, faithfully preached and circulated, as the only but sufficient antidote for the woes of China.

No enumeration of the obstacles to the introduction and success of Christianity in China is complete that does not embrace the opium traffic and the use of opium. That subject was ably discussed in the conference, but we can only allot to it sufficient space to record a few of the utterances of the essayist and others, to indicate the unity and strength of the sentiment prevailing. Rev. Dr. A. E. Maule, of the Church Missionary Society at Hangchow, said:—

The Opium Trade is a Christian monopoly. Its history is a Christian sin, a Christian shame. Take away this abnormal, this unnatural, ally of heathenism, and we can meet the enemy without doubt of the final issue.

England has not only injured China by her share in the trade;

she has through the moral effect of the history of that trade crippled her powers to apply the one remedy for all China's woes—the Gospel.

A Chinese Christian writer, describing Chinese thought on this subject, remarks: "It is clear," say they—the Chinese—"that our country is being ruined. Those mission schools and hospitals are not really established with a good intention. Why do they not put an end to the sale of opium? Would not this be better than ten thousand hospitals, than ten thousand preaching halls?" The hinderance presented by opium to the missionaries, whether physicians or preachers, renders fruitless their efforts.

As to our own duty, I would suggest, that all who have not yet done so, by subscription and by action, help the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Its object is to urge the British Government entirely to disconnect itself from, and discourage, the opium traffic, at the same time restoring to the Chinese Government perfect independence of action to deal with opium in any way it may please.

England alone, supporting the trade, could prevent the action of all other treaty powers. England alone, repenting and reforming, would, in all probability, enlist the support and countenance of all other influential countries.

Shall I be considered presumptuous if, in conclusion, I suggest that perhaps very few of us have ever earnestly and definitely carried this difficult and disastrous subject to God in prayer?

In the tradition to which Dr. Macgowan has drawn attention it is stated that the founder of the Ming dynasty for three days in succession implored divine aid for suppressing the use of opium. And in a placard now widely posted, and quoted by the learned doctor, it is stated that "during a former dynasty Heaven prohibited opium; during this dynasty it can be interdicted only by Heaven." And we who believe in that all-prevailing Name which moves the hand that moves the world may learn—not the mode, indeed, but the duty of prayer, even from the Chinese.

Rev. R. H. Graves, M.D., of Canton, said that an anti-opium society had been formed by the native Christians in Canton:—

They published for general circulation among their countrymen a translation into Chinese of an appeal, written by Mr. Turner, of the Anti-Opium Society of England, and also a handbill exhorting people to abstain from the use of opium. At first they seemed to be accomplishing but little practical good, and they therefore appointed a day for special prayer for God's guidance and blessing in their work. Before long they heard of a remarkable answer to their supplications. Several of the Chinese officials and gentry, in response to Mr. Turner's appeal, had themselves formed an anti-opium association, and they invited the Christians to attend their meetings, and join them in their efforts

to put down the evil. They offered good prizes for essays on the subject, and have since published some twenty-five of these essays, together with a translation of Mr. Turner's paper, and a number of popular exhortations against opium smoking. They submitted the essays to the Christians, asking them to reject any they thought objectionable; and they have also proposed to the missionaries to co-operate with them in opening a shop for the sale of anti-opium publications, and other books bearing on morality, even though they should be Christian, they themselves offering to bear all the expenses of renting the shop, etc.

He thought it was important to urge the native Christians to form anti-opium societies, and believed that by so doing they would place themselves in sympathy with all the most moral of their fellow-countrymen, while by thus arraying themselves actively against evil, they would give Christianity a higher position in the eyes of the more thoughtful among the heathen.

Rev. D. Hill, of the English Wesleyan Mission at Wusueh, said:—

Again and again he had heard Chinamen say, "If you want to be revenged on your enemy, you need not strike him; you need not go to law with him, or do any thing of the kind; you have only to entice him into smoking opium. If you can give him a taste for opium you will take the surest means in your power of ruining him utterly." A remark of this kind sufficiently indicates the view which the Chinese themselves hold of the tendency of opium smoking.

Rev. G. John, of the London Missionary Society, Hankow, said:—

The missionary is made to feel constantly that this trade, with its disgraceful history, speaks more eloquently and convincingly to the Chinese mind against Christianity than he, the missionary, does, or can do, for it. It is our duty to appeal to the great heart of England, for she has a heart; and when that heart begins to beat warmly on the question this foul blot on her escutcheon will soon be wiped off.

Rev. C. W. Mateer, of the American Presbyterian Mission, Tungchow, said:—

God calls upon us to declare ourselves on the morality of this iniquitous traffic. No great moral question has ever been settled by letting it alone, but by agitating it, and so enlightening and educating the public conscience. We cannot reach or influence those now in authority, but we can reach and influence the Christian public of England. In the enlightened conscience of that public I have great faith. Let us bear our testimony to the terrible evils caused by the use of opium in China. Let us bear it strongly, but wisely and soberly, and by the blessing of God it will not be without effect.

IV. *The results and advantages already gained by Christian missionary effort in China, notwithstanding all difficulties, have been very great.*

1. This is strikingly shown by the tables of STATISTICS given at the end of the volume under review. A few of the grand totals are here subjoined. To show the significance of some of them, it may be mentioned that in 1840 there were in all China only three native Christians in connection with Protestant missions. In 1877 there were 13,515 communicants in 318 Protestant Churches, of which 18 were wholly self-supporting, and 264 partially self-supporting; the native Christians having given during the preceding year an aggregate of nearly $10,000 for Christian purposes. It was only in 1842 that the five ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, were opened to foreign residents. In 1877 missionaries were residing in 92 different stations, most of them great central cities, from which 532 out-stations were reached. In the stations and out-stations referred to were 246 church buildings for Christian worship, and 457 chapels and other preaching-places. In connection with the various stations there were 31 boarding-schools for boys, and 39 for girls, together with 177 day-schools for boys and 82 for girls; in all, enrolling 5,739 pupils. There were also 21 theological schools, with 236 students; also, 115 Sunday-schools, with 2,605 scholars. The various missions also employed 73 native ordained preachers and pastors, and 519 assistant preachers, 77 colporteurs, and 92 Bible women, in addition to a total of foreign missionaries, male and female, of 473. Besides the above, there were 18 hospitals and 24 medical dispensaries, in connection with which were treated during the previous year 135,381 patients of all descriptions.

2. PRINTED LITERATURE. A great work, not easily reducible to statistics, has been done toward giving a Christian literature to China. This subject was ably presented to the conference by the Rev. S. L. Baldwin, D.D., of our own mission at Foochow, and others. Dr. Baldwin estimated that of Scriptures, religious books, and tracts, not less than one thousand millions of pages had been put in circulation by Protestant missionaries.

A classification of the various publications groups their topics and numbers as follows: Sacred Scriptures, 126; Commentaries and Notes, 43; Theology and Narrative, 521; Sa-

cred Biography, 29; Catechisms, 82; Prayer Books, Rituals, etc., 54; Hymn Books, 63; Periodicals, 7; Sheet Tracts, 111; forming an aggregate of 1,036. As to the influence of this literature, Dr. Baldwin says:—

Its effectiveness appears in two ways: 1. While we assume that few of our books have done no good, we are sure that many of them have done much good. We have positive evidence of the fact. And among these works are some which seem to be of sterling and permanent value, as proved by the testimony of our native preachers and others, who seek for and very highly prize them. 2. Our books are intimately associated with all our other agencies in the line of their greatest influence, and contribute powerfully to such influence. It is the books which have helped to advance our work to its present stage. Our converts are brought in by the truth of the books. The native Christians are spiritually fed on them. The schools are trained by them. The Churches are founded and disciplined by them. The religious work of hospitals and dispensaries is conducted through them. And the general enlightenment of the people and the undermining of idolatry are promoted by the same agency.

If so much can be affirmed of the Christian literature prepared for the Chinese during its first period, it seems quite safe to expect that still greater, if not better, influences may be secured hereafter, by means of a more perfect use of the language, and greatly improved facilities in printing.

3. The enlistment of NATIVE EVANGELISTS. In the statistics given above, it was shown that not less that seven hundred and sixty-one native helpers were, at the date of the conference, employed in the various forms of missionary work in China. All the missions concur in the policy not only of enlisting native co-operation as fast as practicable, but of ultimately transferring the great work of evangelizing China to Chinese Christians themselves. But, as said by one of the essayists, a native ministry is the ripened fruit of years of labor, of patience, and of growth, and is a living witness to the success of missions. The same writer, the Rev. John Butler, of Ningpo, also says:—

A native pastorate implies a native membership, or organized Churches, and an advanced state of mission work. Perhaps no more suggestive method could be adopted of showing the progress made in mission work in China, than by comparing the disorderly crowd who listen to the missionary for the first time preaching the Gospel of salvation, with the quiet and orderly company of believers who assemble in the same place to worship

God, and are ministered to by one of their own number. Between these two extremes there is a vast amount of work done which will never come to light.

A native Church, self-governed, self-supporting, and with her own native pastors, is the best proof we can have that Christianity has taken root in China; and that it is able to maintain its own existence and propagate itself without aid from abroad.

It is true that there are not in China at the present time a great many Churches that are entirely self-supporting; yet there are enough to place the future of Christianity in this empire beyond a doubt, and to justify all the time and labor that have been expended by mission societies. And when we take into account the good number of Churches that are partly self-supporting, and are rapidly approaching the standard of self-help, the future of Christianity in China presents a most cheering prospect to every friend of missions.

In every mission field the native pastor is regarded as an essential factor in setting up a fully organized Church. And the selection and training of men for this office is made an important part of the work of every mission society.

Every consideration that can be adduced in favor of the pastoral office in Christian lands will apply to China, and there are to be added to these, new reasons, growing out of the nature of the field, some of which I will point out.

1. The heathens get their impressions of Christianity largely from the men who are at the head of Christian congregations. When they hear of the doctrine of Jesus, they naturally look to those who are its teachers as the best exponents of the system. The pastor of a company of Christians in a heathen city is a conspicuous object, and his teachings and conduct are closely observed by those whose attention has been drawn to the subject of Christianity.

2. The native Christians look upon the pastor as the exponent of Christianity and the model of Christian living much more than do Christians in western lands.

Taking the progress made during the last fifteen years for our guide, the next fifteen years will show not only a few tens, but many hundreds, of Churches, and a goodly number of these will be self-supporting. The late Dr. Knowlton, of Ningpo, taking the ratio of increase between the years 1853 and 1868 as a standard, computed that in the year 1900 there would be more than two millions of Christians in China. But supposing that this estimate is far too high, and taking a much lower rate of progress for our guide, the next twenty-three years in China will show a membership of many tens of thousands of native Christians.

Corresponding to the importance of the native pastorate, no inconsiderable part of the discussions of the conference was devoted to it, and to topics such as the following: "The best

means of elevating the moral and spiritual tone of the native Church;" "How shall the native Church be stimulated to more aggressive Christian work?" "The training of a native agency;" "Itineration, far and near." The essays on the latter theme by the Rev. B. Helm, of the American Southern Presbyterian Mission, and the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, M.D., of the China Inland Mission, are full of peculiar interest.

The concurrent testimony of both essays, and of the comments on them, was that China is wonderfully open to itinerant work, and that such work has been proved to be greatly useful as an agency for preparing the way of the Gospel, and of securing some of its best results.

The first essayist said: "Of all lands China presents one of the finest fields for itineration, and by no other means, I fear, is it possible to evangelize this nation for many generations." The second said: "My own firm belief is that as great effects would now be seen in China from similar (itinerant apostolic) labors as were seen eighteen hundred years ago in Asia Minor and in Europe; and that our difficulty lies, and lies only, in the obstacles which exist to our doing similar work."

These views seem to have an equal application to foreign and native evangelists in China, and a most interesting comment upon them is to be seen in the list of conference appointments made of recent years in connection with our mission at Foochow.

The list of advantages thus far attained as steps toward the evangelization of China might be very much extended. It is to be counted as no small matter that the country has been so extensively explored, the customs of the people so generally comprehended, and its language and dialects so thoroughly mastered; also that so many different Churches, both of America and Europe, have become actively enlisted in co-operative work for its evangelization.

All this, accomplished as it were in a single generation of work, in obedience to the Saviour's great command, "Go, teach all nations," may at least serve as a pledge of the multiplied successes to be looked for as a result of similar work in the generations to come.

ART. III.—SANCTIFICATION.

THE recognized signification of the word sanctification in the Bible embraces three results: separation, consecration, and cleansing. Four words are employed to express, respectively, the action, the process, the condition, and the name of the result; they are: sanctify, sanctifieth, sanctified, sanctification. Originating with the ritual of the Jewish Church, and mainly physical and external in their primary application, they are accepted and used in the New Testament to express that which is wholly spiritual and interior of personal experience.

Special attention is given by the writers of the Christian Scriptures to sanctification. They name it as something pertaining to the system of redemption, and also as an advanced stage of spiritual life, for which they pray in behalf of those who were already Christians. Jesus says, "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified. Sanctify them through thy truth. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word." And Paul prays, "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly —spirit, soul, and body."

What is that condition of being, or experience, which the Bible designates sanctification? An indirect answer is given by Paul thus, "Furthermore, then, we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you, by the Lord Jesus, that, as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. For ye know what commandments we gave you, by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, even your sanctification." This retrospect of the experience already attained by the brethren whose walk pleased God; this exhortation to abound therein more and more; this reminder of commandments already known, whose compass and climax was "even their sanctification," all indicate that it was an experience beyond the spiritual condition of those addressed.

A further exhibition of this sanctified condition is given in the following words: "The Lord make you to increase and abound in love, to the end he may stablish your hearts unblamable in holiness." And, also, in the assurance which Paul appends to his prayer for sanctification: "Faithful is he that

calleth you, who also will do it." It thus appears to be an advanced stage of the Christian life to which God calls his children, in which increased and abundant love shall establish their hearts in a holiness so blameless that God will have no fault to find with it—a position, perhaps, described by Paul thus: "Till we all come, in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

So remarkable and exceptional a condition of the soul can only be the result of divine agencies applied to the human mind and heart. Human nature, however, is not wholly passive, but is allowed and required to be active in concert with divine forces, as the sacred writings inform us. Infinite wisdom suits means to ends exactly. The being to be wrought upon is not merely a lump of clay. Matter with mind is blended; there is body, soul, and spirit united. Flesh and blood are joined with intellect, will, and emotions. The will is free; it must be won. The understanding is dark; it needs illumination. The heart is depraved; it must be purified. The beginnings of faith are weak and wavering, and require assurance and guidance. The service demanded of, and the destiny contemplated for, man, require a manifested recognized Lord, whose will is law, and whose appointments to present labor and future glory have divine authority. Corresponding to this quintuple necessity the Bible presents a fivefold force of sanctifying agencies; they are the human will, the divine word, the cleansing blood, the Holy Ghost, the Great High-priest. Each is recognized as a sanctifier. All are combined; harmoniously blended in accomplishing the entire sanctification of God's people.

I. *Self-sanctification.*—The sacred writers appeal to the volition and self-consecration of Christians. "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies, a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God—your reasonable service." "Come out from among them and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean, and I will receive you and be a father unto you." "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord." "Every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as he is pure." "Ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth through the spirit."

The self-sanctification of Christians, therefore, is the separation of the soul by its own volition from the purpose and practice of sin, a full consecration of selfhood to the Lord, deliberately, perpetually, and a submission of the will, which accepts the providential dealings of God, the control of his laws, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. And all this without murmuring, questioning, or resistance. These are represented in the sacred word as divinely-instituted preliminaries of the work of God in the soul. Without such a human sanctification the divine experience is impossible. By these stipulations God seems to challenge his people to test him. "Bring ye all the tithes and prove me herewith, and see if I will not open the windows of heaven and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to contain it."

II. *Sanctification through the Truth.*—This office of the truth is expressed thus: "Sanctify them through thy truth." "Ye are clean through the word I have spoken unto you." "That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word." And herein is attributed to the truth, separation, consecration, and cleansing, as a sanctifier. Whereby is its power manifested, and how is it applied?

First. Divine truth sanctifies, as a separater, by its sharp convictions of inbred sin, which thereby becomes so obnoxious to the soul that it cannot rest until pure within. "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." The revelations thus made to the soul of its inherent depravity, sanctifies, by destroying all self-righteousness, and humbling it in the dust before God. The cry of Isaiah, "Woe is me, for I am a man of unclean lips;" the self-loathing of Job, "I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes;" and the anguish of Paul's confession, "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing," are all combined in the acknowledgment of indwelling sin, which the truth discovers to the soul.

Second. Divine truth is represented as sanctifying by its illumination and instruction in righteousness, which separates the mind from error and guides into all truth. "The entrance of thy word giveth light. Through thy precepts I get under-

standing, therefore I hate every false way. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path. The doctrine of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart. The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." Paul says to the Thessalonian Church, "We are bound to give thanks to God always for you," because of the salvation secured "through sanctification of the spirit and belief of the truth." And from the lips of Jesus these words flow: "The spirit of truth will guide you into all truth."

Third. Divine truth sanctifies by giving "unto us exceeding great and precious promises," by which we "might be partakers of the divine nature," and escape "the corruption that is in the world through lust." "Having, therefore, these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord," is Paul's comment on the promise, "I will dwell in them and walk in them." The precious promise of Jesus was, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." And the promises, so exceedingly great, are familiar, which say: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" and, "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we (and He) have fellowship one with the other, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Dr. Clarke says: "The apostle is here speaking of those who are already justified, and are expecting full redemption." "In order to get a clean heart, a man must know and feel its depravity; acknowledge and deplore it before God, in order to be fully sanctified." "Few are sanctified or cleansed from all sin, because they do not feel and confess their own sore and the plague of their hearts."

Divine truth, by these promises of God's indwelling, filling with righteousness, being filled with all the fullness of God, cleansing from all unrighteousness, cleansing from all sin, coming to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, and the like, furnishes a groundwork on which the soul may confidently rest by faith unto full salvation, "through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth." Well and truly did Isaiah say, "Men have not heard,

nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth on him!"

Fourth. Divine truth sanctifies by its purifying influence on the thoughts, the memory, and the imagination. "How precious are thy thoughts to me, O God." "I hate vain thoughts, but thy law do I love." "How sweet are thy words unto my taste." "Order my steps in thy word, and let not mine iniquity have dominion over me." "Thy word is very pure, therefore thy servant loveth it." And Jeremiah, as quoted by Paul, says: "I will put my laws into their mind, and write them upon their hearts."

A mind occupied with the pure thoughts of God will be sanctified from all impure thoughts. A memory stored with divine utterances will be a gallery of beautiful paintings like apples of gold embroidered with silver. The effect necessarily will be the utter casting down of evil imaginings, and every thing that antagonizes God, and the "bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." A heart filled with love for God's law as something more prized than rubies or silver and gold, sweeter than honey or the honey-comb, could not be induced to violate that law in thought, or word, or deed. A human heart-soil filled with this divine word-seed would only produce the fruit of the Spirit. And herein is set forth the sanctification which is through the truth.

III. *Sanctification by the Blood.*—"For if the blood of bulls and goats sanctifieth, to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God." "And almost all things are by the law purified with blood." "A propitiation through faith in Christ's blood." "By Christ's blood we shall be saved from wrath." "The redemption that is in Christ through his blood." "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." "They have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." "Therefore are they before the throne of God." "Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood."

These passages recognize blood as being essential to legal and spiritual purifying, as the satisfaction of divine justice, as the propitiation of divine favor, as the price paid for human

redemption, and as the preparation for heaven, because the purifier of the soul.

The necessity for the shedding of the blood of Christ is vindicated, first, by the fact that God ordained it "before the foundation of the world." The divine ritual of the early Church was symbolic of this necessity, by the blood service, which, commencing with the days of Abel, continued four thousand years, and only ceased after draining the heart's blood of the Son of God on Calvary. If not a necessity, it would not have been so ordained of God. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

Furthermore, sin is a capital crime against the government of God. Sin is rebellion. Death is the penalty of every single sin. All human lives are forfeited, times without number. And there must be a life yielded up to justice for every forfeiture of life, or death to the whole race would be inevitable, unless a life of infinite value, comprehending more than the worth of all the forfeited lives, could be substituted in their stead. The conclusion is divine logic itself, that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin; without the sacrifice of life sin could not be atoned for. Loss of life and shed blood are synonyms?

The offering of blood, when instituted, had this significance attached by divine authority: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul." With this key the way is open to the full significance of bloody sacrifices on divinely consecrated altars for forty centuries. This long procession, extending through so many generations of penitent and pardon-seeking Israelites, with bleeding beasts, and hyssop branch, and sprinkling priests, was the solemn formula of a divinely appointed confession of judgment to God's claim against the life of every worshiper.

To satisfy this confessed judgment and to secure eternal life, the Scriptures teach that Jesus' blood was shed, or his life given, which declares the infinite value of that life, and involves logically its divinity as well. In other words, pardon, purity, and heaven, are thereby provided for a world of sinners lost. Especially is the blood of Jesus represented as

directly procuring and producing the sanctification of the soul. Preliminary to an inquiry respecting the method of its operation, let us retrace our thought. Thus far there have been under consideration three of the divine agencies of sanctification. The will, which determined the choice; the word, that illumines and instructs the mind; and now the blood, which cleanses the soul.

Various expressions are employed to signify this cleansing, as, "washed in his own blood," "washed their robes white in the blood," "purge your conscience," and the like. Literally, the blood of Christ is not put in contact with body or soul. There is no such thing as a fountain or laver filled with blood. Jesus does not with finger, nor towel, nor hyssop branch, apply his blood. Nor do the saints dip their hands in sacred bath of crimson dye, or plunge beneath the purple flood. Poetic license has exaggerated and perverted divine illustration, and dimmed the perception of the truth as it is in Jesus.

"The blood is the life," saith Jehovah. The blood of Christ is the offered life of Christ. Jesus so explained it. Whenever he spoke of what he was to give for the salvation of man, he said: "He giveth his life;" "I lay down my life." And John says: "He laid down his life for us." Paul says: "We were reconciled to God by the death of his Son:" "we shall be saved by his life."

How is the offered life of Christ productive of sanctification or cleansing? First. The life of Jesus was a divine life of infinite purity. If by any form of speech the measure of any one soul's iniquity could be expressed, and so, also, the measure of the iniquity of all human souls be set forth; and, having idealized the fearful aggregate, an equal measure of the infinite purity of Christ could be offset, to cancel it, there would yet remain an infinite balance to his credit. But that which is infinite can neither be divided nor diminished by subtraction. Therefore, the whole infinite purity of Christ stands over against the sin of each soul that is penitent, contrite, prayerful, believing. Second. This infinite purity of Christ's life is both imputed and imparted to human souls. "By the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men to justification of life." "The gift by grace, by Jesus Christ, hath abounded to many." "The gift of righteousness shall reign in life by

Jesus Christ." "Even so, we also should walk in newness of life." "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, and the blood cleanseth us from all sin." "Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature." "May grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ, and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."

Thus we are informed that the offered life of Jesus cleanseth by canceling unconditionally all the guilt of original sin, by providing a free pardon for all actual sins to those who repent and believe on him, by purging the conscience of dead works, and enabling the soul to serve the living God, perfecting holiness in his fear, and realizing fully the divine promise and Paul's prayer: "That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that ye may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God."

IV. *Sanctification by the Spirit.*—The doctrine of the Trinity distinguishes the religion of the Bible in marked contrast with all other systems, by representing three persons only instead of Gods many; and the three as one Being, and not several Gods. Their relation cannot be expressed exactly in words. Yet the ideas plainly illustrated in the Bible warrant the use of three words, Existence, Utterance, and Inspiration, as paronyms of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The breath divine, as a Sanctifier, is now before our thought, the Holy Ghost, which, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is very and eternal God.

"He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." "He will thoroughly purge his floor." "Will reprove the world of sin." "Thy Spirit is good; lead me into a land of uprightness." "That the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." "Chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth." "Elect through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ."

Two forms of expression are employed: "By the Holy Ghost," and "of the Spirit." The first (Rom. xv, 16) is associated with an offering which is made acceptable by a libation poured thereon. "The victim upon the Jewish altar was fitted for the offering by salt, or oil, or frankincense. But the living offering is consecrated by the power of the Holy Ghost." It is an outpouring, an influence brought to bear upon the person, which sanctifies and makes acceptable to God. The second form of expression (2 Thess. ii, 13) indicates a selection made, a choice which separates, sets aside for divine use. It is also employed (1 Peter i, 2) as declarative of purification accomplished by the Spirit through the sprinkled blood. Thus the entire scope of the word and the work of sanctification is attributed to the Holy Spirit, yet not alone, but associated with the truth and the blood on the divine side, and belief and obedience on the human side.

As Sanctifier, the Holy Ghost is threefold in his demonstrations—as an abiding presence in the soul; as the seal of God's ownership; as the pledge of eternal life.

First. "He shall quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." "That good thing keep, by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" "Ye are in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you."

Second. "The foundation of the Lord standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his." "Who hath also sealed us." "In whom also ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption."

This sealing, or inscription, indicating whose property the sealed one is, is associated with a quality or condition which is worthy of special note. Jesus says of himself, "For him hath God the Father sealed." And Paul adds: "Who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God." Because spotless, sealed! Such, indeed, was the uniform law of sacrifice. Only the spotless were to be received. And that seal is, "Holiness to the Lord," as on the high-priest's miter. Our spotless High-priest hath this record: "By one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified, whereof the

Holy Ghost, also, is a witness to us." "Wherefore, beloved, be diligent, that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless."

Third. The sanctification of the Spirit furnishes the soul a pledge or voucher, a bond for a deed, a right to the Tree of Life in the Paradise of God forever. "Now he which stablisheth us with you is Christ, and hath anointed us in God, who hath also sealed us, and given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." "We would be clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now he that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of his Spirit." The Spirit himself is the "earnest" given.

If the "earnest" be a pledge, as Dr. Clarke considers it, then the indwelling Spirit will be exchanged in the day of eternity for the entire Trinity, when the angelic shout shall be heard, that "the tabernacle of God is with men," and every soul be filled with the fullness of God.

Assuming the "earnest" to be part payment, as Dr. Benson prefers to do, the same result is reached. In time, on earth, the Holy Spirit is the occupant of the soul alone. In eternity the whole Deity in triunity will take up his abode with man, "dwell with them, be with them, and make all things new."

V. *Sanctification by our great High-priest.*—"Both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one." "For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified." "Christ also loved the Church and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it." "Wherefore holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High-priest of our profession, Christ Jesus."

We do well to recall our readings in brief: 1. "Sanctify yourselves." 2. "Sanctify them through thy truth." 3. "Sanctified by the Spirit." 4. "The blood cleanseth." 5. "Jesus, he that sanctifieth." The first is expressive of a right determination of the will. The second is the illumination and instruction furnished by the truth. The third is by the imputation of merit in the blood. The fourth is an inspiration of the divine Spirit. What else remains to be done? The will is subdued, the mind is enlightened, all guilt is removed, the soul is divinely occupied. Is not the answer given by Paul?

"If a man therefore purge himself, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, prepared unto every good work." Thus Jesus spake of Paul as "a chosen vessel unto me."

The Master's service constantly requires vessels to bear his Gospel in all directions, to all persons, in all the ages. Go work, is a perpetual law Men are made co-operative workers with Christ. He separates them to himself; he assigns to each his place in the field; he is the appointing power; he consecrates to God now and to glory eternal hereafter. Thus he is the sanctifier. Paul's glorious description of Jesus (Heb. ii, 9) and of his people's destiny, as the sanctifier and the sanctified, is paraphrased thus by Benson: "That washes men from their sins in his blood, renews them in the spirit of their minds, and then consecrates them unto God." Fausset puts it in this form: "Christ, who consecrates his people unto God and everlasting glory, perfectly sanctified to God's service and to heaven."

Jesus is "the High-priest of our profession," not "as a servant" in the house of another, but "as a Son over his own house, whose house are we," "a holy temple in the Lord." The high-priest of the tabernacle and temple arranged in order every sacred vessel. He also presented the people unto God, set them before him as atoned for. This constituted the sanctification of the vessels of the temple, and the people, so far as the high-priest was the sanctifier. To perform the same offices, Jesus is the High-priest of the temple, whose vessels are the chosen ones of God, and sanctified to service. Such vessels all Christians are required to be, after the pattern given in 2 Tim. ii, 19–21. And these will hereafter be sanctified by a solemn presentation to the Father, and thereby enter into the kingdom of glory, and share with Jesus honor, immortality, and eternal life. Then will their sanctification be complete.

Sanctification is, therefore, a purpose, an experience, and a destiny. As a purpose, it is of human volition; as an experience, it is a present divine endowment; as a destiny, it is a future glorious heritage. The purpose changes the relations of the soul, which thereby becomes passive in the hands of the divine Sanctifier. Experimentally the truth changes the condition of the soul from ignorant insensibility to intelligent,

intense self-abhorrence, leading it to an acceptance of the cleansing blood (offered life) of Christ by faith, which is witnessed to by the sealing of the Spirit, who thereafter occupies, fills, inspires. Following this is the appointment to continuous service and final reward by the great High-priest.

Human volition and faith must precede the baptism of the Holy Ghost. The period intervening between the decision of the will and the exercise of faith may be of great length or very brief, as the mind is well-instructed in the truth or ignorant of it. But a living faith cannot be separated from the witnessing Spirit any appreciable measure of time. I will submit—I see my need—I do believe—I am received, may, after a long struggle, with careful study and divine guidance, come to be so closely associated as to be apparently simultaneous or co-etaneous. Why prolong the process? Why space out years between the purpose and the experience? What forbids the consummation of immediate and constant entire sanctification? Why need anything be future except the sanctified destiny?

Art. IV.—RELATIONS OF POLITICS AND CHRISTIANITY.

It is a fact of history that the early and widely separate colonies which settled this country, fleeing, as they in large part did, from kingly and aristocratic rule at home, rejected the severer, as also the looser, principles of those several governments, and adopted what they understood to be the safer, wiser, and more popular principles inculcated in the Bible. They took the civil and ecclesiastic laws of Moses, interpreted and modified by the teachings of Christianity, as the basis of their colonial laws, both for the State and for the Church. In this they were wise. To have adopted the laws of England would have been contrary to the object of their emigration. Had they based their new organizations on the Roman laws which were dominant in Europe, they would have experimented with principles of government with which most of them were unacquainted, and which would have awakened the suspicions of Englishmen, to whom they were mostly in-

debted for their charters and protection. They therefore wisely adopted in outline a system of laws with which, as Christians, they were familiar. And as the Mosaic laws, modified and enlarged by Christianity, are now the constituent elements of all truly enlightened and civilized governments, so they were then eminently suited to the new situations of our Puritan and Pilgrim Ancestors.

In his "Historical Discourses" Dr. Bacon says:—

> The laws of Moses were given to a community emigrating from their native country, into a land which they were to acquire and occupy for the great purpose of maintaining in simplicity and purity the worship of the one true God. The founders of these colonies came hither for the self-same purpose. . . . The laws of Moses were given to a people who were to live, not only surrounded by heathen tribes on every frontier save the seaboard, but also by heathen inhabitants. . . . Similar to this was the condition of our fathers. The laws of the Hebrews were designed for a free people. The aim of them was equal and exact justice.*

This was also true of our ancestors. And though we have learned to make somewhat wiser interpretation and application of those laws, we have not improved on the principles that run through the Bible as fundamental elements of sound jurisprudence and wise government. Indeed, it were better for us as a nation to go back to the simple principles of our colonial governments, and particularly to those adopted by the Colonial Congress, and embodied in the Declaration of Independence, than to adopt, as we seem to be doing, the loose and unchristian principles which largely prevail in European governments. Our States, instead of being a confederacy of small and somewhat independent sovereignties, constitute a union under a government chosen, adopted, and shaped by representatives of the people. Our National Constitution is modeled after the constitutions of the several colonies, under the guiding minds of God-fearing and liberty-loving patriots. Purely democratic at first, it grew into a grand and federal system of republican government that should at all hazards be sustained.

As between the Tories and Whigs of colonial times there were wide differences of political ideas that do not now exist,

* William L. Kingsley, in "Methodist Quarterly Review," January, 1878.

so between the dominant parties of the present there are other, and yet important, diversities of sentiment on matters that relate to finance, to popular education, to civil service, to the elective franchise, and to the equality of all citizens before the laws. Some of these interests relate especially to the South, and affect the relations of whites and blacks. Others of them run antagonistic to the historic genius of Romanism in its opposition to popular education. It is, therefore, important that the principles obviously essential to the safe maintenance and perpetuity of a republican government and of free institutions in this country, be soon and so far settled as the mind of the people is concerned, and so far, also, as the *intelligence* and ballot of a free people can effect it. But reforms are slow. A great change is to be only gradually wrought among the people of the South. It is not strange that it is so. The whole drift of life-long education, and the whole shaping of the habits and business of the people there, hold them so strongly to their late condition of things that common sense would indicate that any adjustment to their new political relations is and must be slow. But in reference to the antagonism between ignorance and intelligence, between equal rights and priestly rule, between a free ballot and a conscience-ridden servility, there is no such apology to be made, no such moderation to be exercised, no such conservatism to be encouraged. The masses of papal zealots are, indeed, ignorant and superstitious, but not all. The educators and priests who have any knowledge of governments at home and abroad, know that in their efforts to exclude religious instruction from our public schools, to secure a *pro rata* division of the public funds for the maintenance of their parochial schools, and that in vigorous opposition to our established school system, they are attempting to sap the foundations of this Republic.

And though it may not be openly avowed in the platforms of the dominant parties, it is, nevertheless, a fact, that temperance principles also are involved in the politics of this nation. The national Government has its revenue laws in reference to the manufacture, rectification, and sale of alcoholic liquors. State legislatures enact laws for the prohibition or for the regulation of traffic in them. These things show how closely related to government and politics are the great reforms of the

day, and particularly the national curse of intemperance. It is really a financial as truly as a moral question. No taxes are equal to those which rise both directly and indirectly from the use and the abuse of alcoholic liquors. And possibly no frauds reach to such enormous figures as do the "whisky frauds." The great question of slavery out of the way, there are no other questions that just now more deeply concern the public weal than do the grave ones which relate to the education, temperance, and purity of the whole people. And we are among the number who believe that these two interests are largely involved in every political movement made in our large cities, and in our State and National legislatures.

Matters of education and intelligence are openly wrought into the announcements of one of our great national parties. And should the same party as openly and as vigorously advocate the principles of righteousness and temperance—which it seems reluctant to do—no power on earth could impede its progress or impair its usefulness. It would gather to its support all the moral forces that now wait to see what is to be done, or that are in a latent state, and that are ready to be allied with the right in politics as in other things. If only the political lines were distinctly drawn in reference to all that is essential to a pure and permanent government, the friends of intelligence and honesty would soon be marshaled in such numbers as would perpetuate our governmental privileges and blessings to the latest generations.

However slimy and muddy may be some of its rivulets and shallows, the political stream that runs through our country and irrigates the continents of the world has a pure source; for nothing is more certain than that government is of God. In the family, its earliest embodiment; in the Church, which grew out of the family; and in the State, a later form and outgrowth of the two preceding—however many or few the offices and their incumbents—the chief authority is the will of God.

The lines of authority for the government, the restriction, and the direction of the people, are the divine commands and precepts. "There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." This great idea should be recognized by the people and by governors. But let it be understood that the will of the people is the *sole* source of authority and govern-

ment, and the elements of discord and party lines become incorporated into the body politic, the great Supreme is ignored, the people lean to faction and anarchy, and the rulers—as in the earlier stages of most countries—become autocrats and monarchists. And it is just here that are found the germs of the ideas which widely prevail, that neither God, nor the Church, nor the pulpit, has any thing to do with the politics of a people. A sad state of things, when these sentiments prevail. Both social and juridical science, both moral and religious ideas, have much to do with the politics of a people.

That there is in politics a "higher law," reaching over all human laws, and casting its divine influence on and over all human authorities and powers, no legislator, no executive head, no citizen, who holds the elective franchise, should think of denying, much less of antagonizing. That the will of God should be done on earth, and *by all men* as truly as *in all hearts*, is a profound idea that should not be ignored. It concerns nations as certainly as it does individuals, or even the Church. It is the true governmental idea that underlies all sound legislation and all wise rule. Of this fact, though variously expressed, and though it runs into every avenue of society, the holy Scriptures are full. And to most men these are authority. Not a prophet speaks, not an historian writes, not a judge is installed nor executes justice, not a king reigns, not a nation is exalted nor subverted, but on principles closely related to this idea. Not more truly does righteousness exalt a nation than is sin a reproach to any people. How shall a king reign? "In righteousness." In what shall princes rule? "In judgment." What will be the consequences of such ruling? "Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness remain in the fruitful field." What are the grand results of an administration that in this way brings prosperity to the wilderness and fruitfulness to the field? "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever." And there is no solid, enduring, nor desirable peace but on this broad basis. There is no assurance as to the stability of government but on these religious principles. They are fundamental. They run into the "Civil Service," as into any other.

The only embodiment and the best form of these religious

principles were advanced by patriarchs and prophets, and are transferred in all their force, and with increased authority, into Christian ideas, of which a radical one is, that the powers or authorities that be are ordered of God. Not that *every form* of power, nor *every functionary in office*, is of God; but the idea and the principle of government are divine.

There arises, therefore, this question: Does Christianity sustain any noticeable relations to human government, and hence to politics? We do not mean any such relations as involve the union of Church and State, much less the subserviency of the State to the Church. In our country there is little danger of these things. A constitutional barrier lies in the way. And yet the dominant and molding forces in all civilized, enlightened, and wisely governed nations are Christian ideas. Somewhat in proportion to the freedom, prosperity, and progress of a people are the purity and efficiency of Christian institutions. The freedom and purity of government, the wisdom and righteousness of legislation, and the reasonableness of politics, partake of the character of the *religion* of a country, and of the hold it has on the people. This is a fact seen in the government of Oriental countries, where religion is national. Intellectual paganism and imperial despotism go together. But as soon as the leading minds of a people see the superiority of Western institutions and governments they begin to cultivate such alliances with them as gradually lead them to adopt their religion. The politics of both pagan and papal countries are modified by contact and intercourse with thoroughly Christian countries. The superiority of Christian civilization is clearly obvious. It is well known that, in Great Britain and in these United States, where are the purest and most vigorous forms of government, the wisest style of legislation and political systems nearest the divine ideal exist. It is because in these countries government is constantly being adjusted to the highest types of humanity. Laying off monarchical ideas and forms, they are putting on republican. A purely democratic government never did, and, except on a small scale, never can, long exist where ignorance and immorality are in the ascendant. Unless, then, the people are intelligent and Christian, it is, as a mode of government in a state or in a country, better in theory than in fact. France, Spain, and

Greece have tried it with but poor results. On the other hand, a representative government, such as is ours, is republican in nature as also in form.

The great vice of simple democracies is that they destroy the balance between political rights and political duties. This is, indeed, the vice of all personal and class governments. A tyrant looks upon the State as existing for himself. The same is true of an oligarchy or an aristocracy. There is no stable equilibrium in the political system, unless the governing and the governed are bound together by mutual relations of power and responsibility, rights and duties, burdens and privileges. So far as it is necessary for the intelligence and safety of its citizens, the State should educate them, and make a certain standard of education compulsory.

As we here use the words *democratic* and *republican*, we do not descend to their mere party application, but we regard them expressive of two different forms and modes of government: one, in which the people rule directly; the other, in which the people rule by and through their chosen representatives. The best form of democracy is a republicanism, in which the people select men to represent them on principle and for the public good. In this, as truly as in simple democracy, intelligence, morality, love of order, and respect for authority, must lie at the foundation. Where the people select from among themselves their law-makers and rulers and their several public officers, and where all the springs of authority and sources of power are primarily in their hand, and are by them put into the hands of legislative, judicial, and executive officers, it is a matter of grave importance to know and to feel what, and how intimate, are the dependencies of Christianity and politics, of government and legislation. In our representative government men of all ranks and characters, of every degree of intelligence and refinement, and having every grade of morals, are periodically called on to exercise their right of suffrage in such a way that the vote cast by the ignorant, corrupt, and the intriguing exerts as much power, and has in itself as much importance in deciding the destinies of the republic, as does the ballot cast by the intelligent and moral. In this way the people act in matters of law and of political economy so as to affect all departments of State, of popular liberty, and of social morals. And though the Church and pulpit have their own and special positions and work in the broad domain of

religion and morals, yet they are by no means excluded from the *morals* of legislation nor from the *religious features* of government. One of the grand aims of Christianity is to educate, enlighten, and reform the masses of the people, directly, in their personal character as an inspiration to thought and good morals, and indirectly, in the modification of governments, in the utilizing of commerce and manufactures, in the social relations and national comities for the greater good of the whole.

The realms of political empire and Christian authority are not so widely separate, nor so unlike, but that they have some elements in common, some border influences, some relationships and sympathies. On this subject there is a morbid delicacy lest the Church shall crowd unduly on the State, and lest the pulpit shall be perverted to political harangues. We claim that as the Bible gives its weight of teachings and influences on the side of morals and religion in all the realms of citizenship, so may the pulpit throw its power of instruction on the side of intelligence and virtue, whether in popular education, in national commerce, in business, or in politics. It should, of course, be well and wisely done.

Christianity has something to do with all the relations of men. It has an original rather than a conventional claim, that holds firmly in every thing which concerns the peace and order of society, and which concerns life, liberty, and the legitimate pursuit of happiness. It strikes at all injustice, whether relating to the rights and privileges of a person, of a state, of a country, or of society. It supervises social morals. It is involved in all reforms that look after the purity, order, and peace of society. It fosters all purity and righteousness, while it stands opposed to all inordinate legislation and to intemperance and corruption.

But because of chicanery and corruption among professional politicians, office-seekers, and wire-pullers; because of wild and rabid partisanship; and because of unprincipled measures advocated by some aspirants for positions of trust—the word *politics* has unfortunately come to mean and to designate something quite unsuited to the pulpit, and foreign to what is thought to be the legitimate province of Christianity. But in its proper sense this word denotes both the science and the art of government, embracing the legislation and the execution of law.

In its widest sense it embraces national and international law; those great principles of equity which, by common consent, govern nations in their relations to each other, and which bind countries and States into a federal union, and the people into a brotherhood for the safety of each and the good of all. Has Christianity, then, no concern in politics, no responsibility for their purity and efficiency? There are *personal* wrongs that Christianity rebukes and would rectify. Are there no *national* sins which it would antagonize? National sins existing, righteousness in government as certainly exalts a nation as sin is a reproach to any people. "The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever."

Are politics and Christianity so widely different and separate as to have little or nothing to do with each other? Is he a good Christian who is a bad politician? Any strange repugnance to a looking at these facts arises either from ignorance of what constitutes politics and their relations to Christianity, or from political corruption and a false standard in religion. A knowledge of the true relations of men as fellow-citizens is closely allied to a knowledge of the religion which is suited to, and designed for, all men. What the word religion expresses in the relations of man to God, the word politics expresses in the civil relations of man to man. Mr. Ruskin says:—

> Politics are the essential laws of social and civil life, out of which grow the great principles that healthfully agitate and firmly bind society together. Our Saviour has expressed the true idea in words never surpassed for beauty and power: "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do you even the same unto them; for this is the law and the prophets," a law that stands opposite to all unrighteousness.

Politics are, then, nothing less than the relations and duties of men to each other, in which are involved the fact and influence of truth and righteousness, and the power and danger of vice.

With this understanding of things, we see that a political system and creed, a political party and its platform, are that by which a state or nation is governed, its subjects are protected, and their rights are secured. Just as certainly as Christianity enters into and supervises the domestic relations, or the ecclesiastical, so surely does it enter and supervise the

relations of social and civil life. And as wrong may be found in domestic and ecclesiastical affairs, so may it be found in social and civil matters. And it is, we think, because of the corruption of many party leaders, and of the ignorance of some persons, that the whole system of politics has to any extent become estranged from Christian ideas. We do not mean Christianity as distinct from the ground-morals of Judaism, for they are one and the same; but those great and distinctive truths which run through the Bible. Neither politics nor politicians need be corrupt. And Christian ideas and forces are the only and sure purifying elements and powers.

The principles thus far stated and defended strongly characterized the first fifty years of our Republic. Before political parties were definitely organized among the loyal citizens of the United States, before any existing differences of opinion as to the administration of government became strongly partisan, the public offices were filled by men because of their competency and fitness rather than because of any services they had rendered either to individuals or to a party. "When Washington was called to the Presidency, in 1789, there were no regularly organized parties," and there was, therefore, no room for partisan patronage. And when applications for offices were made to Washington by personal friends or by political opponents, he gave the preference to the latter, if they were better qualified to perform the duties of the office, and on the principles advocated in this article. "As George Washington," said he, "I would do this man any kindness in my power; as President of the United States, I can do nothing." On the same righteous principle, and for the sake of keeping a proper balance of administrations, not only he, but his successors for nearly fifty years thereafter, acted on similarly equitable principles. Though Mr. Jefferson made more changes in the offices subject to presidential control than did Washington, the Adamses, Monroe, or Madison, yet his rule of action was "that deprivations of office must be as few as possible, be made gradually, and be based on some malversation, or inherent disqualification.* It was not until General Jackson entered upon the office of President that this wise and righteous poli-

*These and a few other facts are taken from "A Century of Civil Service," by L. M. Dorman, in "Scribner's Monthly."

cy was changed. "To the victors belong the spoils" then became the iniquitous principle according to which persons were dismissed for the sake of destroying the equilibrium of offices. This same policy was carried out by Mr. Van Buren, until it became a somewhat established political principle. But under General Harrison, Mr. Lincoln, and General Grant, efforts at reform in this regard, and looking to more honest and equitable principles of government, were begun and carried forward. Preparations were being made for the more positive efforts of the present pure-minded and honest incumbent of the presidential and executive chair. President Hayes seems to have adopted the sentiment of Daniel Webster, that

> the power of giving office affects the fears of all who are in and the hopes of all who are out; that a competition ensues, not of patriotic labors nor of severe toils for the public good; not of manliness, independence, and public spirit; but of complaisance, of indiscriminate support of executive measures, of pliant subservience, and gross adulation.

It would be occasion of enduring gratitude if he, having the sympathy of the people, should be able to inaugurate a system of reform in administration and in policy that would bring back the government to its original simplicity, purity, and power. In support of his position, Mr. Hayes said:—

> I want you to understand, that if at any time it is shown to your satisfaction that I have nominated an unfit man, you will do me a favor by helping to reject him. Do not hesitate for a moment to do so, and do not believe that I shall be offended, but the contrary.

When we come into the *minutiæ* of political dogmas, we may honestly differ as to what constitutes the best lines of action and what the best method of securing the ends of legislation in a country so large and diversified as is ours. The interests of the East may differ somewhat from those of the West, and those of the North from those of the South. The demands of manufacturing regions are different from the agricultural. The wants of the new States are somewhat different, as are their conditions, from those of the old. And there are certain great principles of sacrifice and of gain that may be unified for the good of a diversified people. In finance there may be honest differences of opinion; so in refer-

ence to protection and tariff. But there can be no difference of sentiment, and should be none of action, in reference to honesty, to equal justice and rights, nor in reference to the greater good of the whole country. But, strange to tell, just here it is that intriguing men make national politics sectional, and the beauteous system to be unworthy a free, enlightened, and Christian people. As before said, there are times when things in which noble and high-minded men, who are equally true to what they deem to be the best interests of government, may innocently differ as to the policies to be pursued. They may, and perhaps ought to, pursue their several lines of thought, without being false to truth and facts, and especially without being violently antagonistic to each other.

Now, just here it is that Christianity becomes an active and conservative element in the struggle for the promotion of right and the defeat of wrong. This struggle is not in any respect designed to put the Church in a position superior nor antagonistic to the State, but rather to secure the integrity of government, and to conserve the rights and privileges of citizens. It is not to overawe the State, nor to succumb to its encroachments; but rather for the purpose of getting the protection of government, and of keeping its general policy in harmony with truth and righteousness, that Christianity speaks out.

This great nation is periodically swayed by political preferences and excitements. It is every four years deeply agitated by discussions and popular elections, in which debate, passion, bribery, and a catalogue of evils, are prominent. We are often in the midst of discussions, heated and rancorous, by which the passions of too many persons are aroused, as clouds are driven by transverse and opposing winds. And sometimes below as above, among men as among clouds, collisions and storms occur. But if Christian principles hold the ascendency, an enduring calm will come to a God-fearing people. As our Lord asserted his authority over the elements of nature in hushing the winds and calming the waves, so Christianity, in the exercise of its divine right, can calm human passions, hush popular storms, and purify the common air of thought, of feeling, and of sentiment. In the strife of party zeal and in the ferment of political commotion truth and right should prevail. And though Christianity has no *organic* connection with civil

government, it has a real and vital one, such as exists between religion and education, religion and social life. And only when it shall have attained its greatest triumphs, not only in the spiritual renovation of the people, but in the establishing of righteousness, truth, and freedom in all the earth, will its mission be complete.

From what we have said as to what politics are, what are their designs in social and civil life, and what are their relations to Christianity as the chief reforming power, it is evident that the latter has much to do with the former, less with party tricks and sectional animosities than with the morals of politics. Not as a system of dogmas and polemics, but as the embodiment of great purifying and reforming principles, is Christianity the genius of the world, which intermeddles with all knowledge, all truth, all facts, and which aims to bring all things into harmony with the best interests of mankind. In the Scriptures are clearly seen two grand radical ideas of a governmental character, the like of which are found nowhere else. They strike deep, reach high, and extend far and wide in both the assertion and the extension of authority in all the relations of men. Taken together, they show the oneness of the Bible, and the symmetry, as also the universality, of its teachings. One of these great truths is, "Unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a scepter of righteousness is the scepter of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity." The other was spoken by this enthroned Son: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations." Growing out of these fundamental facts are such sentiments as the following in reference to the character of the men who should be sought and promoted to office, namely, "Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers, . . . and let them judge the people at all seasons." Then in reference to the duties of rulers and executive officers there arise these thoughts: "Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons. . . . That which is altogether just shalt thou follow." "Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment. . . . Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness re-

main in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever." As is natural, and indeed necessary, in all equally balanced governments, the divine economy adds, "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!"

Closely allied to these great thoughts, which should permeate and control all governments, are the following: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain."

These are some of the plain and positive teachings of the Bible in reference to the nature and elements of government, the character of rulers, and the duties of citizens; in other words, in reference to politics. Religion and politics have much to do with each other, and all who reverence the authority and teachings of the Bible should look well and carefully to the matter. And though Bible politics embrace the duty of giving honor and obedience to governors for the sake of the offices they hold, and of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, they also teach that duty to God is paramount to all others, that our obligations to human government are subordinate to the divine, and that, when they come in conflict, it is better to obey God than man. Human government is only delegated. God is supreme. His will is law. Government being an ordinance of God for the praise of them that do well, and for a terror to evil-doers, politicians and religionists should be in harmony. As the Bible lays down the fundamental ideas of all good government, as it gives the character and duties of governors, and the duties of the people, we claim that every intelligent and high-minded Christian should aim to bring himself into harmony with political truth. He may err in judgment, but will be pleased to correct the error. Though educated a partisan, and taught to believe that

all good is in one party and all evil is in another, he will gladly learn that good and evil belong somewhat to all partisans, and that the duty of good men is to hold, when possible, the balance of power, and to be ready to cast it on either side for the greater good of the country. "We believe," says Mr. Hayes, "that the government of the United States ought to regard alike the rights and interests of all sections of country, and that State-governments should also regard equally the rights and interests of all races of men."

There is no line of duty, whether in family, in Church, or in State, that is not involved in Bible politics and in Christian character. When a body of high-minded and religiously educated citizens unite for the purpose of so shaping and administering government, and obtaining such laws as will at the same time promote the ends of sound politics, overthrow or suppress vice and immorality, and defend truth and righteousness, it is the obvious and urgent duty of all good men to aid in bringing about such results. And when their votes have a positive bearing on the morals of a people, they have no right either to withhold them, or to cast them against the right, and thus indirectly favor the wrong. And yet it is not good policy nor sound sense to organize small parties on each and every item of reform, and in this way disintegrate the better of the two chief parties and give the supremacy to the worse. Bible politics, as also a Christian profession, hold men to the steady labor of improving the better of the two dominant parties—indeed, of both parties.

In a republican government the people hold the power. A change of administration is in their hands. Officers of government are only temporary representatives of the popular will, and they are usually careful to carry out the will of their constituents. Both the people, with whom is the residue of power, and their representatives, are in duty bound to put forth such efforts as shall reach and secure the ends of government, both in great things and in small, in sections of the country, and in the whole country. For the sake of promoting virtue and morality, as, also, for the supression of vice and immorality, should these things be sought and done. And it is here affirmed that no Christian should feel himself at liberty, even for the sake of adhering to party preferences and work-

ing within his party lines, to throw his sovereign power by vote, by influence, or by example, in favor of an unpatriotic, unreliable, incompetent, and corrupt man for office. And just here come in all the reforms that may be wrought through political and government agencies. Though it is a great moral and social question, closely relating to the purity of society, yet we think that the temperance reform, as it is now related to taxes, to social order and morals, is one of the vital interests that must be wrought into the politics of communities, of the States, and of our nation. While we doubt the propriety and utility of a third party on this subject, we do think that temperance men should see to it that the principles of this reform permeate all society, that the popular mind be well instructed, that the right style of men be nominated for and elected to the several offices in the gift of the people, but not on *only one issue*. We would place this politico-religious reform just where we place popular education and common schools, civil and religious liberty, as one important matter, in the political creed of the people, not only by indoctrinating them, but by enlightening them also. As Romish officials are united in their efforts to gain ascendency in politics, less by educating their adherents to a high place of thought and morals, so we should both know and appreciate the value of our national institutions, and be united to promote in all suitable ways the intelligence and morality of the whole people. In the flush of hoped-for success through one of the political parties of this country, Romanists have put it on record that "education itself is the business of the spiritual society alone, and not of the secular society. The instruction of children and youth is included in the sacrament of orders, and the State usurps the functions of the spiritual society when it turns educator. The organization of the schools, their entire internal arrangement and management, the choice and regulation of studies, and the selection, appointment, and dismissal of teachers, belong exclusively to the spiritual authority."

These are daring and impudent utterances. No man nor body of men not in allegiance to a foreign power rather than to the Constitution of the United States, though resident here, would dare make them. They are utterly opposed both to good citizenship and to the best interests of our country. And

as instances of what would be the results, if carried out, in this country, we need only refer to Mexico, the South American States, Portugal, Spain, and to Rome, where for centuries these people have had the control and direction of the educational, as, also, of the religious forces. Shame on the American citizen, or even *resident*, who penned and caused to be published in this country these monstrous sentiments.

ART. V.—CESNOLA'S CYPRUS AND CYPRIOTE ART.

Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples. A Narrative of Researches and Excavations during Ten Years' Residence in that Island. By General LOUIS PALMA DI CESNOLA, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Turin; Honorable Member of the Royal Society of Literature, London, etc. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Cyprus: Its Ancient Arts and History. Four Lectures delivered by General L. P. DI CESNOLA, November, 1878, in Chickering Hall, New York City, and published, with illustrations taken from monuments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in Tribune Extra No. 4, on "Cypriote Art."

THE handsome volume before us, in which General di Cesnola has recorded the results of his explorations on the island of Cyprus, is supplemented in a very happy way by the popular lectures, wherein he sets forth his views respecting the bearing of his discoveries upon the development of ancient art. Together these two sources of information add greatly to our knowledge respecting a very interesting, but hitherto obscure, portion of the story of the intellectual progress of the human race. The historic island of Cyprus, to which so much attention has of late been turned, partly because of its recent transfer to the control of Great Britain, partly, also, in consequence of the archæological discoveries here described, is, more than any other single spot on the earth's surface, the point where the East and the West, Semitic and Japhetic influences, have met, and intermingled. This was inevitable from its geographical position. From the Cypriote Cape Crommyon to Anemuryon, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, is a distance of scarcely more than forty miles, and in clear weather the hills of Cilicia can be descried from the site of the ancient city of Soli. On the east, the strait between Cyprus and Syria is not very much wider. From the

promontory of Dinaretum to the city of Ramitha, or Laodicea, the sail is but between sixty and seventy miles. Seleucia, the sea-port of Antioch, was about ten miles farther distant in a more northerly direction. As a straight line drawn from Tyre or Sidon to the nearest point of the south-eastern shores of Cyprus measures barely one hundred and twenty miles, even the timid sailors of the earliest age of Phœnician commerce could without much trepidation make a direct run to the island with a favoring wind. The snow-capped tops of the Lebanon range would scarcely disappear from view before the eager eyes of the pilot caught sight of the outlines of the Cypriote Olympus traced against the western sky. What might, therefore, have been anticipated actually came to pass. The very first voyages of the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, as soon as they ceased to hug the shore of the mainland, were in the direction of Cyprus, scarcely more than half as distant from their settlements as were the mouths of the Nile. The name by which Cyprus was known to the Phœnicians, and through them to the Hebrews, was *Chittim*, evidently the same as the classical town of *Citium*, built on the side of the island turned toward Phœnicia, and in all likelihood the first point where the Sidonians landed.

General di Cesnola, a native of Italy, but an adopted citizen of the United States, took up his abode in Cyprus on Christmas-day, 1865. He had served with distinction in our army during the War of the Rebellion, and had been appointed by President Lincoln, a few days before his assassination, to the post of Consul of the United States at Cyprus. The selection was a fortunate one, and the position congenial to Cesnola's tastes. Although the miserable little town of Larnaca, the residence of the consular corps, is a sufficiently dreary residence for a stranger dependent for his enjoyment upon congenial society and the appliances of civilized life, it presented a rare opportunity to one so fond of scholarly research as Cesnola for indulging in explorations for which he was destined to develop great aptitude and tact. As the necessary duties of his office do not seem to have occupied him very closely, it was not long before he began to look about for the best field for his fascinating pursuit. The town of Larnaca was the most convenient point for making a beginning, and there could be no doubt

that it occupied very nearly the site of the ancient Citium; but it had the disadvantage of having been somewhat explored already, and there was the further drawback of too close proximity to the Turkish authorities. Nevertheless, the discoveries at this point were by no means insignificant. The Phœnician origin of the city had been, before Cesnola's visit, established by a considerable number of inscriptions, and the closeness of its early intercourse with the remoter East was proved by a slab of basalt, found in 1846, upon which is portrayed an Assyrian figure, the counterpart of many of the figures brought from Nineveh by Mr. Layard. The cuneiform inscription upon the slab proves that in the reign of Sargon (707 B. C.) the king of Citium was one of six Cypriote kings that paid homage to the great Assyrian monarch. On a low hill overlooking the salt lake to the west of the "Marina," or landing-place of Larnaca, there had for the past twenty years come to light great quantities of small terra cotta figures of curiously diversified shapes. It was here that, in 1866, Cesnola began, in a mere amateur way, as he tells us, the explorations which were afterward to expand into very serious undertakings: and during his residence at Larnaca he opened, chiefly here, more than three thousand tombs. They were almost all of the Greek age, dating from 400 B. C. to 200 A. D. Some interesting sarcophagi and vases rewarded the general's labors. It may be noted, as another of the evidences so frequently recurring of the practice of Orientals in all ages to secrete the precious metals on account of prevailing insecurity, that in one of the tombs opened by Cesnola's workmen, in 1870, a bronze vase was discovered closed at the top with a leaden cover, in which there were nine hundred and ninety gold *staters* of Philip and his son Alexander.

The intense heat of summer upon the coast led General Cesnola to seek a retreat for himself and his family in the interior. Fortunately he had set his eyes upon a delightful grove of lemon and orange-trees in which nestled a white cottage. This was on the way from Larnaca and Nicosia, the political capital of the island, some fifteen miles north-west of the former, and in the neighborhood of a village bearing the name of *Dali*. Here our explorer established himself in the hot season for several successive years. The modern name of the

village pointed not doubtfully to the identity of the site with that of the ancient town *Idalium*, and the conjecture advanced many years ago by Engel, in his "Kypros," was soon confirmed by the discoveries of conclusive proof that a large population had once dwelt here. At Dali, too, Cesnola had been preceded by other less fortunate explorers, one of whom in a letter to M. Ernest Renan, published in the *Revue Archéologique*, of October, 1862, declared, a little too positively, that "nothing more could be found at Dali!" "Happily," Cesnola quietly remarks, "neither Mr. Lang nor I accepted seriously these hasty conclusions, otherwise much valuable archæological information concerning the island, brought to light by Mr. Lang from a temple, and by me from some fifteen thousand tombs, might have remained still buried."

As the last remark hints, the chief interest of Dali centers in the immense necropolis, or, rather, series of necropoles, recently brought to light. At first the tombs were found at an average depth of only about five to eight feet. The style of construction was very uniform and simple, a hemispherical cavity cut horizontally in the earth, and measuring about eight feet in diameter. The walls and roof were made of moistened clay mixed with fine cut straw to give it increased cohesion. Each tomb had contained either two or three occupants, arranged in one prescribed manner, and accompanied by sepulchral vases, etc. There is reason for astonishment that so large a proportion of these primitively built tombs have withstood the pressure of the ground above them, and that the vaults of so few have fallen in and destroyed the contents. In fact, the preservation of the objects that were placed by the side of the dead is surprisingly good in every respect. It would seem that this is partly the result of the percolation of fine dry earth through the porous material of the sides of the tombs, filling them up to within a few inches of the roof, and effectually shielding the most delicately wrought objects from decay. "After many years the contents of these tombs became, as it were, tightly packed up and preserved in almost as perfect a condition as when they were first interred." By the end of the first summer several hundred tombs had been opened, all of the same character, and all, as Cesnola was convinced, of Phœnician origin. The vases were of every vari-

ety of shape, but generally "of a pale cream color, ornamented generally with concentric circles and other geometric designs, painted in a brownish color, probably made with *terra d' umber*, which is found in great abundance in Cyprus; this color resisted even the effect of muriatic acid diluted in water, thus showing that the color had been applied before the vessel was baked." As the exploration of these tombs advanced it was noticed that they gradually became deeper and deeper, showing that the surface of the ground was not the same as when they were first constructed. When they had reached a depth of nine or ten feet, suddenly a second tier of tombs was discovered above the first, at a depth of only three and a half feet from the surface. The construction of the tombs was about the same as to shape and size, but the builders of this second cemetery were evidently a very different class of persons from the builders of the first, the very proximity of which may have been unknown to them. The continuation of the same general principles of construction may be accounted for by those traditional usages which cling strongly to certain localities, even when the population has gradually undergone an entire change.

But the contents of the second tier of tombs was altogether different from the contents of the lower tier. In place of the finely wrought earthenware vessels of the Phœnicians, there appeared a great quantity of objects of *glass*. So utterly unfounded is the belief very generally entertained, even until a comparatively few years ago, that the ancients were unacquainted with the manufacture and use of glass, that here this material was found in almost every conceivable shape. There were *amphoræ*, or wine-jars, narrow-mouthed *lecythi*, plates, bowls, cups, rings, bracelets, amulets, beads, and many other objects whose use is unknown or obscure.

Respecting this branch of ancient industry the discoverer makes some valuable statements in his fourth public lecture:—

I have alluded in another lecture to the very rich collection of ancient glass which the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses. The whole of this glass comes from my excavations in Cyprus. That the invention of glass is credited to the Phœnicians I believe to be unquestioned. The ancients attribute its invention to accident. Some Phœnician merchants, it is said, who were

carrying a cargo of niter, which was used in Syria for soap, had landed on this coast. While preparing their meal the sailors propped their caldron, for want of stone, which the sandy coast did not afford, with lumps of niter. The lumps were melted by the heat, and, mixing with the sand, produced a stream of glass. The discovery may have been accidental as regards Sidon, but the probability is that the art was derived by the Phœnicians of Cyprus from Egypt, which is supplied with sand by the desert, and with soda by the Natron Lakes. The operation of glass-blowing is represented in the painting of Beni Hassan, to which we cannot attribute an antiquity of less than three thousand five hundred years, and two specimens of Egyptian glass are now in existence, one bearing the name of Sesortasen, a sovereign of the Twelfth Dynasty, and another bearing the date of Sargon, who ruled in Assyria about 700 B. C. No date is assigned by the tradition to the Sidonian invention; but, from the absence of all mention of glass in the Old Testament, it is natural to conclude that the establishment of the manufacture there was not of very high antiquity. The oldest glass vessels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of New York, were found in tombs with Babylonian cylinders and Egyptian scarabs, and we can place their date at about 750 to 800 B. C. Without any exception, they are made of opaque glass of variegated colors. The simplicity of their shapes, compared with the vessels of transparent glass, is another strong evidence of their having been made long ago. These variegated glass bottles are very small and narrow, with narrow necks, a conclusive evidence that they were used to hold some precious liquid, which had to be poured out in small drops, and most likely some liquid perfume. These bottles are all pointed at the base, and when used were placed upright on circular gold or silver stands, of which several examples exist in various European museums. . . . Comparatively large as is the number of these variegated vases in the museums of Europe and in that of New York, there is a remarkable uniformity in their colors. From the patterns with which they are decorated, as well as from their shapes, we should be inclined to conclude that the manufacture of these opaque glass bottles had been confined to one place, and, perhaps, to a short period of time. Otherwise, we should expect to trace among them those changes of fashion which, in ancient times as now, occurred rather frequently.

One of the most interesting points connected with this department of ancient manufacture is, *the brilliant iridescence* which the originally *translucent* or *transparent* glass of the ancients has so generally assumed. This is the feature that instantly strikes the visitor upon entering the spacious room in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the cases of which are crowded thousands of specimens of this beautiful material.

That the iridescence is not peculiar to the *Cypriote* glass appears from the fact that most of the ancient glass in the British Museum and elsewhere possesses the same characteristic. Indeed, probably some of our readers, who may have visited the sites of ancient cities in Italy or Greece, have, like ourselves, picked up among the fragments of pottery, so uniformly strewing the soil, little pieces of glass that have been subjected to the same chemical change. On the subject of the antiquity of the glass that has undergone this wonderful transformation, Cesnola makes some valuable remarks, in the same lecture from which we have already quoted:—

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is very rich in vases of transparent or translucent glass, and we find there a great variety of shape, size and ornamentation. At the present day these vases are often of the greatest brilliancy in color, though originally they were entirely devoid of this element of beauty. It must have been this want of color in the glass itself, together with the natural desire to produce beauty of some kind, that led the makers of these vases into so many delicate shapes and forms. In regard to decoration they were, of course, free to make up for colors by the introduction of molded designs to any extent they wanted, and which could be attached to the surface of the vases, or by molding the vase itself. All these vases of transparent glass were found in tombs alone, and contained the remains of liquid perfume with which the dead body had been anointed. Many yet show traces of this ointment very plainly, and there is a bottle among them found hermetically sealed, *in which the ointment is yet seen in a liquid state.* From the objects discovered in the same tomb with the glass, we are able to fix the date of the latter with some accuracy. These objects were Rhodian amphoræ, and Roman lamps and coins. The Rhodian amphoræ, of which the New York Museum is the only one that possesses entire specimens, have labels or seals stamped on their handles. They have either the head of Apollo Helios, the famous Colossus of Rhodes, represented in full face, or a full-blown rose, an emblem which also appears very frequently in the coins of that island. The object of these stamps on the amphoræ from Rhodes is not known. But some archæologists believe that they were intended to certify that the amphoræ held a specified quantity, as we know they were used by the Rhodians as a measure. On some of these stamps there is the name of the magistrate under whom the amphoræ were made, and also that of the month, taken from the Doric calendar. On one of these amphoræ appears the name of Amyntas, who was a Rhodian admiral living in 304 B. C. From this we can fix the oldest date for the translucent glass at about 320 B. C. As for the glass vessels found in the

tombs with Roman lamps and coins, we cannot be far wrong to place them at the beginning of our era.

Respecting the causes of the transformation, some valuable hints are given, which, if they do not altogether explain it, perhaps put us on the track of discovering the methods of nature:—

In the New York Museum we can see specimens of ancient glass in all stages of disintegration; and there is nothing which ceases to exist more gracefully or more brilliantly than glass. But time, in my opinion, has little to do with this process of decomposition. My observations in this respect have been extensive, and I became satisfied that this decomposition is due to dampness, where alkalies and acids prevail in the soil. For instance, whenever I opened an ancient tomb through which no earth had percolated and the floor of which was dry, the glass there was always found without any iridescence, and some specimens were extracted from these tombs which had the appearance of just coming from a glass factory, instead of being two thousand years old, as they are. The glass, which is covered with the finest iridescence, was, without exception, found in a tomb filled with earth, and near the sea-shore, where a great dampness prevailed. There is no doubt that in salt water the decomposition of glass goes on more rapidly. The glass found in damp tombs in the interior of the island cannot be compared to the brilliant iridescence which covers those found in similar tombs near the sea-shore. . . . Since my Cyprus discoveries some glass manufacturers in Europe have endeavored to produce this iridescence by exposing the glass to the vapor of some acids; but you have only to take a piece of this newly iridized glass and compare it with the iridescent glass in the Museum to be convinced of the immense difference between them. Still, this new production in the manufacture of glass is a good one, and seems destined, for household purposes, to become a favorite with the American people.

It must not be supposed that the glass vessels just referred to were the only, nor, indeed, the principal articles discovered at Dali, and at Alambra, in its vicinity. Some of the terra cottas, evidently, it seems to us, connected with the worship of Mylitta, or Venus, are curious, and the bronzes (that is, those figured in Plate IV, of Cesnola's work) exhibit singular artistic taste. Of special interest was a bronze bowl, five and a half inches in diameter, and two and three quarter inches high, (figured on page 77,) upon which is represented a species of chorus or procession of dancers, in honor of an enthroned goddess. The lotus flower, held by the latter, leads Mr. Ceccaldi

to the opinion that she is the Egyptian Isis, while, insomuch as the dancers are all women, not alternately men and women, as upon the "shield of Achilles," it is probable that the goddess was one the conduct of whose rites devolved upon women exclusively.

In some respects the most striking of General di Cesnola's discoveries—certainly the most important of which the results came to the United States in the first purchase of the Metropolitan Museum of Art—were made at *Golgos* or *Golgoi*. This place, mentioned by Pliny among the fifteen towns of leading position in Cyprus, and referred to by Catullus and others in connection with the worship of Aphrodite, is situated at the base of the same mountainous range as Dali, some ten miles to the east, and as many miles nearly northward from Larnaca. The first great "find" at Golgoi was the colossal male head, in so admirable a state of preservation, which no visitor of the New York Museum, having once seen, can possibly forget. For the benefit of those who have not seen it, we may say, that from the apex of the conical cap that surmounts it to the end of the beard it measures two feet ten and a quarter inches in height. Add to this, that the features are admirably cut in an archaic style, approaching the Assyrian, and that every part is not only carefully wrought, but so perfectly fresh in appearance that it might have been executed a few days or months since, instead of over two thousand years ago, and the reader may understand some of the reasons why this grandly severe countenance makes a more profound impression than that of any other even complete statue in the notable collection in the midst of which it is placed. So important a discovery paved the way for further exploration, which was amply rewarded. After much patient digging, and the unearthing of some very remarkable single statues, the walls, or, rather, the foundations of a rectangular "temple" were discovered, at a depth of six and a half feet below the surface. The wall measured but two feet in thickness, and two feet and ten inches in height. The entire rectangle was sixty feet long by thirty feet wide. As to superstructure, there was evidence that whatever originally constituted the walls and roof had been of more perishable material, and had disappeared, scarcely leaving a trace behind. Says Cesnola:—

I am convinced that a great number of the temples built in Cyprus previous to Hellenic influence in the island were very simple in their architecture, built exclusively of sun-dried bricks, and then thickly plastered within and without, like the houses built there at the present day. The absence of columns, and the finding of two stone capitals in this inclosure, may be explained by the conjecture that the custom which prevails to-day in Cyprus, especially in the interior, of forming the columns of the porticoes and peristyles of wood, with capitals and bases of stone, obtained at that period. For this purpose the capitals found among ancient ruins are often employed now, and sometimes with ludicrous effect, as, for instance, in the portico of a Greek convent at Lapethus, where I counted twenty wooden shafts, only five feet in height, supported and crowned by beautifully carved Corinthian capitals, out of all proportion to the petty shafts.—Page 139.

But, whatever may have been the architecture of the temple, the low foundation, which alone remains, was found to inclose an abundance of wonders. Along the inner sides of the wall there was a continuous row of low pedestals, of irregular size and height. These pedestals, on the eastern side alone, numbered seventy-two. Scarcely had the excavation advanced two feet further toward the interior of the building, before the use to which the pedestals had been put became evident. A whole line of statues then came to light, made of calcareous stone, all lying prostrate on the temple floor, most of them with their fronts or faces to the ground. They were of all sizes, from the colossal to that of the simple statuette. In the great majority of cases the head had been broken off from the body, apparently by the fall. But though General di Cesnola was not long in making this strange discovery, the task of improving it was a slow and tedious one. The statues were imbedded in a compact mass of clay, not improbably derived from the sun-dried bricks of the perishable walls. It was a substance almost impenetrable to the pick-ax, and only when water had been laboriously brought from a great distance and poured upon the clay could any progress be made in removing it. From the faces and more delicate parts of the statuary it could be separated only by extraordinary care. Cesnola has given (page 142) an entertaining account of the painful anxiety felt, and the extraordinary precautions taken, to extricate one particular statue, which proved to be a magnificent specimen of art. While workmen removed the clay from the back, Cesnola amused

himself for several days with a wet sponge and a knife in removing the clayey earth around the head, and from time to time made some new and delightful discovery: first, that the hair and beard were beautifully curled, after the Assyrian fashion; then, that the curls, when wet by the application of the sponge, showed traces of red color; then an almond-shaped eye became visible, with the pupil colored, also in red. The rest let us tell in the enthusiastic discoverer's own words:—

> But the most prominent feature, which was to give character to the whole face, and either enhance or destroy its beauty, would that be found uninjured? Alas! it was too much the ordinary fate of ancient statues to be deprived of this essential feature to hope for better fortune in this instance; but I worked on slowly and with increasing precaution, replacing the knife by a piece of soft wood, and applying the sponge freely. Finally, the nose appeared in all its perfection; but the anxiety to find the rest of the head intact increased, and intensified my fears and hopes. Thus I labored for days, gradually developing one feature after another, until the whole magnificent head was laid bare, and found unmarred even by a scratch. It had a pointed head-dress, apparently representing knitted work or leather, and ending in a knot.

The rest of the statue was ultimately gotten out, and found to be admirably preserved. It was the most decidedly Assyrian type found by Cesnola in Cyprus; the heavy dress reaching the bare feet, and completely concealing the form, as in the bas-reliefs dug up by Layard at Nineveh.

The other sides of the temple had been provided with pedestals similar to those lining the eastern wall, besides which there were disposed at equal distances, in the center, fifteen larger blocks of stone, arranged in three rows, upon each of which once stood either statues or pillars to support the roof. Near one of the entrances was also discovered the broken fragments of a great stone vase, seven feet in diameter, and only sixteen inches high, undoubtedly what the Greeks styled a *perirrhanterion*, and meant to contain the holy water used by worshipers for sprinkling upon themselves on entering the sacred precincts. So ancient is the pagan rite still perpetuated in the well-known custom observed in our Roman Catholic Churches! How rich the temple of Golgoi proved in archæological discoveries may be understood when it is stated that after eleven days of continuous labor had passed, with one hundred and ten

men employed, and the workmen had advanced only nine feet toward the center along the line of sixty feet, there had already been unearthed two hundred and twenty-eight sculptures! Of these about two hundred averaged only two feet in height; the remainder were either life or heroic size. Though many were broken, upon the whole the surfaces were free to a remarkable degree from defacement of every kind. The western side of the temple area in due time yielded a similar harvest of statuary, but, strange to say, it was no longer of an Assyrian or Egyptian type, but distinctively Greek. Some of the statues, indeed, had the peculiarity of later Greek and Roman art, that the eyes had been cut out of the stone and replaced by ivory, the pupils having been distinctly represented by the insertion of some precious stone, now gone. This practice seems to have been resorted to by the earlier Greek artists only in the case of their statues in metal.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing the discovery in the temple of Golgoi as the most important of recent times affecting the history of the development of the plastic arts. Nowhere else has a single edifice afforded such a tribute of archæological wealth; nowhere has a single inclosure furnished such new and rare illustrations of sculpture in its various stages of progress, from the Phœnician type, powerfully influenced by Assyrian and Egyptian models, to the purely Greek. That there is here a mine of incalculable value is evident; that it still awaits the advent of the student sufficiently skillful and shrewd to extract the full significance of its indications, is equally plain. How specimens of such widely different periods of time and of art came to be brought together under one roof is a perplexing question. Was this a *pantheon*, in which some worshiper or worshipers of antiquity had attempted to gather the most diverse objects of devotion, and harmonize them by local juxtaposition? Against the theory is the fatal objection that many, if not most, of the statues are evidently not gods or demigods; in fact, no such representations as the devout chose for their reverence and adoration. Nor do there appear to have been altars and other appliances for worship on such a scale as this supposition would require. If a conjecture is admissible, in this case, we should say that possibly the building, though not a temple, was a species of *treasure-house* attached

to a temple; somewhat such a building, in fact, as Ernst Curtius believes the Parthenon of the Athenian Acropolis to have been—a beautiful dependency upon the small temple of Minerva Polias in the neighboring Erechtheum. That the priestly curators of a treasure-house of this sort would have arranged the contents in the comparatively orderly manner that would seem to have prevailed here, is not improbable. We know of no other hypothesis that so readily accounts for the great *crowding* of a single building with such a variety and multitude of objects. Among these is a large number of votive offerings, of which, as at the present day in the Church Ara Coeli, in Rome, the more recent always demand room even at the expense of the old, which must then disappear from the shrine, either to be stored elsewhere, if sufficiently valuable, or to be melted up, if made of the precious metals.*

As to the mode of destruction that overtook this singularly interesting edifice, General di Cesnola expresses himself with little positiveness:—

> The fact that no gold or silver objects were discovered among the ruins would lead to the belief that it had been pillaged and destroyed; while the carbonized wood and deep layer of ashes found in the center would, on the other hand, give rise to the impression that it had been struck by lightning. In that case the cross beams and rafters, if left bare, (as is still the custom of the natives, even in the loftiest buildings,) would be fired by the electricity, and these pieces of charred wood, to some of which there were still adhering long bronze nails, might be the remains of the roof, which in falling would have thrown down the statues. These coming in contact with the unpaved soil were but little injured. The mud walls, supported only by a foundation of stone

* The votive offerings in the "temple" of Golgoi rivaled in variety those of the most highly favored shrines of Christendom of the present day. Some of them represented parts of the human body—eyes, ears, noses, faces, lips, thumbs, feet, etc., "rudely carved in stone, showing them to be from the poorer classes, not unlikely the lepers, of whom there are still some in the island. . . . The offerings were all found in one spot, as if placed before an altar, or some particular divinity supposed to possess the power of preventing or healing certain diseases." In a separate place was another kind of votive offering—"little stone groups of women holding and sometimes suckling babes, and of cows and other animals similarly occupied with their young." Another group, badly defaced, "consists of four persons, one holding a newly-born babe, while the mother, extended upon a sort of chair, her face still convulsed with pain, has her head supported by an attendant."—Page 158.

two feet ten inches high, would of course soon follow, though not, perhaps, before the priests could remove all the portable objects of value. That the walls fell in is proved by the mass of clay and triturated straw in which the statues were found embedded. They had become so consolidated by sun and rain as to render their excavation very difficult. Again, the destruction of the temple may have been caused by the shock of an earthquake such as was in antiquity, and still is, a not unfrequent occurrence in the island. All, however, is mere conjecture, but the fact that the different epochs of art contained within the temple cover a long line of years.—Page 163.

It would be impossible within the limits of the present article to give even a sketch of Cesnola's important and successful explorations in almost every part of Cyprus. They were especially successful at Amathus, one of the leading cities of the southern coast, and which, according to many, was the oldest and most faithfully Phœnician city upon the island. Though many of the tombs here opened had been rifled of their contents at some unknown time in the past, and much apparently reckless damage had been done, the sarcophagi discovered were of the most curious, and very precious relics, including parts of a singular silver patera, and of a bronze shield, had been overlooked by the plunderers. We must, however, pass on to the exploration at *Curium*, twenty miles farther west on the same coast, which was fruitful of a greater discovery of objects in the precious metals than were yielded by any other single place in Cyprus. It is these that constitute the principal attraction of the second purchase of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

General di Cesnola describes the site of Curium as, of all the ancient sites in Cyprus, excepting Neo-Paphos, that which presents the greatest quantity of *débris* upon the surface of the ground. He counted seven places where shafts of columns of marble or granite are lying half-buried in the same position as when they fell centuries ago. Broken pottery strews the ground, and now and then parts of the old pavements are visible to the eye, marked with the tracks of chariot wheels. In one place there are stone steps quite worn out by the busy feet which, two thousand years agō, came and went to a cistern hard by, probably a public well. Hundreds of smaller mounds mark the spots where dwelling-houses once stood, and

many larger ones indicate the sites of temples or other public edifices. To one of the latter Cesnola had had his attention specially drawn by some eight granite shafts partly embedded in the soil. In digging up two of these, for the purpose of measurement, a mosaic pavement was uncovered. It had been much injured by the fall of the columns; but when the whole was cleared of the ground upon it, it was evident that more damage had been done by some treasure-seeker in the vain attempt to discover the object of his pursuit beneath it. It seems to have occurred to Cesnola that this person must have had some good reason to dig in this particular place; at any rate, he tells us that the ground sounded hollow, and he ordered excavations to be made. It was a fortunate decision. On going some twenty feet lower down than the place where his predecessor had stopped, a gallery was met excavated in the rock, eleven feet four inches long, a little over four feet wide, and hardly four feet high. One end had evidently communicated with the building above; at the other was a door-way. When the stone slab covering this door-way had been removed, an oven-shaped chamber was revealed, and when this had been sufficiently cleared, a second similar chamber was found to exist beyond, and still farther on a third and a fourth. The first three were in a line; at the last the passage turned off to the left at a right angle. The door-ways between the rooms were about three feet wide and high; but the rooms were over twenty feet long and wide, and fourteen or fifteen feet high. It was here that the treasure was found. The first chamber entered contained under the fine dust that had percolated through the ceiling only articles of gold, the second articles of silver and silver-gilt, the third objects in bronze, alabaster, and terra cotta, and the fourth objects in bronze, copper, and iron.

It is not too much to say that this "find" is perfectly unique in its bearing upon the history of the working in gold and silver, for, while a great part of the treasure may belong to the classical period of Greek art, there is no doubt that some of it goes far back into the region of prehistoric art. The most precious discovery, in every sense of the words, was incontestably that of the two gold armlets, weighing, we understand, over two pounds a piece, upon each of which was inscribed in

Cypriote characters the name of the owner. On being deciphered, the inscription was seen to be equivalent to Ἐτεάνδρου, τοῦ Πάφου Βασίλεως, "Belonging to Eteandros, King of Paphos." This monarch has been identified, almost beyond question, with "Ithuander, King of Paphos," who is recorded on an Assyrian cylinder in the British Museum as one of ten kings of the island of Cyprus that brought tribute to the Assyrian monarch Esar-haddon in 672 B. C. Other articles exhibited far greater beauty of workmanship than these plain armlets. The gold necklaces, of which three or four are figured, of the natural size, by Cesnola, are of exquisite shape, and as highly finished as any thing that could be turned out of the best shops of the present day. One, with gold acorns for beads, has a head of Medusa as the center pendant. In another the beads are pomegranates, and the center place is filled by a delicate gold bottle for perfume. Bracelets, with lions' heads, rings, in which the stones are supported by cupids, and other devices of various kinds, abound. All this profusion of gold was found scattered over the floor of the first chamber, as though dropped amid the hurry and confusion; while Cesnola feels convinced that the chamber had contained a quantity of treasure which the priests had been successful in carrying away when the temple above was menaced with destruction. That destruction in itself sufficiently accounts for the fact that the priests never returned to take the rest. Their secret perished with them, or the traditions respecting the whereabouts and amount of the treasure left behind became so vague and uncertain as to cease to stimulate the cupidity or direct the search of their successors, beyond the feeble attempt of those who broke through the mosaic pavement. It was plain that the hurried efforts of the priests to carry away the temple treasure were confined to the articles intrinsically most precious. While the gold of the first chamber was scattered about the floor in a haphazard way, the silverware of the second was found just as it had been originally arranged. In all there were over three hundred articles of silver and silver-gilt-vases, goblets, bowls, and dishes, massive armlets and bracelets, chiefly terminating in asps' heads, earrings, rings, and amulets. These were found placed in an orderly fashion upon a low ledge around the curved side of the

chamber. "The vases were standing by themselves; the sixty bracelets were in three heaps, and also apart from other objects; the bowls and dishes were found stacked one inside the other in nine stacks, the top one in each case containing earrings, rings, armlets, and fibulæ." Unfortunately, many of these objects had suffered greatly from the oxidization of the metal, parts of those most exposed to the dampness having become so disintegrated as to fall to powder at the slightest touch. Not to mention in detail the bronze tripods, candelabra, spearheads, buttons, mirrors, etc., it may be noted that from these same chambers comes that magnificent terra-cotta vase, nearly five feet in height, which astonishes the visitor to the New York Museum less by its size than by its remarkable finish and quaint archaic style of decoration.

Of discoveries in other places there was an abundance, many of them of sufficient moment in themselves to have drawn our attention had they not been eclipsed by the more striking discoveries at the places above particularized. To the biblical student, for example, the accidental turning up of an inscription in which the name of a proconsul *Paulus* occurs—in all probability the same as the *Sergius Paulus* who was proconsul in command of Cyprus at the time of the visit of St. Paul, and who was converted to Christianity through the apostle's preaching—is particularly interesting, as another of those confirmations of holy writ which are continually coming to light. (See pages 229, 424, and 425.) Statistics, in such matters as this, give but a faint idea of work done; yet the following figures may be of interest. According to the summary published by authority of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, General di Cesnola explored and identified the sites of eight ancient royal cities, and discovered the ruins of eight others, besides finding the sites of twelve towns of less importance. He discovered and explored fifteen ancient *temples* and sixty-five *necropoles*, containing sixty thousand nine hundred and thirty-two *tombs*. The total number of the "objects" obtained as the result of the explorations is set down as thirty-five thousand five hundred and seventy-three. About two thirds of these are in the New York Museum, some five thousand having unfortunately gone to the bottom of the Mediterranean, off the Syrian coast, in 1871, while on their way to America. Among these "objects"

are such important items as two thousand one hundred and ten *statues* in stone, marble, or terra-cotta, four thousand two hundred *busts* and *heads* in the same materials, fourteen thousand two hundred and forty *vases*, three thousand seven hundred and nineteen vases, bottles, cups, etc., in *glass*, one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine articles of *gold*, etc.

Of the scientific results of General di Cesnola's explorations it is, of course, premature to speak with certainty. Their full import can only be reached years hence, when the subject has been more thoroughly studied. Much, however, has even now been gained. The recent deciphering of the Cypriote character is in itself likely to prove of great assistance. That character had been a very difficult problem, baffling the skill of the ablest linguists to solve. Indeed, the first attempts made, as was supposed with some success, to read Cypriote inscriptions, have turned out to be blunders as absurd as any that distinguished Kircher's well-intended efforts in reading the hieroglyphics two hundred years ago. A celebrated bronze tablet, with an inscription thirty-one lines in length, discovered at Idalium, having been published in 1852 by the Duc de Luynes, a learned German, Professor Roth applied himself to its interpretation. In 1855 he gave to the world a translation, according to which it was written in a *Semitic* dialect, and was a proclamation of Amasis, King of Egypt, to the inhabitants of Cyprus. Unfortunately for the professor's reputation for accuracy, some few years since a bilingual inscription was found on the island, by the assistance of which the late George Smith, of the British Museum, Dr. Birch, and Dr. Brandis have made out the true nature of the Cypriote characters. Instead of being alphabetic, they prove to be *syllabic* signs; but the language they were used to express, so far from being *Semitic*, is plain *Greek*, though with dialectic forms peculiar to the island where it was spoken. The pretended proclamation of King Amasis after all is "a very interesting record of a public grant of certain lands and vineyards (the boundaries of which are carefully described) to a certain physician and his family, who, on the occasion of a war, had rendered important services to the wounded of Idalium." The document is as carefully drawn up as any legal instrument of the present day could be, even to the provision that, should any person lay

claim to the property conveyed, he be compelled to pay a specified sum of money to the physician or his heirs. (See Cesnola's Second Lecture.)

Respecting Phœnician art, Cesnola's discoveries confirm the views which, from a knowledge of the history and relations of Tyre and Sidon, we might reasonably form. The inhabitants of these great trading centers were remarkably destitute of the inventive faculty. It is true that their peculiar situation and circumstances modified their reproductions of ideas received from others; but of original conceptions they had few or none. As commercial agents they had in their hands the supply of all portions of the known world with those commodities which must be brought long distances to a market. It could not be that a people exhibiting such aptitude for carrying on a trade the magnitude and variety of which, as we read it even partially catalogued in the twenty-seventh chapter of the prophecy of Ezekiel, strikes us with astonishment, should fail to develop, also, a chameleon-like power to assimilate itself to its surroundings, if not in manners and customs, at least in productions made for sale or barter. And as it was elsewhere, so it seems to have been in Cyprus. The Phœnicians, the first settlers of the island that we know as having developed its resources, originated nothing, but confined themselves to copying with some modifications the works of Assyria, Egypt, and, subsequently, Greece. "Considering their circumstances, their devotion to trade and commerce, their dependence upon Phœnicia proper as the main body of their nationality, it could not be expected that the Phœnicians in Cyprus would create any new system of public institutions, any new form of religion, or, what most concerns us now, any essentially distinct phase of art. Just as their kinsmen, the Carthagenians, in Sicily, struck coins on the model of the Greek coins of that island, and in other respects acted as did the Sicilians, so in Cyprus the Phœnicians devoted themselves in matter of art to copying the powerful neighbors with whom they came in contact. In the earliest period these neighbors were exclusively Assyria and Egypt, and by a careful inspection of the Cypriote statues in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, it may be seen in what way this or that element of design, peculiar to one or other of these nations, was seized upon, partially modified, and reproduced

with the addition of a certain purely Phœnician character. And in this way came about the very striking peculiarity of Phœnician art in Cyprus. The Phœnicians of Cyprus traded with Egypt, and had to adopt certain conspicuously Egyptian elements in their design. The Phœnicians traded, also, with Assyria, and had to seize upon the main features of Assyrian design." How much of the original was retained, and how much was added by the Phœnician-Cypriote artist, General di Cesnola very happily pointed out in his public lectures, illustrating the subject by particular instances drawn from his own discoveries. In one statue the dress is not quite Assyrian, nor is the manner of rendering the beard quite the same as in the sculptures from Nineveh. Still, the general impression is identical; the head-dress resembles very much that worn to this day by the village priests of Cyprus when working in the fields like other peasants, and Cesnola conjectures that this head-dress was familiar to the Phœnicians, at least those of the Island of Cyprus. So, too, in later times, when trading with the Greeks. Here was a statue with the face of an Oriental, but the limbs, dress, beard, and hair such as are seen in Greek sculpture.

But it was from the *Greeks* that, after all, the Phœnician sculpture of Cyprus derived its most characteristic departure from the Egyptian and Assyrian models. It was the Greeks that first taught the art of statuary, properly so-called. And here we cannot do better than quote General di Cesnola's instructive remarks, (Second Lecture):—

> The first thing that surprises a student of ancient art in the Cyprus collections is this: that some of the statues look Egyptian, others Assyrian, and others Greek, yet beneath this appearance of diversity there is much in the statues I discovered in the ruins of the Temple of Golgoi that is common to them all, and is neither of Egyptian nor of Assyrian origin. To begin with, they are all sculptured in the round, and are statues properly so called. *But in Assyria no statues in the round have ever been discovered,* unless we dignify with that name two or three figures that are more like dolls, made to be covered with real drapery, as are the Madonnas on festal days in Italy. It was in sculpture in relief that the Assyrians excelled, and of their excellence in this abundant evidence was found by Layard at Nineveh. That the Assyrians, with all their artistic skill, should never have thought of making statues in the round, seems a most curious circumstance, until we

recollect *the great scarcity of stone* in their country. The Assyrians had bricks, wood, copper, and bronze enough for their buildings, but as regards stone, so very limited was the supply that they were compelled to restrict its use to facing slabs for the walls of their palaces, and on these slabs they could execute only reliefs. Tradition states that the Assyrians had statues in the round made of bronze of colossal size, but probably they were few, so very few that not one single fragment of any of them has as yet been discovered, and on the whole it will be safe to conclude that the art of statuary, strictly speaking, was unknown to the Assyrians.

Nor was the case very different with the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, although these came much nearer to the Greek conception of the independent, rounded statue:—

So, again, many of the statues from Cyprus appear to be entirely Egyptian. In Egypt there was no scarcity of stone. In fact, the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile were the greatest nation of stone-builders and stone-workers of the ancient world. It is beyond doubt that the early Greeks learned much of their stone-work from the Egyptians, as, for example, the remains of pyramids in Argos testify. But then the Egyptian stone consisted of a hard granite which cost long labor, and a great expense to render useful, and one of the consequences of this was that in Egypt, as in Assyria, statues sculptured altogether in the round were comparatively rare. Very frequently the Egyptian figures are in such high relief as to be practically statues in appearance. Still, statues they are not. . . . Among the civilized nations of antiquity it was the Greeks who first took to sculpture in the round, and it is from their success in that branch of art that they have gained a renown which apparently will never be eclipsed. It was the Greeks who first successfully made in stone a figure of a man cut free all around, and standing independently on his own feet. Nor is this so very strange when we come to think how well the fact coincides with what we know of them in other ways. It reminds us of their public institutions, in which each citizen of Greece stood free, to be judged on his own merits all around. There was no such thing in Greece as public freedom for individuals, until they fought for it and established it as their inalienable right. So it was in sculpture; there was no free standing statue for which the Greek artist could conceive a high ideal type. Every-where conditions were attached which repressed whatever artistic ardor he might possess. The best work of Egypt and of Assyria is always more or less associated with tyranny, while the best work of Greece is inseparably connected in all respects with the idea of freedom, but always freedom within certain bounds, as limits which have been discovered by the experience of ages to be absolutely necessary. It could only have been, then, from the

Greeks that the Cypriote artists derived the original idea of statues in the round, however much in detail they may have copied from the Egyptians and Assyrians.

This is, however, a topic which, important as it is, we cannot here discuss at greater length.

Independently of the interest attaching to General di Cesnola's volume because of its strange antiquarian revelations, it is at the present moment of special importance from the views presented regarding an island that has, after centuries of comparative neglect, suddenly forced itself upon the world's notice. That the soil is fertile and capable of sustaining not the scanty one hundred thousand or so of human beings that now inhabit it, but the million or more that it may have had for its population in the palmy days of its history, is very clear. On an area nearly as great as that of the State of Connecticut, it boasts a wonderful variety of natural products, and the copper and other mines that early rendered it famous may be regarded as practically inexhaustible. Yet Cyprus is a wonderful illustration of the extent to which the most glorious natural endowments may be rendered useless by war, misrule, ignorance, and a debased form of religion. For two or three thousand years—in fact for as long a period as we know any thing of its fortunes—Cyprus has been a prey to the most destructive warfare, its very physical advantages luring all its powerful neighbors to contend for possession of this beautiful garden spot of the East. If the earth were to reveal its long-kept secrets, we should find the slain of Assyrian, Egyptian, Phœnician, Greek, Roman, Saracen, Venetian, Genoese, Turkish, and still other blood, lying side by side in an island that thus became the common burial-ground of Asia, Africa, and Europe. But of all the misery entailed by conquest that which has followed in the wake of the Turkish subjugation has unquestionably been the deepest. It is, therefore, not without a sense of satisfaction that we read of the steady decline of the Turkish element of the population, through the inexorable laws of God's own implanting, even before the island fell into British hands. The Christian population of Famagosta, expelled at the time of its capture by the Ottoman army, founded the little town of Varossia close by. The latter, Cesnola tells us, (page 193,) is a neat, thriving place, with its fine Greek church and new

belfry, a good bazaar, several manufactories of pottery, its good stone houses, orange and lemon groves, and very extensive gardens, studded with mulberry-trees for the nourishment of the silkworm. The appearance of the Christian town presents a marked contrast to the gloomy quarters of Famagosta, occupied by the Turks. Indeed, throughout the island, General di Cesnola assures us, the places inhabited solely by the Turks are, as a general rule, dirty and miserable, and show every indication of decay. It is the natural consequence in the case of a race that disdains honorable occupation, that knows little of, and cares still less for, profitable handicraft, and of which the men spend their time in idleness, drinking and smoking at the *café*, leaving the household to take care of itself. Cesnola is very positive of the result:—

> In Cyprus the race of the Osmanlis is fast disappearing. This I had opportunities of remarking during my residence there, and I have been assured by competent persons that only forty years ago the capital of the island contained more Turks than Christians; at the present day the latter are in a large majority. The crime of abortion is extensively practiced among the Turkish population, and the Turkish midwives flourish every-where. I have spoken of this to Turks, who were intelligent and upright enough to condemn the system, but they invariably added that the Turk was too poor to allow himself the expensive luxury of having children! If such a state of things exists also in the other provinces of Turkey there is no need of any thing but time to rid Europe of this degenerate race.—Page 193.

About a mile from Nicosia, the capital of the island, is the *lepers' village*, for leprosy is a sadly real infliction in Cyprus. Cesnola does not seem to have visited it, but he met and conversed with some of its inmates. They form a community of about two hundred persons, of whom forty are Turks. They have no houses, but live in ancient excavated tombs, and in a few sheds built by themselves. The Turkish Government is supposed to give each of them a loaf of bread daily, but in reality the authorities withhold even this scanty support, and, it is said, the lepers would long since have perished but for the charity of the Greek Archbishop. At every fair or festival in the island they make their appearance, keeping together at their encampment by the roadside, and entreating the passer-by to have compassion upon them. Their average age is from

forty to sixty years, but there are boys and girls in the company. They receive recruits from time to time, for from the moment a person exhibits even the faintest symptoms of leprosy "all relationship and friendship are at an end, all future intercourse with him ceases, and he is driven from his native place, provided with a quilt and some food, to find his way to the lepers' village, seldom, if ever, with a word of pity, compassion, or hope." The disease seems to exist only among persons of the lowest class, and, as Cesnola notices, the number of lepers increased in those years when, on account of the drought, there was greater scarcity of food than usual. The physical effects are described (pages 245 and 246) about as they are seen in other parts of the East.

Some interesting references to customs that have come down from patriarchal times occur in this work. We can only allude to the very singular practice, that prevails to some extent in Cyprus, in accordance with which an aged father frequently dispossesses himself of his whole property in favor of his sons and daughters, becoming entirely dependent upon their generosity for the rest of his life. A curious but painful story is told of the way in which the custom worked in, at least, one case, (pages 83 and 84).

General di Cesnola gives an account, which is well worth reading, of a class of persons, nicknamed *Linobambaki*, of whom we do not remember ever before to have heard. They are the descendants of ancestors who, at the time of the Turkish conquest, externally submitted, through fear, to the religion of the victors, and pretended to become Moslems while loathing the rites of Islam in their hearts. From that day to this, or for over three centuries, these people have consigned themselves to a degrading hypocrisy. Our author met them in the hamlet of Leo-Castro, a mere agglomeration of huts, in the south-eastern part of the island, whose inhabitants, miserably poor, eke out a scanty living by trafficking in poultry, which they buy in the mountains and sell in the large towns of the plain or sea-coast. Their nickname—"Linobambaki"—signifies linen and cotton, and points to the circumstance that they try to be both Christian and Moslem. Externally they are Turks, and they are treated by the government as such, but at heart they are adherents of the Christian religion. Many, if

not all, we are told, originally belonged to the Latin, or Roman Catholic, Church; but at the present day the Greek bishops and the Latin priests dispute for them, each claiming them as rightfully numbered among their respective flocks. The marriage and baptismal ceremonies of the Linobambaki are secretly performed by a priest of their choice. They manage to evade the performance of the rite of circumcision on the birth of their male children, by making a present to the hodja. In order to avoid suspicion they adopt for their sons (we are not told how it is for their daughters) such names as are common to Christians and Mussulmans; as, for instance, Ibrahim, (Abraham,) Moussa, (Moses,) Yusuf, (Joseph,) etc. When the yearly military conscription of the Turks takes place, they are regularly subjected to great annoyance, amounting to persecution. As Mohammedans they are obliged to serve in the army if drafted; as Christians they would be exempt on payment of the "Askerieh," a tax that begins with the day of their birth. In order that their children may escape the draft the Linobambaki often, it is said, pay this tax like the other Christian subjects of the Sultan. When, however, the draft takes place, this circumstance avails them nothing, and the authorities will accept no evidence of the Christianity of the Linobambaki who has been drawn for service. In such cases many young men flee from the island never to return. The authorities, on the other hand, are wont to throw the father of the conscript into prison until the son can be produced, or to force one of his brothers to take his place in the ranks. Cesnola was so happy as to succeed in his intercession with the Turkish governor-general, in behalf of a young man who had been treated in this unjust manner.

Altogether we must express the great satisfaction with which we have read General di Cesnola's volume. The entertaining narrative is rendered even more attractive than it would otherwise have been by the sumptuous manner in which it has been brought out. Not only is the letter-press in the best style of modern typography, but the illustrations are exceedingly numerous, of exquisite delicacy of finish, and, what is still more essential, minutely exact. It is just the book to study carefully at home, and then, when the contents are fully mastered, to take with one to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in

its new and appropriate rooms in the building just erected for it on the Central Park. A series of such visits, with the necessary preliminary study, and with this admirable hand-book by him, will give an observant man a clearer insight into ancient art in its historical development than is brought home by the majority of tourists from the cursory inspection of the great museums of Europe now in vogue.

And here let us, in conclusion, felicitate our metropolitan city upon its astonishing good fortune in securing for this side of the Atlantic a collection in many respects without a rival on the eastern continent. In truth, we hardly know whether to wonder most at the inexplicable delay of the authorities of the British Museum and the Louvre, by which the opportunity to get possession of the Cyprus curiosities was forever lost by them, or the smallness of the cost at which the trustees of the New York Museum (who none the less on that account deserve the warm thanks of the public) obtained what we sincerely believe will prove an unceasing source of profit and instruction to all our community

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Art. VI.—A PLEA FOR PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.

One of the marvels of the present troublesome "Religious Question" in France is the fact that so many of the people believe that it can and must have a Protestant solution; and another marvel is the rapidity with which Protestants are coming to the front in all the responsible positions of the French Republic. Nearly half the present Cabinet are Protestants, who have not attained their positions in this capacity or because of this fact directly, but rather because of their energy and practical character, and of the very significant circumstance that nearly all the solid, sensible, and capable men among the moderate Republicans are either Protestants or are inclined to favor the development of the Protestant movement.

Even the "Freethinkers of the Republic" are led to sustain and develop the Protestant idea. We lately in Paris picked up a book with the above title from the counter of a

Protestant bookseller, and, to our surprise, found its preface introduced by this aphorism from De Tocqueville, "Liberty without religion is the vain idol of our generation." And the whole tendency of this opuscule is to develop the expediency and the necessity of the Freethinkers of France taking ground in favor of the Protestant religion, because it is far better than none, and because the safety of the Republic demands the most strenuous exertions on the part of its friends to meet and withstand the insolent aggressions of Ultramontanism within the political domain.

Another interesting little work has for its title the significant question, "What is Protestantism?" and the following aphoristic reply is found on the title-page, "Protestantism is the religion of modern times." And somewhere we have found floating in this species of literature the expression, "Protestantism is the religion of liberty; Ultramontanism, that of tyranny." This, then, is the direction of liberal, atheistic thought, taking a practical turn toward Protestantism, not from conviction, but from the necessity of some religion instead of the present dominant one of France. Even Renan is having his children trained by Protestant teachers, because he feels that they must be brought up under the discipline of some religion, and prefers that one which has always been in favor of liberty.

Now, the conscientious believer in the Protestant faith will consider such accessions of no great value, and will simply regard them as what they are, namely, political conversions. But let us see what they lead to: One of the brightest of the liberal minds of France, Eugene Reveillaud, recently published a little work bearing the title, "The Religious Question and its Protestant Solution;" and we give here the substance of its preface. The author declares the work to be in good faith, though not a work of faith. He is not a believer. He would like to be, but he can no more control his reason than he can compound with his conscience. He is a member of no Church, but was born and brought up in Catholicism, though he early abjured its ceremonies and works, and became a Freethinker. But he is now ready to give his testimony in favor of Protestantism, not as a work of religious propagandism, but as a means of securing social and civil liberty. He grants that this position may shock sincere and pious Protestants, who

would repudiate human means as a work of evangelization. But he declares such scruples foreign to the object of his endeavors, and speaks as a politician and not as an apostle.

He adds significantly, "When the impulse shall have been given by the politicians the apostles may come, if they will, and lead to their faith all that they can of the multitude. Let us clear the field of weeds, abolish crying abuses, and stamp out dangerous superstitions. Afterward let him who will, sow the religious idea." And now listen to the interesting sequel to this story.

Liberal Protestantism is growing so rapidly under the Republic that for some time measures have been in progress for establishing a daily Protestant journal in Paris, less with a religious than with a Liberal and National purpose, and the chosen man for the editorship of this sheet was this same Reveilland, lawyer, and editor-in-chief of the "Republican Future" of the city of Troyes. He stands so high in the estimate of the French Protestant ministers of France that the celebrated Jean Monod, of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Montauban, gave the writer of these lines a card of introduction to him, as one who could best reveal the whole aim and purpose of this movement. But suddenly and recently the announcement has been made that Reveilland will not edit the proposed journal, because he has gone completely over into the Protestant Church, of which he has become an active and *conscientious* member, and feels that there is not religion enough to suit his convictions in the proposed journalistic enterprise. He himself has, therefore, turned out to be the most emphatic example of the hopes that encourage the French Protestants in the semi-religious movements of the hour.

We therefore conceive that it will be extremely interesting to follow his Protestant solution of the vexatious "Religious Question," as a demonstration of the process through which many liberal French minds are now passing, on their way, as the true Protestants hope, to the bosom of their Church and the doctrines of the Reformation.

In burning words he first arraigns the Papal Church in France, and shows its dangers to society, the family, and the country, and insists on the necessity of a religious reform. He alludes to the fact that tens of thousands of the most en-

lightened Frenchmen are repudiating the Catholic Church, and going over into the ranks of philosophy by embracing the powerlessness of "Free Thought." He insists upon it that the French nation needs a Christianity, and can only crush out the false and bigoted Church by the introduction of a better and more liberal one; for the moral and religious influence of this Church on society, on wives and children, is needed, even if the men are not yet ready to give it more than the support of a mere affiliation without conviction or belief.

He then undertakes to inform his countrymen what Protestantism is by its fruits—a most useful work, from the fact that the great body of the French know little else of Protestantism than its antagonism to the Catholic Church, and are taught from infancy to regard it as an unclean thing, that they must neither touch, nor taste, nor handle. Now this defense of Protestantism by a French Freethinker we propose to give in the condensed form to which the limits of an article confine us—editing the author rather than translating him—speaking for him with the cream of his "defense."

The best means of judging of the Reformation is to show the results that it has produced among the nations that have embraced it. From whatever point of view we regard Protestant countries, whether it be of humanity or religion, military power or diplomatic influence, the advancement of science or the diffusion of popular education, every-where the Protestants lead and affirm their superiority in all domains of the activity of human thought.

The nations subjected to Rome seem struck with sterility. The words of Thiers paint their religious capital—"Rome is emptiness and sterility." Their past is brilliant, but their present is somber, and their future alarming. Place all the Catholic States of the world on the one side and the Protestant on the other, and it will be seen that the predominance has passed over to the heretics. In the year 1700 France represented in herself alone one third of the force of the five great Powers. Now she represents about one seventh of the six great Powers. And this need be no matter of astonishment: the political, economical, and social condition of nations depends on the education of successive generations. That of Catholicism has been intolerance and oppression, pro-

ducing only inanity and revolt. The question is not, as in the Protestant school, to know what use to make of liberty, but to suppress by all means its advent. Its history, therefore, under Catholic Powers has been a series of continual struggles, alternating with victory and defeat. It is the story of the rock of Sisyphus.

On the contrary, the Reformation allied to faith liberty, that powerful support of duty and necessary basis of justice, and this fruitful alliance has, without violent shocks or blind reactions, with the simple assistance of time, renewed the morals, the legislation, and the institutions of Protestant countries. We do not pretend that every thing is perfect in Protestant nations, nor even that, on the whole, they are much better than we; but still they advance, while Catholic nations remain stationary or retrograde. And for nations, as for men, no longer to progress is to fall back.

And it must not be said, as we have often heard, that Protestantism was progressive in the sixteenth century, but has done nothing since, and now no longer suffices us. It is true that many of our contemporaries have gone far beyond the ideas of the Reformation; but this progress, if it was such, does not authorize us to condemn the work of that century. Certain ones may have broken definitively with the past, and on their own private account closed the era of the Middle Ages. But have all our neighbors, have our wives, has France, done this? Ah! if free thought only had its collection of doctrines, a system of teaching with schools and temples; if it opposed to the progress of clericalism any thing else than vain imprecations; if, while reforming morals and strengthening in all hearts the sentiment of duty, it at the same time cleared away old superstitions; if it brought back unity in the family and concord in the State, we could understand that it might boldly face Protestantism, and speak disdainfully of the services rendered by the latter. But have we reached this point? We do not succeed in banishing the priests from our own fireside, and we talk of refusing to clericalism the threshold of France!

The flood of clericalism is rising around us, and we have no raft of safety. We know that the one of Protestanism is within our reach, and that it will land us on the side of liberty and

not of tyranny. Let us, then, accept the refuge that this Protestantism offers us, and embark free from anti-religious prejudice, and see if this raft is not broad enough to contain us, and, with the faith of the humble and the reason of the wise, strong enough to prevent the shipwreck of the Republic and of civil society.

What, then, is Protestantism? The word indicates the totality of the Churches that have separated from the Romish communion, and the common faith of these Churches. The religion of Protestants is the reformed Christian religion, that is to say, freed from abuses, inventions, and the scandalous practices introduced into Christianity since the period of the primitive Church. It is the Church returning to the pure and simple doctrines of its founder, Jesus Christ, and the teachings of the apostles, as we find them in the Holy Scriptures. This Christianity reposes on the foundation of miracles, and for that reason is shocking to many minds that would wish religion to have its proofs with the severity of a mathematical demonstration. Every thing is mysterious in this chain of Christian dogmatics, which extends from the creation to revelation, from sin to pardon, from incarnation to resurrection, from death to redemption.

God makes man free and responsible for his actions, gathering good or evil fruit as he will, and incurring eternal punishment or reward. But he is clement at the same time that he is austere. He gives to men his Son Jesus Christ as a pledge of his love and mercy. We escape from the punishment of sin neither by our merits nor good works, but solely by the intercession of the blood of Christ. This is to-day the doctrine of Protestant orthodoxy. This theology, taken from the Bible, has its value, and it is not for us to decide. But it has, at least, this advantage over the theology which Catholicism also pretends to draw from the Scriptures; it suppresses all intermediaries between God and man; it puts us directly into the presence of the Spirit and its mercy; it makes to us no mystery of the book whence it has taken its inspirations. It puts the Gospel into our hands, and invites us there to seek the reason of our faith.

Protestant theology compels no belief; individual conscience is placed in presence of the Bible, and each one is a

priest unto himself. Take and read, compare, believe. But if I cannot believe? Read and pray; God will send you his Spirit. But if his Spirit does not come, and doubt continues to invade my soul? Hope! God is great. We do not say, "Outside of our creed no salvation;" but, with the Gospel, "Peace on earth and good-will to men."

How different this syllabus of Protestantism from the Catholic syllabus which anathematizes and damns whoever does not strictly conform, we will not say, to the teachings of the Gospel, but to the declarations hurled from the seat of the pretended successor of an apocryphal St. Peter, an acknowledged successor of Paul the Fourth and of Alexander Borgia!

This liberty of examination and this diversity of judgment and beliefs must necessarily introduce numerous sects into the bosom of Protestantism. But these variations, in which Catholics see a proof of weakness, appear to us a sign of enfranchisement and greatness.

You Catholics pretend to have a unity of faith; but are you sure of it? Whence came those repeated anathemas from the Roman Pontiff against "liberal Catholics?" Is there not in your Church a schism declared or threatened? But we will admit that all contradiction ceases when the Pope speaks. What, then, is this boasted unanimity but that of the tomb? Such doctrines are petrified: they brave the storms because discussion cannot affect them. The mind has no action over them, either to raise them up or to cast them down. Men may refute them during all eternity without gaining any thing against whited sepulchers, in which words no longer resound.

The living faith that moves mountains has long since been extinguished in you. In fear of hell or purgatory you have abdicated your judgment, and placed your faith in the hands of confessors who care for your souls, and for a little money become security for your salvation in the other world. So much for the unity of the flock, and as for the unity of the shepherds, one knows that iron discipline succeeds in maintaining it. There, as in a regiment, officers and soldiers, bishops and priests, must submit to the rule of simple obedience. The timid know that the least spark of independence will be treated as apostasy and struck with the penalty of excommunication. The skillful and the ambitious are attracted by the

promises of a learned hierarchy, and they accept the bondage for the honors, and bend the neck to the collar in order to wear the purple and receive the living.

You are dangerous because you thus form a sacerdotal army, and subject your own individual convictions and conscience to a haughty and domineering theocracy. The cross is for you only a pretext, a means of control. Jesus is for your ambitions but a borrowed name, and your fanaticism is less religious than political. No; Protestantism need not envy you your unity. It has for itself sincerity, the respect of its conscience and judgment; and it has life, which is better than all. All shades of Protestantism can contend with the weapons of exegesis; these leave no ruins and shed no blood. On the contrary, they stimulate the intelligence, enlighten the conscience, revive the faith, and in all cases render homage to the spirit of sincerity and truth.

And, although all the Protestant Churches may not be in accord as to belief, we know that they are, at least, a unit against Rome. And is it not something that, while restoring to us the pure morality of the Gospel, Protestantism delivers us from the yoke of the priesthood, from the worship of relics of wood, stone, images, from monastic *régime* and celibacy, and from all those lucrative, silly inventions of purgatory, confession, indulgences, abstentions, fasts, and all other works of supererogation that have disfigured the body of the primitive Church?

Protestant worship is as simple, austere, and dignified, as is Catholic worship vain, pompous, and pagan-like. Sermons, prayers, and hymns which in themselves are prayers, form all the liturgy of the Reformed Church. And no one, however little he may feel the necessity of worshiping God, need blush to join in such adoration. All this explains the fact that in Protestant churches both sexes are found engaging in worship. Enter a Catholic church on Sunday, and you will find plenty of women and children, and a few old men; but of young or middle-aged men, very few. From contempt or hostility the husband remains away from ceremonies in which his wife finds pleasure and expects to secure a way to heaven. This is the first invasion of family unity, and so much the more fatal because the place left vacant by the husband is occupied by the

priest or confessor. Catholic households are divided by religious questions, while in the Protestant family the husband is the high-priest of his household and the leader in family devotions, with the open Bible at his hand. The true and natural family was the victory of Luther, the corner-stone and basis of all faith; for where the family is weak even the State has no firm support.

Another baneful result of the sacerdotal *régime* has been to create a caste which isolates itself from the rest of the nation in order to control it by that prestige which men who pretend to be the representatives of divinity and to hold the keys of heaven naturally claim. The Reformation has completely broken with this system of imposture and pride. It admits no intermediaries between God and man; it has overthrown ecclesiastical thrones, rejected the crosier and the tiara, and proclaimed the equality of all men before the Gospel. The Protestant pastor does not, as the Catholic priest, acquire a sacred character from his ministry. He claims no power to bring God to the altar, and distribute his veritable body to the faithful in the form of bread. He neither defines nor augments dogmas. He neither pardons nor removes sins. As preacher of the Gospel he confines his ambition to guiding his brethren in the way that Christ has laid down, and he acquires all his authority as adviser from the choice of his flock, the rectitude of his conduct, and the dignity of his life.

The organization of the Reformed Church of France, as of most Protestant Churches, is on the principle of equality and democracy. To prevent the creation of caste Calvin instituted the rule that the minister of the Gospel is to be chosen by his people, and thus the principle of popular sovereignty became the basis for the new civil order born of the French Revolution of 1789. It is not, therefore, surprising that republican tendencies harmonize with the Protestant religion, nor that Protestant pastors have long been accused of desiring to make a republic of France, as Calvin had of Geneva. And they may just as well be accused of the wish to found schools, and raise up the blind and the lame among the people and give them eyes and limbs. For this is what they did in Switzerland and Northern Germany. Zwingle and Luther were not simply theologians; they were also the instructors of the people.

the French Revolution was incessantly menaced because the religious reformation had not been made, because there were too many chains binding us to the Middle Ages, and because we had neither the will nor the boldness to sever them. As long as we are not emancipated from Rome and its pontifical traditions, so long we shall simply be encamped on the soil of liberty, and the least gust of wind may disperse our tents. "I tell you in deep conviction, Frenchmen, republicans, brethren, if we will keep our country from reaction and our race from decline; if we will found otherwise than on sand a government of liberty, equality, and fraternity; if we will bequeath to our children a Republic, honest, intelligent, peaceful, and industrious, let us with our families break irrevocably with Rome! Let us demand from a religious reform the secret of a moral and political reform. There is the pressing duty; there, if we can see and will it, will be our safety."

To this bold measure we anticipate many objections from simple women and timorous or indifferent men, who will tell us that we ought not to change the religion in which we were born—ought not to leave the faith of our fathers. But why not abandon the religion of our fathers, as we have laid aside their costume, their habits, and their prejudices in education, politics, medicine, etc.? Is religion the only immutable thing? The last Ecumenical Council taught us the contrary. Our daughters, who are to-day taught the dogmas of the immaculate conception, the infallibility of the Pope, and the special worship of the Sacred-Heart, or the apparitions of Lourdes and Salette, practice a Catholicism different from that of their grandmothers. If it is a misdemeanor to abandon the religion of one's fathers, these were the first to commit it. Since they abandoned paganism, Druid-worship, etc., why should we not return to them?

The clericals will cast at us the ugly word, "Apostasy!" But let them talk, and let us apostatize. If to abandon a religion which abandons itself is to apostatize, let us have the courage and the pride of apostasy!

The objection of Freethinkers will be this: We cannot embrace a religion all of whose dogmas we do not accept, nor enter a Church whose creed we cannot fully profess. Now, in reply to this objection: At first, what we ask of Freethinkers,

of whom we are one, is not to commit an act of hypocrisy, to pretend to a belief which they have not, nor to accept dogmas which their judgment rejects. It is one thing to belong by name to a Church, and another thing to belong to it in heart and faith. Now, despise it as they do, the Freethinkers nearly all belong to the Catholic Church by name. They form an integral part of the thirty-five millions of Frenchmen who figure as Catholics in official statistics, and who furnish to our clerical enemies their grand argument for their rule. They are attached to Catholicism by baptism, by confirmation, and by marriage, and the most of them will still be attached to it by their funeral obsequies.

Now, it is these ties, some involuntary, others more or less imposed by habit or social requirements, that hold and constrain us. The same priest who administered the "sacrament" of marriage to the parents will control the education of the children. And how can we reproach our wives for confessing to the priest, and confiding to him the moral and religious control of their souls and those of our children, when we ourselves, in the flower of our age and the conviction of our office and our responsibility, have not been able to take this solemn step of marriage without kneeling in a confessional at the feet of a man in cassock—sometimes, perchance, himself a villain—and without devoutly asking of this sinner the remission of our sins?

Men may be able to do without religion, but it will be long before our wives will do without it, and perhaps this is so much the better for them and for us. Now, in order to bring them nearer to us, and to induce them to cease being the unconscious accomplices of the fanatical Ultramontanes, can we not go a step to meet them by inviting them to the platform of a religion at the same time more enlightened and less belligerent? Ah! if men were only willing to become the leaders here, and be the apostles of their wives, rather than to leave this care to others; if, in considering the religious needs of these affectionate and timid souls, and their powerlessness to yield to a cold positivism or a brutal materialism, they would undertake to lead them by gentleness, by argument, by example, to a religion less gross and a worship less austere, which they could practice in common without abjuring the one her native charity

and the other his glorious reason, what progress would there be gained, what a journey effected, what a guarantee given to the peace of households, to the harmony of understandings, to the maintenance of morality, to the good order of the community, and the stability of the Republic!

What we ask of positivists and of deists, as of Christians more or less convinced, and all citizens who love their country, is to range what faith and religion they may have under a standard which may not be that of a Catholicism hostile to the Republic, to progress, to liberty, and to themselves. If they admit another life, and a better world; if they believe in a God, eternal, just, powerful, good; if they feel the need of worshiping the God whom their reason proclaims to them, of raising their hearts beyond the limited horizon of this earth, why not choose, in order to render to him public homage, these simple temples without idols and vain images, where an assembly of believers in Christ sing in chorus the praises of the Most High, listen to instructive and strengthening sermons, which inspire the love of the good, and the abandonment of vice and evil passions?

But if this worship seems needless to you, if silent adoration suffices you, or if you think you can do without adoration and prayers, be it so! but take, at least, the name of Protestant, to indicate that you protest against clericalism and its works; that you reject the priest; that you intend to live and die, control your family and raise your children, without him, and that your separation from him is complete; that there is no longer any thing common between you and him, not even the name of Catholic which they inscribe on the census rolls. In short, if you do not turn Protestant in conviction or Christian faith, be so at least by the inspiration of an enlightened policy.

Here the horde of clerical combatants will stop us with the accusation of being nothing but political atheists, of accepting Protestantism because it is easy and convenient, and of opposing religion itself rather than Catholicism. For ourselves we deny this. We have sufficiently explained how necessary religion and worship seem to us. We can no more conceive society without a God than justice without the idea of another life and morality without duty. We attack Catholicism not because it is the genuine religion which restrains us, but because

it is the corruption of Christianity, because it engenders atheism and unwholesome superstitions, and leads straight to doubt and incredulity.

We do not embrace Protestantism because it is more easy. Let some one show us wherein its doctrines are more convenient than that of works; wherein the morality of Calvin is less strict than that of Catholic teachers. What we ask of Protestantism is not a facility for vice, not indulgence for transgression of the law of God. If we desired these things we would come to seek them of you. How find a more easy doctrine than yours, that allows such sweet repose on the bench of the confessional, that washes from the basest soul the abomination of the vilest crimes, while it condemns to eternal punishment a Newton or a Pascal, if they die without your offices! Very convenient indeed is your religion, with its indulgences and absolutions, its pious works, its purchase of souls from purgatory, its daily sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ, its preservative miracles, and its pardons sold by the thousand at the hands of those representatives of God, so accessible that it suffices simply to kneel before them with a slight offering in the hand in order to be absolved of sins, faults, or crimes.

We seek not the easy but the true path, and we hope to find it in the Bible, which you consider it a crime for us to possess. And if the truth is not there Reformed Christianity does not give it, and much less shall we find it in your ways. You have ignored and falsified the Bible, without perceiving that in sapping this base your entire edifice must totter. If God has given us his word, and if man is in quest of this word, which has been ignored and violated, it is by you clericals that this violence has been committed. The more we withdraw from you, the greater is our chance of finding the truth, the way, and the life.

And as to the objections of the politicians: Some friends of liberty say, "It is laughable to suppose that France can change its religion—this would be making a serious matter of religion, and we have too much intelligence for that." Could we not reply in the words of the historian, Quinet? "You are right in being so anxious about ridicule; that seems to be the foundation of your faith. But if this is your principal object, do you not fear there may be in the end some ridicule in assuming

every-where the defense of your rights, and never being able to establish any among yourselves; in ardently desiring liberty and assiduously embracing servitude?"

Some have said that Protestantism is liberty as long as it is in the minority, and will become tyranny as soon as it attains the majority. This fear is without foundation. Protestantism would cease to be such from the day that it engaged in persecution. Let the Protestant Church undertake to suppress the liberty of its members, and from that hour a rival Church would be formed. In Protestant countries we nowhere find infringement on the liberty of worship. In England, in the Netherlands, in America, the Ultramontanes have the same liberty of faith, of worship, and of propagandism as the Protestants of every sect, and even the Freethinkers. Except in the Catholic minority tolerance is every-where in the law, in the customs, and in the very air. We may thus conclude that, whatever progress Protestantism may make among us, the natural division into sects will save us from this danger.

Again, it is objected that the introduction of a new religion would open the way to more fanaticism and confessional disputes. But we deny the existence of peace. The present struggle of parties in our country is now more religious than political. The war is clericalism on the one hand and democratic liberty on the other—and this pervades every power, from the village gathering to the legislative Chambers. Even those who would desire to live in peace with Catholicism are prevented from doing so by the encroachments of the Court of Rome. Ultramontanism triumphant means all else humiliated. Every Catholic to-day must be a crusader, a knight, armed with shield and lance. Indifference, if you please, is an agreeable condition—tolerance is a fine thing; and liberty of conscience is still more acceptable. But how long will you be able to preserve the entrenchments from the waves that threaten to overflow and submerge them?

But let us be quieted as to that! We shall have no more Saint-Bartholomew massacres. It is not in politics alone that ballots have conquered all other weapons. Opinion is now sovereign; and opinion is no longer on the side of the stake or the assassin's dagger. In religion, as in politics, the triumph of a violent party is but transient. After much buffeting we

have in politics touched ground in the democratic and parliamentary republic. In religion, also, we may hope finally to plant our tent on solid ground between the reefs of atheism and the rocks of clericalism. This promised land will be renewed Christianity, or, to call it by its true name, Protestantism.

Some will still say to us, How do you expect us to change our religion in view of all the circumstances? The world is too old; our religious habits have become a second nature; our traditions are and have been for ages Catholic; we bow to Rome by a force of habit that we cannot resist; we obey because we have obeyed; we make signs and gestures because all do so around us. It is difficult to imagine spontaneous life in this dried clay. We reply: Recollect the deserts of Egypt, worn out and tarnished as are we; they did not hesitate to leap at a new thought in the horizon of other nations. Was Rome young when Paul came in the name of an "unknown God" to bring to it the words of mercy and peace? Did not even the dark Catacombs respond in a long echo? In short, were those nations young which, in the sixteenth century, responded to the calls of the Reformation, and were ready for conflicts of the faith?

We hear the reply that there is only one period in the life of nations ripe for a reform or a renaissance; and that this Reformation should have succeeded in its own age; to-day it is too late; the opportunity once lost will not return. But do our opponents prove this? If it were a law of history that it never recommences, neither the Reformation nor the Renaissance would have taken place; for what were these but a return to ancient ideas, the Reformation resuming the work of primitive Christianity, and the Renaissance seizing anew the inspiration of Greece and Rome? The same ideas came to light at different periods with different success, as may be seen in the various republics of history. And if we cannot recommence the work of an epoch, nothing prevents us from resuming it at the point where it was interrupted. Persecutions seldom have the last word, as is proved by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The French Revolution left the religious work undone, and it is for us to undertake the renovation where the sixteenth century left the Reformation; we must take it up and finish it.

We have lost two centuries in the ruts of the Middle Ages, while our neighbours have gone ahead. The instinct of the country feels this to-day, and the nation is inquiring the cause of the checks that it has received. Indeed, it knows them, and suffers from them, and would willingly remove them. It knows the name of the enemy that has shipwrecked it, and sees the light-house of the Reformation beckoning it to safety and a port. And for this reason our appeal will be heard. There are voices in the air and signs in the horizon indicating this. The religious crisis is now in an active state.

The cause only wants leaders—will Protestantism supply them? run new risks, and suffer new persecutions? Yes; because Protestantism has never abdicated its rights—the fire of proselytism is not extinguished in its bosom. As a proof of it, see its schools, its benevolent and religious associations of every kind—the foreign missions, the tract and Bible societies, that sprang spontaneously from its lap. Great sacrifices are made, and large sums expended to sustain these works. But hitherto these Protestant associations in France have failed, because they have worked with individuals rather than the masses. Now, individuals are only strong when they know themselves to be of a legion. The bravest soldier in the army displays all his courage only when he feels his regiment is behind him. In France this fear of isolation has been a great obstacle to reform.

It has been the error of French Protestantism to take too little account of human means; they might, perhaps, have triumphed in the religious wars had they not too long hesitated to defend their faith by force of arms. If, in the beginning, they had responded to violence by resistance, if they had not allowed their martyrs to be massacred while preaching obedience to established powers, if they had had less scruples in asking for foreign support when the Catholic party had already called the Spaniards into France, if they had not extended their necks to the assassins of Saint Bartholomew, they would have become masters of the situation, and the history of France would have been changed.

We press upon this point because we believe that a portion of the Protestant Church hesitates to encourage a movement such as we recommend. Eloquent and fervent preachers fear

that a political movement would bring to their ranks adherents more to be dreaded than desired; the pure current of their religion would be rendered turbid by floods of slime from neighboring marshes, and it would be choked by those who have no clear perception of gospel truths. The Church of the elect would be drowned in the Church of the multitude. To these we reply, You think you have the true and saving faith. The Gospel is in your eyes the way, the truth, and the life. Now, almost the whole of France lives to-day separated from evangelical teaching by fanaticism or anti-religious prejudices. Catholicism walls itself in against you by forbidding intercourse with your pastors, churches, and schools, and interdicting your Bible. On the other hand, liberalism, too much occupied in its conflicts with clericalism, lends but an absent or unwilling ear to your complaints.

We say: Let the barriers that separate us drop! It is true we are Freethinkers, but you yourselves claim free thought and investigation. Restore to us, in its integrity and purity, the Gospel which a hated Church has withdrawn from us. Who knows but that in the number of your new allies, your political adherents, many may follow you into the "narrow path." We offer you a field and a mode of evangelization, and we come to you on your reputation for liberalism and tolerance, and remind you of the word of the Master, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you." If, before you open, you demand a profession of faith in all points like your own, we ask, Is this the way to extend the conquests of your Church, and bring souls to Christ?

Are not the Churches of the multitude the hearth where is renewed the flame of the Churches of the faithful? The more numerous the former, the more will be the chances of the latter. And, finally, if there are few chosen for the many called, is the way to increase the number of the chosen to restrict the number of the called? It is not thus that Jesus understood access to the kingdom of heaven. He bade his servants go out into the highways and byways, and invite to the wedding all that they could find, good or evil, so that the wedding hall might be filled.

With mutual concessions we believe the alliance of Protestantism and democracy possible; let us join hands against the

perils that threaten society, liberty, the family, and religion. The signs and symptoms are favorable. The liberal and democratic press is advising rationalists, skeptics, and Christians who are only Christians, to range themselves under the official banner of Protestantism. The "Belgian Review" has an article entitled, "How raise an Altar against an Altar;" which shows the practical means of extending the Reformation in Belgium. The letters of Bouchard, counselor-general, openly abjuring Catholicism for Protestantism, have attracted much attention. Bouchard has already joined the Reformed Church. M. Turquet, republican deputy from Aisne, has just entered the Protestant Church with all his family, and it is said that his example will be followed by a whole village there. At Montmorin the work of evangelization extends to an entire community, and the Protestant place of worship is so crowded that hundreds leave the door. The little parish of Ain, tired of the demands of its curate, sent for a preacher of the Reformed Church, and, after having listened to him a few times, constituted themselves into a new Protestant congregation.

In Belgium the political contests are now clearly drawn between Liberals and Ultramontanes. Some of the best minds in the land are now engaged in showing to the statesmen and the people the necessity of throwing off the Catholic yoke in school and Church. Many men of mark have embraced Protestantism and become members of the Reformed Church. These movements are rapidly spreading in that part of Belgium where, in the sixteenth century, the Reformation was violently repressed by the ferocities of the Duke of Alva. Congregations are being formed and churches built, and the demand is for pastors to supply them.

In France men of all conditions and opinions are talking of the subject, and declaring themselves ready to join a movement to pass over to Protestantism, which they consider far superior to the Catholicism in which they were raised. What prevents a great many is the fear of being singular, of making an excitement, and of exposing themselves to clerical wrath. Thus the individual conversion will be more rare than conversion in groups. What is needed, therefore, is to call every body to the glad tidings, and encourage them to form into Protestant communities. We must preach in the public squares,

use the press in the form of books and journals, and have meetings to promote the great cause of religious democracy.

We need a religious campaign, with a watchword that will harmonize with the present current of opinion, and open to it avenues of egress. If the idea of political conversions were admitted by both Protestants and republicans, and were to receive a vigorous start by the press, it would gain strength as a train of powder is fired by a spark. It has not cost many years to make France republican. With a campaign well conducted, it would hardly require more time to make France, which is only Catholic in name but anticlerical in fact, a Protestant France in fact.

Napoleon said at St. Helena that France would have followed him if he had run up the Protestant flag. If Napoleon could have done this, why cannot a republican nation do it? There is something that is even stronger than triumphant Cæsars—it is the *Idea*. Why cannot public opinion, aided by the press and the platform, effect the boast of the despot? All that we ask of the Government would be neutrality. We ask the liberty of public assembly for this purpose, a privilege which would have given victory to the Reformers of the sixteenth century. We propose the formation of societies of good men, Protestants by faith and judgment, who would act as heralds in the work of evangelization, and gather all the sympathies floating in the atmosphere of intelligent and liberal France. These would be the missionaries of the word, and would form a center around whom the believing and the doubtful would group. They should open their doors to all loyal and sincere alliances, though composed of groping men. In the confusion of the start much base metal might flow in, but in time this could be separated from the pure.

A first group being formed, curiosity would be excited, and men would slip in first with one foot and then with two. They listen, and, hearing only frank and encouraging words, prejudices would fall. On returning to their homes they compare the teachings of the two creeds, and, feeling themselves strong in the company of friends to assist them in bearing the anathemas of a powerless Church, they hasten to join their brothers, and the movement thus commenced cannot fail to spread. In this work we count on France, but we count also

on God, on that powerful and eternal God, impartial Judge of human actions, irrefutable witness of the greatness of the decline of empires.

With the knowledge of our suffering, may he put into the hearts of our brothers the conviction of the remedy! And may we, under his auspices, give, as did the people of America during their War of Rebellion, the example of the uprising of a great people. Let us ask of genuine Christianity the secret, less material than moral, of these sudden uprisings. With a common heart let us devote ourselves to the work of deliverance. Let us struggle with all our weapons to wrest our country from the detestable yoke of clericalism. Our children's children will then some day place on the façade of our ancient temples, purged of idols and given up to the worship of the Most High, that sentence which Rabelais had inscribed on the portal of his temple of the will: "Enter, and establish here the true faith."

Art. VII.—THE REVISED METHODIST HYMNAL.

By the revised Methodist Hymnal is meant the collection of hymns made and set to music by the Committee of Fifteen, appointed by the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church under authority imparted by the General Conference held in Baltimore in 1876—a Committee selected from the eastern, middle and western sections of the Church, in view of their estimated efficiency and adaptability for the task.

Successive Revisions.

This revision of the standard hymnic manual is the sixth that has been made since the introduction of Methodism into the United States of America. The first American hymn book was used for eleven years, the second for twenty-four years, the third for twelve years, the fourth for twenty-one years, the fifth—now supplanted by the completed work of the revisers—has been in use for twenty-nine years. Thus the average age of each revision is less than twenty years.

Churchly experience forbids the expectation entertained by

the five Bishops who signed the address prefixed to the revision of 1849, that another will not be required for "generations to come." The "generations to come" will, doubtless, provide for their own lyrical needs. The business of the General Conference, and of the Committee appointed under its auspices, was to provide for the wants of the present generation. This they have done to the best of their ability. Neither time, nor labor, nor careful thought has been spared in the preparation of as perfect a *thesaurus* of sacred lyrics as the size of a convenient and portable volume will allow.

Reasons for the Sixth Revision.

Every book, and every revision of a book, ought to have a *raison d'etre*, a sufficient justification for its existence. Especially is this true of hymnic revisions. Changed conditions, new necessities, enlarged demands, warranted all former alterations, and amply vindicate the one just accomplished. The fifth revision, though nominally the joint work of the Revs. D. Dailey, J. B. Alverson, J. Floy, D. Patten, Jun., and F. Merrick, with whom were associated Messrs. R. A. West and D. Cramer—author of the excellent work entitled, "Methodist Hymnology"—was mainly the product of Dr. Floy's tireless energy and assiduous application. Nor is it any disparagement to the labors of one so noble and gifted that many believed the volume, as it left his hands, contained grave imperfections and defects. They contended that, however grand and beautiful as poems some of the included compositions may be, they are none the less unsuited to the demands of public worship. Though favorites for private devotion, they are ineffective as instruments of praise and prayer by the great congregation. The peculiarly difficult metrical structure of many condemns them as unavailable. Others are destitute of special merit. Again, some are purely didactic and comparatively void of devotional spirit, while others include expressions repugnant to good taste and objectionable to judicious criticism.

449. "Me, in my blood, thy love pass'd by,
And stopp'd my ruin to retrieve;
Wept o'er my soul thy pitying eye;
Thy bowels yearn'd, and sounded,—Live!"

has been repeatedly adduced as a glaring example.

Another class is composed of commonplace hymns that have every-where failed to win popular favor, and are rarely used as vehicles of religious thought and aspiration. Yet others are so closely akin in thought, style, and diction, that some may wisely be spared to afford room for others of equal merit, varied character, and wider adaptation. Keen scent for doctrinal heresy also detected, or thought it detected, unsoundness in some of Charles Wesley's hymns, probably written before Moravian instrumentality led him out of lifeless formalism into the light and liberty of the children of God. His baptismal hymn, No. 258, must have been composed under the influence of his faith in baptismal regeneration—an unscriptural tenet, energetically repudiated by John Wesley, and no less thoroughly by his disciples. If the prayer embodied in that hymn,

"Make the unconscious lepers clean,"

conscientiously expressed Charles Wesley's convictions as to their moral state, it certainly contrasts strongly with the words of the Lord Jesus: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Honest objections were raised to the statement in hymn 397:

"Ne'er was a heart more base
And false than mine has been;
More faithless to its promises,—
More prone to every sin."

Can every one truthfully sing these lines? They give utterance to feelings of deepest self-humiliation and contrition; but are they in harmony with literal fact? Such questioners would fain restrict the poet's license, and force him to sing within the bounds of mathematical precision. From their stand-point this and kindred verses do seem to "lean too much toward Calvinism." They do not wholly harmonize with the doctrines of Scripture, or with those of evangelically Arminian theology. Hymn 1006 "leans too much" in the opposite direction—toward Universalism:—

"Rejoice, ye that love him; his power cannot fail;
His omnipotent goodness shall surely prevail;
The triumph of evil will shortly be past,
And omnipotent mercy shall conquer at last."

This is a glowing and spirited quatrain; but it is heterodox. It implies the ultimate annihilation of all moral evil, and the restoration of all intelligent beings to holiness and happiness, and therefore ought to be extruded.

"Imperfect in what it comprises, the hymn book is also defective in what it does not comprise. Where are the hymns for charitable objects, for foreign and home missions, for temperance and social reforms? True, there are some, but they are inadequate in number and quality. Where, too, are the grand old hymns of the ages, made accessible to us within the past twenty years by the translations of Neale, Caswall, Stanley, and Charles? Where are the touching lyrics of Faber, of Elliott, of many modern singers in God's spiritual Israel? The Methodist collection ought to include these, but does not."

All these reasons were repeatedly and forcibly urged to induce the General Conference to provide for another revision. Nor were additional arguments wanting. The Hymn-Tune Book, issued by the Book Concern, failed to win popular favor. Enterprising pastors, willing to profit by its fickle gales, compiled ephemeral collections, and used them in social and public worship. Pushing publishers, also, competed with the standard manual, and, where successful, not infrequently introduced heterodoxy tenfold more dangerous than all Charles Wesley's lapses put together, besides vitiating the poetical taste of the people. We speak of these things as in the past. They are extant now. Lyrically, or hymnically, the Methodist Episcopal Church is demoralized to an extent that would call down the heartiest denunciations of John Wesley, and of St. Paul too, could they enter upon a fresh tour of episcopal supervision. Denominational purity, uniformity, efficiency, and progress, all unite in imperative demand for a revised Hymnal, a demand which the one just perfected is held by the Board of Bishops, who have unanimously indorsed it, to amply supply.

Character of the New Hymnal.

If the revised Hymnal be not the best extant, it is because the Committee were not capable of constructing it. It does not satisfy the ideal conceptions of any one member, nor of any one class in the Church. If it did, the very satisfaction would condemn it as an ecumenical failure; for it ought to

meet the intellectual and moral necessities of all classes, from the *élite* of metropolitan society, to the emancipates of the rice swamps and cotton plantations. In order to this the needs and tastes of every section of the country were diligently ascertained by the Committee. No source of information was neglected. Conference associates, correspondents, Church papers, were anxiously consulted. Exemption from one-sided criticism is more than can reasonably be anticipated by those acquainted with human nature.

Not unfrequently that one-sided criticism is perfectly sincere. That it is in any degree unjust is not an intentional fault of the critic. It is wholly due to a want of personal acquaintance with the difficulties of the subject. The Committee have selected the best temperance hymns they could find, and embodied them in the Hymnal. That they have not inserted more, and of better and more inspiring quality, is due to their inability to find such hymns, although they sought for them with most painstaking care. The temperance reform has inspired the grandest oratory, the most moving eloquence, but has hitherto failed to impart the poetic *afflatus* in measure requisite to the production of immortal or universally popular lyrics.

Some may inquire why the Committee did not insert such a collection of popular hymns and choruses as would insure the introduction of the Hymnal into all our Sunday-schools and social meetings. It has inserted such a collection as *ought* to insure such introduction, and the universal use of the Hymnal for a long period, at least. This is all that any collection of popular hymns and choruses has ever effected, or can effect. Had the Committee inserted as many ephemeral compositions as the best of the thirty-cent manuals contain, the book would have been incumbered with what, in two or three years at longest, would have been antiquated and worn out. Another revision would have been imperatively demanded in less than five years.

Popular favorites in the shape of new hymns, ditties, choruses, and tunes, are almost invariably passing fugitives. They tarry but a while, and then pass from affection and memory into practical oblivion. The demand for "Devotional Melodies," "Zion's Songsters," "Winnowed Hymns," "Hallowed Songs," "Chautauqua Carols," and the whole family of

musical fantasies, cannot be met by a standard hymnal that is only designed to meet every real want and every holy desire of earnest Christian souls.

The religious public *will* have such publications, without doubt. The Committee would gladly have ministered to such demand by the preparation of a suitable volume, that would contain all that is excellent and attractive in the compilations of Moody and Sankey and their tuneful brethren, and that should *not* contain any doubtful theology; but such was not the duty imposed upon them. The enterprising and judicious Agents are competent to such provision, and may eventually make it. The business of the Committee was to prepare a Hymnal, and a Hymnal with Tunes, adapted to social and private worship. This they have done to the best of their power. If it be but a few steps in advance of others as a repository of general supplies, then is it entitled to the highest consideration and warmest praise. The Committee have had command of the richest hymnologic treasures of all climes and centuries, the choice between faithful and excellent translations, and the assistance, in some rare cases, of modern writers. They have had the experience of predecessors to guide them, ample allowance of time to perfect the work, and have devoted themselves to it with a persistent enthusiasm born of love and conscience united. Hymns, verses, lines even, were discussed by the hour. No hymn was excluded or admitted without the requisite two thirds majority; nor any changes permitted unless convinced of the utility and propriety of such alterations. Two or three of the Committee have achieved local distinction as poets, and even national reputation as composers. The remainder, composed of college presidents, professors, presiding elders, pastors, and one lawyer, were representatives of distinct classes of culture, position, and experience, and ought to have produced a result at once ecumenical and representative—ecumenical because truly representative. In striving to embody a possible ideal, the essential conditions of the charter were rigidly observed; but not with such slavish adherence to literal details as to interfere with the best outcome of the work possible to the Committee as a whole. How far their diligent and self-sacrificing toils have been crowned with success is for the Church, whose servants they are, to judge.

Size of the New Hymnal.

Including doxologies, the number of hymns in the revised collection is 1,136. To these a number of chants are added in the musical edition, which raises the total to about the same figures as those of the fifth revision. Less than these would not have satisfied the needs of a Church whose communicants and adherents include nearly one sixth of the nation, or between six and seven million souls. Had the Committee unwisely hearkened to the clamor for reduced size, another revision would have been called for in less than ten years, enormous additional expense been thereby incurred, and corresponding dissatisfaction created. As it is, the revised Hymnal is the smallest of leading American hymn books. Selecting six out of the list, the average number of hymns is found to be 1,258; one hundred and twenty-two more than the number provided for the social and public worship of the largest evangelical denomination on the continent. Theory is one thing, practice is another. Compilers who set out with inexorable resolve to compress their denominational manuals into smaller dimensions ended by largely increasing them. The gratuitous advisers of reduction in the Methodist Episcopal Church would have done no better, for the sternest advocate of a volume containing only about seven hundred hymns never accompanied advice by a list of more than one hundred that in his judgment ought to be omitted.

Topical Arrangement.

The topical arrangement of the hymns in the new book corresponds with the successive unfolding of Christian life. First, we find hymns of general and specific worship; then of praise for the gift of divine revelation; of repentance, faith, joy in believing, entire consecration, sanctification, and Christian growth; hymns that describe the branching out of that life into all works of holy usefulness; hymns appropriate to all the changeful phases of our earthly pilgrimage; hymns contemplative of the judgment, confident in the approach of death, and rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory in prospect of heaven.

Hymns Popular Because Embodied Experiences.

Multitudes of hymns owe permanent popularity to the fact that they voice—as admirers cannot do—the profoundest sorrows, the richest joys, the loftiest aspirations, and the special experiences of the human heart. "Poetry is the divinest of all arts; for it is the breathing or expression of that principle or sentiment which is deepest and sublimest in human nature." Its finest productions are those which utter the soul's intense thirst for God—"As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God;"—that "enlist the devotional element in our nature as their highest power, and recite in glowing language the fervid experiences of the soul in its communion with God, the struggles of penitence, the triumphs of faith, and the aspirations of a holy hope, that soars from the grave to the skies."

The lyrical poetry that will always find universal acceptance is that which gushes naturally from a bursting heart; a heart that pours itself out in song because it must do so; that can no more help singing in solemn, plaintive, or joyous strains than the nightingale can help singing in the darkness, or the bobolink in the sunshine.

"Poetry," says Wordsworth, "is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling." Byron also says: "Poetry is a distinct faculty, it will not come when called." It is a "kind of inspiration," and is most powerful when the inspired singer enjoys "an unction from the Holy One," and aims like him at the perfect sanctity of those for whom he sings. Such poets sing for humanity, and when gifted with brilliant genius their songs become hymns for the ages, imperishable, spirit-stirring, and more highly prized as the years roll on. They lift the leaden weight of earthly care from the crushed spirit, awaken the dormant God-consciousness within it, infuse power into its moral faculties, and stimulate to the acquisition of all things that are pure, lovely, and of good report. David sings for humanity in its yearnings for God and its strugglings for godliness, and is more read and studied to-day than Paul in his theological expositions to the Romans, or Hebraic dissertations on the Mosaic economy. Watts, Wesley, Cowper, Newton, Montgomery, all sing for their race, and find hundreds of read

ers where Shakspeare, Milton, and Dante find one. The reason for the general favoritism of numerous hymns in the Methodist collection is, that they are the utterance of heart experiences which repeat themselves continually in the lives of modern Christians. The depth and intensity of such experiences give elevation of sentiment, felicity of diction, beauty of imagery, force of style, and all other qualities which constitute genuine poetry.

How many persons of strong sense and great religious earnestness, who are passing through the sorrows of bereavement and of failing health, find their own spiritual lives mirrored in the touching hymn of the Unitarian, Sarah F. Adams:—

724. "Nearer, my God, to thee."

Lovers of peace and unity, vexed and worried by ecclesiastical dissensions, will appreciate the hymn of the good Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, written during the controversial heats of the fourth century, and particularly the second verse:—

107. "Curb thou for us the unruly tongue;
Teach us the way of peace to prize;
And close our eyes against the throng
Of earth's absorbing vanities."

One remarkable hymn is that of King Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, commencing:—

569. "Fear not, O little flock, the foe."

It was issued in 1631 by Altenburg, who called it "a heart-cheering song of comfort, or the watch-word of the evangelical army in the battle of Leipsic, September 7, 1621, 'God with us.'" It became the battle-song of the Protestant hero, who often sang it with his troops, and sang it for the last time when entering the field of Lutzen against the Papal Wallenstein, "his last field, the scene of his last victory, and to him the field of triumphant death." It has cheered many a Christian soldier since then.

133. "Come, O my soul, in sacred lays,"

by Rev. Dr. Blacklock, is invested with unique charms, as the effusion of one who lost his sight at the age of six months, but who reveled in the beauties of creation he so faithfully describes as he pictured them on the canvass of imagination. Burke thought

him worthy of mention in his treatise on the "Sublime and Beautiful."

457. "Come, Saviour, Jesus, from above,"

translated from the French of Madame A. Bourignon, by John Wesley, portrays, in the very language of its longings for Christ, the life of self-abnegation, practical usefulness, suffering, patience, mystical piety, and catholic love that so conspicuously characterized her.

Cowper's religious autobiography is compressed into the hymns which appear in this book. Delicate in health, exceedingly nervous, and with constitutional tendencies to insanity, he lived on the very edge of spiritual despair, when friends intentionally placed a Bible in his way. He pored over its contents, and, through faith, passed from great darkness into marvelous light. He says: "The Lord was pleased to reveal himself in his word, and to draw the poor, desponding soul to his own bosom of infinite love. Immediately I received strength to believe, and the full beams of the Sun of Righteousness shone upon me. I saw the sufficiency of the atonement Christ had made—my pardon sealed in his blood, and all the fullness and completeness of his justification. Unless the Almighty arm had been under me I think I should have died with gratitude and joy. For many succeeding weeks tears were ready to flow if I did but speak of the Gospel, or mention the name of Jesus. To rejoice day and night was all my employment; too happy to sleep much, I thought it was lost time that was spent in slumber." The remembrance of that clear and powerful conversion dictated hymns

296. "What glory gilds the sacred page."
319. "There is a fountain filled with blood."

Inward fears and spiritual conflicts followed the happy season of espousal to Christ, and breathed themselves into this hymn,

549. "O for a closer walk with God."

Trust in God was unshaken. Walking in the densest gloom, he held tenaciously to the unseen hand, whose tender pressure guided his faltering steps.

552. "Hark! my soul, it is the Lord,"

reveals his communion with Jesus; and hymn

641. "Sometimes a light surprises,"

discloses occasional rifts in the cloud through which the heavenly glory streamed. At Huntingdon he greatly enjoyed divine worship. Full of joy, he retired from God's house to the "calm retreat" of solitude, and there having seen God, as it were "face to face," he poured out his heart in hymn

44. "Jesus, where'er thy people meet."

His best known lyric is said by some to have been composed on return from an unsuccessful attempt to do what he believed to be the will of God by drowning himself in the river Ouse. He was prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the wandering of his driver from the proper way to the river. Others say that it was written during a solitary walk in the fields, with the presentiment of insanity upon him, yet still clinging to the everlasting rock. Of that hymn:—

161. "God moves in a mysterious way,"—

Montgomery says, that "it is a lyric of high tone and character, and rendered awfully interesting by the circumstances under which it was written—in the twilight of departing reason."

Charlotte Elliott, one of the sweetest songstresses of the century, puts all her experience of repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, with beautiful candor and simplicity, into hymns

363. "With tearful eyes I look around."
393. "Just as I am, without one plea."

Devotional experience is afterward embodied in

752. "My God, is any hour so sweet."

The favorite hymn of Dr. Fawcett is said to have been written in 1772, to commemorate his decision to remain with his attached people at Wainsgate. "The farewell sermon was preached, the wagons were loaded, when love and tears prevailed, and Dr. Fawcett sacrificed the attractions of a London pulpit to the affection of his poor but devoted flock."

797. "Blest be the tie that binds,"

is no less familiar to American Methodists than to English Baptists.

Paul Gerhardt's hymns, translated from the German by John Wesley, are the stalwart and splendid offspring of his own re-

ligious career. The distractions and sufferings of the Thirty Years' War, the persecutions endured because of his fidelity to Christ, and the marvelous mercies showered upon him, enabled him to compose these heart-utterances of simple but sublime faith and love. With German and all other Christians they are deservedly favorites. Schiller's mother taught them to her sons; "and the genius of the young poet was at once purified and nourished by these spiritual effusions, of which he became very fond."

222. "O sacred Head, now wounded,"

is Dr. J. W. Alexander's translation of Gerhardt's rendering of the Latin hymn, "*Salve, caput cruentatum*," ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux—a remarkable hymn, that witnesses to the essential unity of Christ's Church under the widest external diversities.

672. "Commit thou all thy griefs,"
673. "Give to the winds thy fears,"

are parts of Gerhardt's most popular hymn, said to have been written at the time when he was ordered to quit the country because his views differed from those of the king. He went with his wife on foot. On seeking refuge one night at a village inn, the wife, affected by their altered condition, burst into tears. The poet-husband reminded her of the verse, "Commit thy way unto the Lord," Psalm xxxvii, 5, and, retiring to an arbor, wrote this hymn. "The same night two gentlemen arrived, who had come by order of Duke Christian of Merseburg to invite the poet to that city, and to inform him that the duke had settled a considerable pension upon him as a compensation for the injustice of which he was a victim. Gerhardt then gave his wife the hymn he had written in trouble but in faith, and said, 'See how God provides! Did I not bid you to trust in God, and all would be well.'"

It is said that Richard Cobden departed this life repeating that grand old strain rendered from Scheffler by John Wesley,

478. "Thee will I love, my joy, my crown."

Luther, the typical German and "the monk that shook the world," was a vigorous singer. "With some others" he "put

together a few hymns, in order to bring into full play the blessed Gospel." Germany sang Luther's words and Luther's tunes. "Luther has done us more harm by his songs than by his sermons," said the enemies of the Reformation. Coleridge believed that he "did as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible."

166. "A mighty fortress is our God."

This watch-word of the Protestant Reformers cheered armies to the conflict and consoled believers in the hour of fiery trial. It was written in the year when the evangelical princes delivered that protest at the Diet of Spires from which "Protestants" take their name. Luther often sang it in 1530, while the Diet of Augsburg was sitting. It has been styled the national hymn of Protestant Germany.

911. "Flung to the heedless winds,"

is another heroic hymn, full of undoubting confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Gospel of Christ.

Lyte's tender and touching lyric,

93. "Abide with me! Fast falls the eventide,"

was composed in the autumn of 1847, just on the eve of his final journey to Nice, where his mortal remains rest in hope of glorious resurrection to eternal life. He had addressed his congregation in solemn, parting words, and administered to them the Lord's supper for the last time. On retiring to rest he presented this hymn to a dear relative, together with the music he had adapted to it. Impassioned, earnest, familiar yet reverent, and strong in the faith that will not be denied, it is worthy of the muse of Bernard or Gerhardt. It has justly become a universal favorite.

421. "My hope is built on nothing less,"

was suggested to Rev. E. Mote when engaged in business pursuits, and probably while thinking of a dying friend, to whom, and to thousands besides, it has been of unspeakable benefit.

682. "Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,"

possesses great autobiographic interest. The author had been overtaken by illness, his soul was passing through remarkable

changes, and he was watching with feelings of unrest, akin to the agitation of the Mediterranean waves on which he was voyaging, the religious movements going on in England, when he wrote this beautiful hymn.

423. "In evil long I took delight,"
316. "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,"

hymns composed by John Newton, "once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa," but subsequently a godly and devoted minister of Christ. The first is evidently autobiographic—the second as obviously experiential.

726. "Come, thou Fount of every blessing,"

an effusion of the gifted but eccentric Robinson, who after being connected with the Methodists, Independents, Baptists, and Unitarians successively, exemplified the proneness of the heart to forsake God by habits of levity. "Madam," said he, with bursting tears, to a lady who called his attention to this hymn, "I am the poor, unhappy man who composed that hymn many years ago; and I would give a thousand worlds, if I had them, to enjoy the feeling I then had."

420. "Now I have found the ground wherein,"

was written just when Rothe, the author, and Count Zinzendorf were happiest, usefulest, and most united. It is full of triumphant thanksgiving. John Fletcher loved it dearly. When dying, he repeated the word "boundless" in the lines,

"While Jesus blood, through earth and skies,
'Mercy, free, boundless mercy!' cries,"

with surprising energy.

Hart, "a brand plucked from the burning," invites sinners to the Saviour with a fervid eloquence that flows from a heart on fire with love, in hymn

340. "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy."

Anne Steele and Madame Guyon's compositions breathe entire and willing submission to God in the bereavements and sorrows through which they traveled to the skies. Gerhard Tersteegen, who at the age of twenty-seven wrote, in his own blood, a form of self-dedication to Jesus, appears as the poetic

exponent of entire consecration. H. Kirke White's course from skepticism to Christian faith is recorded in his "Star of Bethlehem." Miss Anna Warner's

572. "One more day's work for Jesus,"

is a poetic rendering of the sentiments of Rev. B. M. Adams, whose Sunday evening letter to that excellent lady contained those words. Toplady's

415. "Rock of ages, cleft for me,"

is the hymn on which his lyrical reputation chiefly reposes. It imparted consolation to Prince Albert in his passing hour. Translated into many languages, it never fails to suffuse the eyes of thoughtful singers with grateful tears. Men, women, and children have departed this life with its words on their lips. Charles Wesley and Augustus M. Toplady were theologically divided on earth, but must be more lovingly united in heaven by reason of the wondrous improvement effected by the former in the versification of this Christian classic.

Distinguished Authors.

Glancing over the list of authors, the reader's eye rests on the name of good Bishop Ken, whose three hymns, "Morning," "Evening," and "Midnight," have done more service to humanity than three hospitals could have done, and have laid the Church of the living God under lasting obligations; on that of John Milton, England's sublimest poet and grandest secretary of state; on James Montgomery's, author of "peculiarly noble and sublime pæans of missionary triumph;" on that of the eccentric but godly More; of Neale, translator of the old Greek and Latin hymnists; and, notably, of Bernard of Cluny, whose imperishable ode appears for the first time in the Methodist Hymnal. Oberlin—evangelist, pioneer, philanthropist, . . .—is also there; Oliver, too, the polemic "cobbler," whose noble ode,

1075. "The God of Abrah'm praise,"

evoked Montgomery's warmest praise; and the irritable Pope; together with the celebrated Richter, of Halle; King Robert II., of France; Sir Walter Scott, "the magician of the North;"

the broad and liberal Stanley, the rhetorical Heber, the gorgeous Moore, the gloomy and terrible Thomas of Celano, the archaic Sternhold, and the great rival of Charles Wesley, Dr. Isaac Watts. His rendering of Psalm cxlvi,

740 "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,"

embodied John Wesley's devoutest feeling. "When very weak he suddenly broke forth in these most appropriate words."

Charles Wesley.

Charles Wesley is rightfully most prominent in the volume. True, he has only three hundred and ten hymns in this, while there are five hundred and sixty-three in the fifth, or Floy's revision. Why this reduction from nearly one half to about one third of the entire manual? Certainly it is not attributable to lax orthodoxy in the Committee. No book can be more positive, more outspoken in its beliefs in the literal doctrines of the Bible. Methodistically, it is even more pronounced than its predecessor. It does not hesitate to use the phrases "entire sanctification," "Christian perfection," and others distinctive of the Wesleyan school. It has restored stanzas of intense and explicit character that Dr. Floy's severely classical taste had eliminated. It is unflinching in bearing the testimony providentially committed to the Methodists. Nor is it because they do not enthusiastically concur in the judgments of Charles Wesley's eulogists. Knox, Southey, Taylor, Montgomery, have written nothing in his praise to which they do not gladly subscribe. With James Hamilton, they agree that, "full of inspiration, this sweet singer translated into the language of earth snatches of visions unutterable, till his plastic felicity embodied them in immortal verse." Every demand of the critical Ruskin is satisfied by his matchless poetry. Nor is the number reduced because hymns of greater intrinsic merit could be substituted. The principle that governed the Committee in the selection and distribution of hymns was that of adaptability to the various needs of the Church. As the poet-exponent of highest Christian life Charles Wesley stands unrivaled, but the collection ought not to have so many hymns on the several departments of higher

Christian life as to shut out effusions from other departments deficient in requisite numbers, and for which he never attempted to write. In hymns, as in other things, it is possible to have too much of one good thing. Spiritual, like physical life, craves due variety.

Against two hundred and fifty-nine old hymns of Charles Wesley excluded, six new ones of special merit have been admitted :—

334. "Come, thou long-expected Jesus."
825. "Captain of our salvation, take."
264. "Granted is the Saviour's prayer."
487. "Gracious soul, to whom are given."
592. "Son of the carpenter, receive."
681. "Still out of the deepest abyss."

All that is theologically distinctive and religiously precious to any portion of the Church in the last revision has been conscientiously retained, and the foregoing hymns for the same reason added.

Isaac Watts, who, from obvious causes, has not been and cannot be the favorite with evangelical Arminians, is represented in the new volume by eighty hymns, in the old by seventy-five. Montgomery, the Moravian poet, who always worshiped with the Wesleyans, in the old by fifty-six, in the new by forty-seven. Doddridge has about the same number of hymns in both.

Analysis of Authorship.

One admirable improvement has been effected by the Committee in the addition of a complete index of authors, with the date of birth and death of each, so far as is ascertained. The names of three hundred and seven known authors appear in it; of more than thirty hymns the paternity is unknown. Two hymns are of dual workmanship, and two of doubtful origin. Whether Samuel Ecking or Thomas Coke wrote the precious lyric beginning,

164. "Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear,"

is still an open question. John Peacock claims the creation of the baptismal hymn, so often ascribed to Augustus M. Toplady, commencing,

828. "Behold what condescending love."

Fifty-eight, at least, of this noble hymnic assembly are translations from the languages of Greece, Rome, France, and Germany. Twenty-seven of them are by John Wesley. On the strength of these alone he is justly entitled to the poet's crown. His seven original hymns raise his claims to high poetic eminence above the reach of question. But it is by his translations that he is specially distinguished. To the German Moravians he was indebted for rescue from the deadly embrace of ritualism, and for that wondrous amplitude of life and power that made him, in the best sense, the spiritual Bismarck of Christendom. But for them he might have wandered despairingly, like Newman and Faber, into the hideous wastes and bleaching relics of Romanism. In Georgia he became acquainted with the German hymnists, enlarged his acquaintance at Herrnhut, and subsequently rendered the best productions of Tersteegen, Scheffler, J. and E. Lange, Zinzendorf, Gerhardt, Richter, Rothe, Dessler, Dober, Spangenberg, and Winkler into vigorous and flowing English. Minds and hearts of Wesley's own type appreciate his translations as highly as the best Germans do the originals. They are massive in thought, imposing in structure, and incandescent with purest love. Miss Winkworth has ably rendered the hymns of Gustavus Adolphus, Arnold, Behemb, Rambach, and Spitta; Miss Borthwick that of Schmolke; Caswall that of Bernard of Clairvaux; J. Mason Neale those of Andrew of Crete and Bernard of Cluny; A. P. Stanley the *Dies iræ* of Thomas of Celano; and Mrs. Charles the *Dies illa*, counterpart of *Dies iræ*, of the Latin Church.

The revised Hymnal is ecumenical in character, not only because it is the mirror of practical Christianity in all its length, breadth, height, and depth, but because it is the homogeneous outcome of heterogeneous classes in society and of heterogeneous divisions in the Church. Each and all possess some excrescences, some scars, but all united, as members of one organism, furnish forth a body of hymnic theology and religious experience that corresponds in excellency, beauty, and utility with the physical frame of the finest and strongest of the sons of men. Severe criticism may object to sundry figures contained in certain hymns, but if the hymn voices the popular sentiment and pours out the heart's deepest sorrow and dearest hope, it

will be loved and sung notwithstanding the unimportant particular of scientific defect, and, therefore, should be retained on grounds of public utility.

One of the singers is no less a personage than Pope Gregory the Great, two are kings, eleven are bishops, eight are laymen, seventeen belong to the European aristocracy, fifty-two are women, and the remainder are chiefly ministers of the Gospel. Watts, Cowper, and Montgomery are bachelors, and among the feminine members of the choir not a few are established in single blessedness. Denominationally considered, sixty-six are Episcopalians; twenty-two, Congregationalists; twenty, Presbyterians; fifteen, Baptists; seven, Independents; fourteen, Unitarians; three, Greek Catholics; thirteen, Roman Catholics; three, Quakers; seven, Arians; five, Wesleyans; ten, Methodist Episcopalians; thirteen, Lutherans; seven, Moravians; two, Dutch Reformed; one, Plymouth Brother; one, German Reformed; one, Welsh Calvinistic Methodist; and three not affiliated with any persuasion, but who, it may be, were like the seven thousand in Israel, unknown to Elijah, yet known and approved by Jehovah as his true followers. The figures just given, in proof of the broadly catholic and really Christian character of the book, are not numerically accurate. Means were not at hand to determine the social position and ecclesiastical belongings of all the writers. A partial examination discovered the facts as stated. Could that examination be completed, it is highly probable that the results would be relatively the same. Spiritual, orthodox godliness is seen to be the most tuneful; and where there is most of the joy of salvation, the songs of Zion are heard in more abundant numbers and in more triumphant strains. There is most intimate connection between the genuine religious life of the Church and the singing of the Church in its families, social assemblies, and great congregations.

Hymns for the Ages.

Among the singers are some who have achieved transient celebrity, and some whose inspiring utterances will reverberate through the Church to the end of time. The measured prose of the "*Trisagion*" and "*Gloria in Excelsis*" was chanted by confessors amid the agonies of martyrdom,

much as it now is by our Church choirs. Clement of Alexandria's hymn—

885. "Shepherd of tender youth"—

is invested with priceless worth, as the only Ante-Nicene hymn extant—the only one that has come down to us from the era when Christ's Church flourished in undivided grandeur. John of Damascus and Joseph of the Studium are each represented by a single hymn. So is Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poictiers, who composed the hymn beginning—

231. "Welcome, happy morning! age to age shall say,"

more than twelve centuries ago. Jerome of Prague sung it at the stake when dying. Cranmer translated it into English, and requested permission of Henry VIII. to publish it for public use. The two Bernards—Cluny and Clairvaux—give us parts of their wonderful poems—poems that remind us of the sublime imagery of the evangelical Isaiah, the unutterable pathos of Jeremiah, and the inexpressibly joyous hope of the seer on Patmos.

The Emperor Charlemagne and Pope Gregory contest the honor of composing the "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," a sacred lyric dignified by the most imposing earthly associations—sung at the creation of pontiffs, the coronation of monarchs, the consecration of bishops, the ordination of presbyters, and in the ordinary assemblies of the saints. It is the voice of the inner unity of the visible Church. Two versions of it are given—

279. "Come, Holy Ghost, our hearts inspire,"

and

269. "O come, Creator, Spirit blest."

Living Hymnists.

Of living hymnists, Dr. Horatius Bonar and Rev. J. S. B. Monsell are the principal contributors. They differ widely in respect of diction, style, and felicity of expression, but the rich evangelical sentiments of both commend them alike to saintly acceptance and favor.

One noteworthy fact in connection with this compilation is, that about one fifth of the whole are the children of American genius. Not for this reason were any adopted, but simply be-

cause these effusions of Ray Palmer, Muhlenberg, Coxe, Sears, Whittier, Hunter, Bethune, Bryant, etc., were meritorious and suitable enough—even in higher degree than those of foreign competitors—for the uses of private and public worship.

Revision of Hymns.

Comparison of the Committee's work with Dr. Floy's version will detect many alterations in the arrangement, in the meter, and in the text of the hymns. Hymn-tinkers are very plentiful. "Critical inquiries into the history of hymnology open up some curious scenes. The Wesleys are seen mending Herbert and Watts. Toplady and Madan are found hashing and recooking Charles Wesley. Somebody else is trying to improve Toplady. Heber makes free with Jeremy Taylor. Montgomery is altering and altered. Keble, and Milman, and Alford are all pinched, and twisted, and redressed in turn."

Hymn-tinkers are divisible into two classes. The one consists of genuine poets, whose enthusiastic admiration of the beauties and excellences of less gifted singers makes them more keenly alive to what is redundant, meager, excrescent, or in any way exceptionable, and who cannot rest until they have really improved what they admire by removing that to which they object. In this class John Wesley must be placed. "He was positively sure that nobody could mend his own hymns; but he was not scrupulous about mending other people's." His critical acumen and fastidious taste were of the utmost service in pruning his brother's effusions. His touch was delicate, but masterly and effective.

The second class of hymn-tinkers consists of dull, prosy, unimaginative souls, who cannot think except in syllogisms, nor discover any beauty except in lines and angles. In the department of hymnology they are intolerable bores, immitigable nuisances. Strong language this, but not too strong to express the utter nausea and disgust felt by thousands at the barbarous and even atrocious manner in which some of Charles Wesley's choicest hymns have been mangled. There are hymnals in use by Calvinistic Churches in New York and every large city, that contain "dreadful examples" of mutilation, miscalled emendation. The Wesleys had no affinities with

emendations of this class. They touched nothing that they did not improve, and the Committee have wisely retained their improvements.

Watts wrote the first verse of one familiar hymn,

41. "Come, *we* that love the Lord,
And let *our* joys be known;
Join in a song with sweet accord,
And thus surround the throne."

Wesley altered it so that it reads—

"Come, ye that love the Lord,
And let your joys be known;" etc.

Watts wrote—

"The God that rules on high,
And thunders when He please,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And manages the seas."

Wesley altered it to—

"The God that rules on high,
That all the earth surveys,
That rides upon the stormy sky,
And calms the roaring seas."

Here, as one critic remarks, the emendation changes comparative silliness into grandeur.

234. "He dies! the Friend of sinners dies!"

is familiar to all Christians. But how vastly improved from the original of Watts—

"He dies! the heavenly Lover dies!
The tidings strike a doleful sound
On my poor heart-strings. Deep he lies
In the cold caverns of the ground."

The testiest objector to hymn-mending would not wish to see restored the girlish fondness of the primary form.

415. "While I draw this fleeting breath,
When my *eye-strings crack in death*,"

is said to have been Toplady's own language.

"When my eyes shall close in death," etc.,

is a marvelous advance in elegance and beauty on the second line. Written in the heat of controversy, and designed as a

weapon against the Wesleys, the brothers found no difficulty in abridging, altering, and polishing its stanzas, and then in using it as an instrument for the spread of scriptural holiness.

Watts, who had nobility of spirit sufficient to enable him to say of Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob," 737, "That single poem is worth all the verses which I have ever written," does not seem to have been wholly insensible of obligation to the revisory work of his great contemporaries.

The recension of the text of Charles Wesley's, and of all other hymns, has been executed with conscientious and painstaking care. Where restoration could be effected without impairing the unity, dignity, and beauty of the hymn, it has been made, as in the choice litany of Sir Robert Grant. Purity, harmony, effectiveness, have been sought and served throughout the entire recension. Where reconstruction in primitive form has not been deemed advisable, the fact of alteration is honestly stated in connection with the name of the author affixed to the hymn.

Hymnal with Tunes.

One of the biographers of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, states that she had observed the religious value of hymns to the Methodists in their work of revival, and was, therefore, led to engage the service of an eminent Italian composer to make suitable tunes. Horace Walpole, hearing of this said, "It will be a great acquisition to the Methodist sect to have their hymns set by Giardini." It was a great acquisition. Methodism has always sought the best of every thing. John Wesley, whether he caught the idea from Lady Huntingdon or not, acted upon it as early as the year 1761, in the publication of a book entitled "Select Hymns; With Tunes Annexed; Designed Chiefly for the Use of the People called Methodists." That was the first Methodist Hymn-Tune Book. In it "the tune was made wholly subservient to the words, not the words to the tune." Thus the hymn was impressed on the memory—the singers taught to sing "true," and to sing the "best hymns." Wise procedure this; for more stalwart, self-sacrificing, successful Christians were not in those days than those trained Methodist singers. The substitution of ephemeral

trash with jingling tunes for the incomparable hymns and music of the Wesleys has done much to enfeeble piety, to emasculate morality, and to cripple the usefulness of the Church. Hence it is a great acquisition to the Methodists that the sub-committee to whom the preparation of the Hymnal with Tunes was intrusted were able to engage the services of two such eminent composers as Dr. Eben Tourjée, of the Boston Conservatory of Music, and Joseph P. Holbrook, Esq., the musical editor of the leading hymnals with tunes published by the sister denominations. The happiest results may be expected from it.

Title.

In closing this article on the revised Methodist Hymnal, a few remarks on the title will not be inappropriate. As defined by Webster, it is a rare, archaic synonym for a sacred lyric, or hymn. The Protestant Churches have lately modified its meaning, so that it now indicates a collection of hymns, and as such will doubtless be defined in the next edition of Webster's "Unabridged Dictionary," nor can any objection to this be valid, since usage makes the lexicon, and not the lexicon the usage. The word "hymnal" as contrasted with "hymn book" has unquestionably the superior merits of simplicity and euphony.

Finis.

The book in its several forms has now entered upon its mission; and long before that mission shall have ended it is more than probable that the majority, if not the whole, of the Revision Committee, will have followed the glorified spirit of the Rev. Dr. William Hunter—one of the ablest of the fifteen—to that "heavenly home" of which he loved to sing, and where he still continues to sing, in strains that

> "Outvie the seraph's highest flight,
> God's everlasting love to man."

ART. VIII.—WHEN WAS HEROD MADE KING OF JUDEA?

THE time when Herod was made king of Judea has much to do in determining the time of the birth of Christ. Generally, writers merely make declarative statements of the fact, assigning B. C. 40–41–44; but a recent writer* takes issue with almost all others of modern days in nearly every chronological fact, making the appointment of Herod in the spring of B. C. 39, and the birth of Christ B. C. 2. To ascertain the correctness or inaccuracy of his statement it is necessary to consider the historical facts concerning Herod's becoming king *de jure* and *de facto*.

KING DE JURE.—Josephus says ("Antiq.," xvii, 8, 1) that Herod "reigned since he procured the death of Antigonus thirty-four years, but since he had been declared king by the Romans thirty-seven." In general terms this clearly indicates three years; but, since some time was taken after the capture of Jerusalem to take Antigonus to Antioch, and for Herod to present his intercession to Antony, it is also clear that three years did not elapse between the appointment and the capture of the city. Josephus gives a more emphatic point in saying ("Antiq.," xiv, 14, 5) that Herod received the appointment by the Roman Senate "on the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, when Caius Domitius Calvinus was consul the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio [the first time]." Also, that after this appointment, "when the Senate was dissolved, Antony and Cæsar went out of the Senate-house with Herod between them ("Antiq.," xiv, 14, 5) to offer sacrifice, "and to lay up their decrees in the capitol."

These statements, then, involve the necessity of establishing the date of several facts.

1. *The time B. C. of the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad.*—Caspari makes this Olympiad embrace the years U. C. 715–718, (p. 20,) and B. C. 39–36, (p. 52,) in which he takes issue with Usher, who makes it agree with U. C. 710–713, and Jarvis, who makes it correspond with U. C. 710–713, and

* "A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ," by Ch. Ed. Caspari. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. New York, Scribner & Co.

the first quarter of 714. Relying upon the latter as good authority, our argument necessarily depends upon his accuracy as a chronologist. The Olympiads began 776 B. C. An Olympiad occupied four full years, beginning about July 21, at the celebration of the games. These Caspari places in the beginning of August. The one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad corresponded with J. P. 4670 (July) to 4674, U. C. 710–714, B. C. 44–40. But the year J. P. 4670 began in January, and U. C. 710 in April, immediately preceding the July of the Olympiad, which relation will be seen in the following table:—

From the Building of Rome. U. C.	Real Time to A.D.1. Yrs.	Mos.	ERA OF THE OLYMPIADS. Years embraced in Olympiads.		Olympiad.	Real Time to A.D.1. Yrs.	Mos.	Vulgar Era, B. C.	Julian Period.	A. M. Usher.	Roman Consuls.
				Jan.	.....	..	..	44	4670		C. Pansa, A. Hirtius, } Died during the year. Succeeded by Octavius Cæsar, Quintus Pedius, } Cæsar abdicates. Succeeded by C. Carrinas, P. Ventidius.
710	43	8	...	April							
			783	July	CLXXXIV. 1	43	5¼				
				Oct.	.....	..	..	..	....	3960	
				Dec.							
				Jan.	.....	..	..	43	4671	....	L. Munatius Plancus. M. Æmilius Lepidus II.
711	42	8	...	April							
			784	July	" 2	42	5¼				
				Oct.	.....	..	..	..	....	3961	
				Dec.							
				Jan.	.....	..	..	42	4672		L. Antonius Pietas. P. Servilius Isauricus II.
712	41	8	...	April							
			785	July	" 3	41	5¼				
				Oct.	.....	..	..	..	....	3962	
				Dec.							
				Jan.	.....	..	..	41	4673		C. Asinius Pollio. C. Domitius Calvinus II.
713	40	8	...	April							
			786	July	" 4	40	5¼				
				Oct.	....	..	..	..	....	3963	
				Dec.							
				Jan.	.....	..	..	40	4674		
714	39	8	...	April							
			787	July	CLXXXV. 1	39	5¼				

2. *The time within that Olympiad when these Consuls were in power.*—The consuls entered upon their office in January; hence occupied the last and first half of two successive Olympic years. The consuls named above entered their office in January, J. P. 4673, B. C. 41, U. C. 712, ending in December of the two first-named years and U. C. 713; hence the last half of the third and the first half of the fourth year of this Olympiad; the last fourth of U. C. 712, and the first three fourths of U. C. 713. But Caspari seems to make all these years begin in January, except the Olympic, which, with him, began in August. His

seeming difficulty, and hence his issue taken, may be seen by the following form, tabulated from the data he gives (P. 20):—

Olympiads.	U. C.	Month.	B. C.	Consuls.
CLXXXIV..... 1	714	Jan. Aug. Dec.	40	
" 2	715	Jan. Aug. Dec.	39	C. Domitius Calvinus. C. Asinius Pollio.
" 3	716	Jan. Aug. Dec.	38	L. Censorinus. C. Norbanus.
" 4	717	Jan. Aug. Dec.	37	App. Claudius. C. Norbanus.
CLXXXV..... 1	718	Jan. Aug. Dec.	36	M. Agrippa. L. Caninius.

Thus making the two important consulates within one Olympiad, while they were obviously in two successive Olympiads, which will be seen by our former and a subsequent table.

3. *The time of the reconciliation between Antony and Cæsar.*—The argument of Caspari is very brief, merely stating that Herod was appointed after the peace at Brundusium; but declaring that this "was toward the end of U. C. 714, B. C. 40," and that the appointment took place the following spring, U. C. 715, B. C. 39.—P. 19. After the battle of Philippi, J. P. 4671, U. C. 711, B. C. 43, Cæsar returned to Rome, and Antony to Asia. (Plut., 591.) While there he was captivated by Cleopatra, who had appeared before him, and, leaving his army in charge of Plaucus, he followed her to Egypt, where he spent the following winter and the year J. P. 4672, B. C. 42, U. C. 711–712. (Plut., 592, Jar., 599.) This exciting the jealousy of his wife, Fulvia, she united with Lucius, Antony's brother, and engaged in a war with Cæsar, hoping to draw Antony back. (Plut., 593.) After hearing of her expulsion from Italy, and reverses in Asia, he started for the latter place, but upon receiving letters from Fulvia changed his course to Italy. But subsequently, hearing of her death, he met Cæsar, and by the intercession of friends made peace with him, which he consummated by a marriage with Octavia, Cæsar's sister. This occurred in the spring of J. P. 4673, B. C. 41, U. C. 712. He

immediately proceeded to Rome, where the nuptials were celebrated, and where he remained until the following autumn. (Plut., 593; "Ep. of Hist. Trium.," 218–239.) The next winter he spent in Athens with Octavia, J. P. 4674, B. C. 40, U. C. 713, Jar. 600.

4. *The Appointment of Herod.*—During these first events Herod was in power at Jerusalem. But the same spring he was defeated by the Parthians, and compelled to fly. He passed to Egypt and sailed to Italy, then proceeded to Rome, where he met Antony, and through his influence was made king by the Senate. Being in Rome but seven days, he was there during the interval between the peace at Brundusium and Antony's leaving for Athens. It is, therefore, hard to reconcile this appointment with Caspari's statement that it was in the spring; because (1) Antony did not leave Egypt until the weather admitted the movement of troops, at the earliest, January 20. Then, after reaching Phœnicia, he sailed for Italy, a long voyage, all of which required time. Because (2) the peace of Brundusium was not until the spring, and certainly could not have been earlier than March. After this he went to Rome, where he remained during the summer. Because (3) Herod did not leave Jerusalem until after the Pentecost of that year, which was about the 19th or 20th of May. (Jarvis, 352.) At that Pentecost Herod was well guarded in the royal palace. (Jos., "Antiq.," xiv, 13, 3, 7.) Because (4) it did not take so long a time for the journey as indicated by Caspari, as from Pentecost until the next spring. Three months would seem ample time for the journey and return; but the time is a matter of calculation, not history. But the time of the Pentecost, and his actions after his return, must, in a measure, determine the time of the journey and the appointment. After his return he gathered an army, inaugurated a vigorous campaign, and relieved Joseph at Massada, before he retired to winter quarters. ("Antiq.," xiv, 14, 6, and xiv, 15.) It was summer—the sultry season—because Joseph was oppressed with drought. ("Wars," i, xv, 1.) This sultry season began about August 1, and closed with Tisri, September. (Smith, "Dict.," i, 41.) (5) It was after the marriage of Antony, and before the birth of his first child, which was before he went to Athens the following winter, where he took, also, Octavia. (6) It must, also, have

been within the limits of the third year before his capture of Jerusalem; hence cannot be placed later than July. But Caspari, dating the appointment in the spring of B. C. 39, and the capture of the city in Tisri, B. C. 36, (p. 23,) makes the intervening time over three years, contrary to the facts of history. Dr. Jarvis, contrary to the usually accepted time of B. C. 40, places it B. C. 41, one year earlier, because he discovered that former chronologists had counted the two Augusti, A. D. 161, as one consulship instead of two, which, being corrected, places all prior events one year earlier. (Jar., 283.) Strong's "Harmony," App. I, p. 13, makes this very clear. It is, therefore, safe to say, the appointment was made July, (20?) J. P. 4673, B. C. 41, U. C. 713, in the last half of the third year of the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad, and during the reign of C. Asinius Pollio, and C. Domitius Calvinus.

KING DE FACTO.—Herod's real occupation of the throne was after the capture of the city, and depends upon several other facts.

1. *The Capture of the City by Pompey*, which Josephus ("Antiq.," xiv, 4, 3) declares "was in the third month, on the day of the fast, upon the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls." He also says ("Antiq.," xiv, 16, 14) that Herod captured the city "when Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome, on the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad, on the third month, on the solemnity of the fast, as if a periodical revolution of calamities had returned since that which befell the Jews under Pompey, for the Jews were taken by him on the same day, and this was after twenty-seven years' time." The point of agreement here is the fast, the difficulty the time of the fast. Now Caspari makes the one hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad embrace the years U. C. 719–722, (pp. 19, 20,) and the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, U. C. 691–694; and the consulate in this last belong to U. C. 691, B. C. 63, and the capture at each time on the "third month of the siege," and on the "fast of the atonement" in Tisri, (p. 21.)

This, then, involves two thoughts: First, The relation of the one hundred and seventy-ninth and one hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiads to the years U. C. and B. C. In making the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad agree with U. C.

691–694, Caspari begins it one year later than Jarvis, who fixes it U. C. 690–693—not quite one year, as the Olympiad began in July. But Caspari makes the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad agree with U. C. 715–718, Jarvis with U. C. 710–713, '14, showing that while Caspari is one year later in one place he is five years later in the other. Both cannot be correct. The table of Jarvis is perfect in itself, also Usher; therefore Caspari has either miscalculated or misnamed his Olympiads. If we take Caspari's one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad as correct, and calculate from that, the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad agrees with U. C. 711–714. It is, therefore, hardly safe to rely upon his last chronological statement. His first statement being true, the last is wrong. Corrected as above, then, Christ was born B. C. 6 instead of B. C. 2, as he fixes it. And if we allow the error of the two Augusti, then Christ was born B. C. 7; and Caspari agrees with Jarvis, Strong, and Akeers. Second, The time in the Olympiads when the consuls were in authority. Now, the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad agrees with J. P. 4650–4653, B. C. 64–61, U. C. 690–693, as seen by the tabulated form of the first year, as follows:—

Consuls.	Olympiad.	Month.	U. C.	B. C.	J. P.
Marcus Tullius Cicero.....		Jan.		64	4650
Caius Antonius.....		April	690		
	CLXXIX. 1	July			
		Dec.			

Thus the capture by Pompey was during this Olympiad, during the reign of these consuls, in the year J. P. 4650, B. C. 64, and being in the third month of the ecclesiastical year, as hereafter shown, was U. C. 690.

2. *Capture by Herod.*—With Caspari, the 185th Olympiad agrees with U. C. 719–722, (pp. 19, 20;) and Herod's occupation of the city falls in "Tisri, at the end of U. C. 718, since it belongs to this Olympiad." His error has already been seen. But the more correct chronology places the occupation in U. C. 716. Counting Tisri as the month of capture and May as the last spring month, it was three years and four months since Herod's appointment, while history gives us three years from the appointment to the death of Antigonus; hence the capture must have been at least one month earlier.

But Herod was appointed the year before the reconciliation between Sextus and the Triumvirs, which was two years before the capture, and early in the consulship of L. Marcus Censorinus and C. Calvisius Sabinus, (Norbanus, Caspari.) J. P. 4674, U. C. 713–714, B. C. 40, (Jar., 353, Plut., 593.) The city was taken by Herod and Sossius during the consulship of Marcus V. Agrippa and Caninius Gallus, J. P. 4676, B. C. 38, U. C. 716, and at the close of the second year of the 185th Olympiad as seen below:—

Consuls.	Olympiads.	Month.	U. C.	B. C.	J. P.
L. Marcius Censorinus.....		Jan.		40	4674
C. Calvisius Sabinus.....		April	714		
	CLXXXV. 1	July			
		Dec.			
Appius Claudius Pulcher.....		Jan.		39	4675
C. Narbonus Flaccus..... ...		April	715		
	" 2	July			
		Dec.			
Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa.....		Jan.		38	4676
		April	716		
Caninius Gallus...	" 3	July			
		Dec.			

This succession of consuls agrees with Caspari; but he differs in the year U. C., in making the consulates at the time of the appointment of Herod and the capture of the city in the same Olympiad, while they were evidently in two successive Olympiads. The capture of the city by Herod was in the twenty-seventh consulship after that of Pompey, not twenty-seven full years. J. P. 4650+27=J. P. 4677; U. C. 690+27=U. C. 717; B. C. 64—27=B. C. 37. These dates give us the twenty-seventh consulship after that of M. Tullius Cicero and Antonius, which was that of Gellius Poplicolia, and M. Coccejus Nerva, and immediately followed that of M. V. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus; hence, twenty-six full years, counting the first and last, and falls in J. P. 4676, B. C. 38, U. C. 716.

3. *Third Month.*—The civil year beginning in Tisri, the third month would be Kisleu, (November, December,) hence in winter. Pompey had agreed to hear the controversies of the people in the beginning of the spring, and brought his army out of winter-quarters. ("Antiq.," xiv, 3, 2.) Marching to Damascus he heard Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, who followed him. Aristobulus, violating his word, began war upon Pompey, who

retraced his steps and conquered the city in the first *third month after a passover*, because the mentioned events occurred at the time of a passover, (Nisan—March and April,) ("Antiq.," xiv, 2, 1, 2; xiv, 3, 2, 4; and xiv, 4, 3,) hence in Sivan. Herod moved his army after the rigor of winter, ("Antiq.," xiv, 2, 1, 2;) hence his capture must have been the first *third* month thereafter, Sivan. The work of the siege was during the early summer weather, and cannot be placed later than this month. If the five months' siege began ("Wars," i, 18, 2) at the close of the rigor of winter, it ended June 20, (Sivan;) or if March 1, full spring, then it ended August 1, and could not be Tisri, the ninth month, nor Kisleu, the third civil month. If it ended in either of these months it was in the fourth, and not the third, year after the appointment, and Usher and Caspari will both place it beyond the limits of the time given in history.

Third Month of the Siege.—Caspari argues that, because Pompey's capture of the temple was the third month of the siege, Herod's must, also, be the same time. But the fact of the fast is all that is necessary to make the parallel complete. The reference to Pompey's capture was that of the temple; but Herod's capture refers to the city. (Jarvis, 184; "Wars," i, 18, 2.) Josephus says, "This destruction befell the city," ("Antiq.," xiv, 16, 4;) and "he made an assault upon the city and took it by storm," and "fell into the city," ("Wars," i, 18, 2;) and then details the slaughter within the narrow streets, and the flight of the people to the temple for safety. It could hardly have been the third month of the siege, for that was five months. ("Wars," i, 18, 2.) Caspari reconciles this by stating that the third month referred to the time after Herod united his army with that of Sossius. Five months, undoubtedly, refers to the time after the movement of Herod's army from winter-quarters, ("Antiq.," xiv, 15, 14;) and Josephus seems to be perfectly consistent with himself in this matter, and gives details as follows: (1) Herod moves from winter-quarters to the city; (2) starts the work of the siege; (3) leaves it in hands of others, and goes to his wedding in Samaria; (4) after the wedding unites his forces with Sossius, and assumes command again; (5) final assault. These will fill up the measure of time without a necessity of subdivision to make the three months. The investment makes a siege as perfect during the preparation as during actual conflict; and

many times a siege is perfect without a conflict. Generally the military consider the city invested when the army settles down before it. The rigor of winter being over about January 20, (Harmer, i, 127, 8,) there was no necessity of holding the army later, and hence, doubtless, Herod moved at that time.

After the walls and the outer court of the temple had been taken, and the Jews had fled into the inner court and the upper city, the people asked to bring in sacrifices; and after Herod found that they did not intend to surrender he took the "city by storm." This, then, refers to the conquest of the city.

The "first month," "second month," "third month," etc., are expressions peculiar to the ecclesiastical months. Pompey's capture was the first third month after a passover, and Herod's the first third month after moving from winter-quarters; they both coincide in being the third ecclesiastical month.

4. *The Fast.*—Caspari (p. 23) argues that it was upon the fast of the atonement, the 10th of Tisri; (1.) because the siege began in summer; (2.) because Herod waited until after the passover in order not to arouse the Jews, who were gathered to the feast, against him.

(1.) If it was upon a certain fast, then it must be in the same month. The siege begins in the winter or early spring. Josephus' remark, ("Antiq.," xiv, 16, 2,) that "it was summer-time, and there was nothing to hinder their works, neither from the air, nor from the workmen," undoubtedly refers to the advanced stage of their work just before the final assault. The reference to the purity of the air distinguishes it from the excessive heat of the sultry season, and must, therefore, place it before that time; and this is made to follow the "rigor of winter," for he states again, ("Wars," i, 17, 3,) "as the winter was going off;" hence refers to the weather rather than the months, for in the sultry season the air would have hindered their work. (Smith's "Dict.," i, 40, table.)

(2.) There was no need for Herod to have feared an unarmed multitude when he was at the head of an army of sixty thousand well-armed and disciplined soldiers. The facts heretofore adduced as to its being winter when the siege began must now, as elsewhere, show that the third month refers to the first third month thereafter. Even if the army moved on the first of March, it was yet one month before the passover; and even

if he was idle, Herod had really invested the city. If, then, he prolongs it to Tisri, it is six months, not five, and brings it into his fourth year. Then Josephus again states that "the whole nation was gathered together." What would have brought the whole nation together so soon after the "going off" of winter but the passover? The feasts of the fourth and the seventh month were too far removed. The time when the nation was gathered together, and the events intervening between that and the final conflict, are too great for the one feast. It must, therefore, lapse from feast to feast, or feast to a fast. The lapse of time to Tisri is too great. There is no history to show that Herod waited until the passover was ended, but, to the contrary, he was in the siege at that time. This passover was the 15th to 21st Nisan—March to April, (Jahn, 354.) Forty-nine days thereafter the Pentecost, 6th Sivan, and followed the winter. The fast of the atonement being too far removed to meet the case, it must have been the fast that would have brought it within the limits of his third year. It could not have been July, because that allows no time for taking Antigonus to Antioch; but the capture being in Sivan, answers all the requirements of history. Petavius argues that it was the fast for Jeroboam's sin in not allowing the ten tribes to worship at Jerusalem, (1 Kings xii, 28; Jarvis, 184; Strong, in "Quar. Rev.," Oct., 1856,) which occurred about the 23d or 25th of Sivan, (June,) and this certainly was as important a fast as that of Kisleu. The words "solemnity of the fast" do not at all distinguish a special fast, but may apply to one as well as the other.

Caspari is compelled to his argument for Tisri; for, placing the Olympiads in August, he could not place the capture earlier, because then to have fallen on a fast, it would have been in the one hundred and eighty-fourth Olympiad.

We therefore conclude that Pompey took the city the first third month after a passover, the 23d of Sivan—19th or 20th of June, J. P. 4650, B. C. 64, U. C. 690. Herod, in the twenty-seventh consulship thereafter, began the siege after the rigor of winter, passing through the passover, and took the city in the third ecclesiastical month, the 23d of Sivan—1st to 5th of June, J. P. 4676, B. C. 38, U. C. 716, and within the third year after his appointment, and began his reign *de facto*.

ART. IX. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1879. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Outlook, Political and Social, in Europe; by A. de G. 2. Catholic Societies; by Rt. Rev. Francis S. Chatard, D.D. 3. The Relation of the Popes to Literature, Prior to the Eleventh Century; by Rev. H. A. Brann, D.D. 4. The Rapid Increase of the Dangerous Classes in the United States; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 5. Admissions of our Adversaries; by Rt. Rev. Thomas A. Becker, D.D. 6. The Fall and Rise of Education in Ireland; by Rev. Thomas Quigley. 7. Steps to Atheism; by Rev. Joseph Shea, S. J. 8. The Pursuit of "Joseph;" by General John Gibbon. 9. Vernacular Versions of the Bible, Old and New; by Very Rev. James A. Corcoran, D.D.

BAPTIST REVIEW, January, February, March, 1879. (Cincinnati.)—1. Our Knowledge of Infinites; by Alvah Hovey, D.D., LL.D. 2. Missionary Career of Jesus Christ; by E. T. Winkler, D.D. 3. Augustus Tholuck; by Rev. H. S. Burrage. 4. Religious Liberty under Roman, Gothic, and Russian Law; by G. W. Samson, D.D. 5. Swedenborg and his Teachings; by H. M. King, D.D. 6. Inspiration; by G. W. Lasher, D.D. 7. John Wycliffe; by Rev. C. E. Barrows. 8. Progress of Biblical Scholarship; by Rev. J. O'B. Lowry. 9. Dale's Theory of Baptism; by H. Harvey, D.D. 10. Editorial.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, April, 1879. (Andover.) 1. The Unchangeableness of God, Part III., Dr. Dorner's Essay; translated by Dr. D. W. Simon. 2. The Cherubim; by Rev. John Crawford, D.D. 3. Early New England Psalmody; by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D. 4. A Defense of the Catholic Faith Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinius of Sienna, written by Hugo Grotius; translated, with Notes, by Rev. Frank H. Foster. 5. Eschatology of the Old Testament Apocrypha; by Rev. Edwin Cone Bissell, D.D. 6. The Last Days of Christ: Exegetical Notes on the Basis of Mark xiv, 17–xvi, 20; by the late Rev. Horatio B. Hackett, D.D., LL.D. 7. Theological Education, No. II. 8. Lange's Christian Ethics; by Prof. J. P. Lacroix.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, April, 1879. (Gettysburg.)—1. Art in Its Relation to Worship in the Lutheran Church; by Rev. W. Strobel, D.D. 2. Evolution: Shall it be Atheistic; by Rev. W. E. Parson, A. M. 3. Preachers' Sons; by Rev. Prof. J. B. Focht. 4. Origin and History of Premillenarianism; by C. A. Briggs, D.D. 5. The Lutheran Church between the Potomac and the Rio Grande; by Rev. Wm. E. Hubbert. 6. Historical Sketch of Our India Mission; by Rev. A. D. Rowe, A. M. 7. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Translated from the German of the Rev. Prof. J. J. Herzog, D.D., of Erlangen; by Rev. G. F. Behringer.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, April, 1879. (Boston.)—1. Memoir of Evert Augustus Duyckinck, A.M; by the Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., LL.D. 2. Annual Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder before the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society. 3. Taxes under Gov. Andros; by Walter Lloyd Jeffries, A.B. 4. Ezekiel Cheever and some of his Descendants; by John T. Hassam, A.M. 5. Longmeadow Families; by Willard S. Allen, Esq. 6. Record Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass.; by James F. Hunnewell, Esq. 7. Groton's Petition; by Samuel A. Green, M.D. 8. Genealogical Studies in New England; by Elias S. Hawley, Esq. 9. Notes on English Marshalls connected with America; by George W. Marshall, LL.D., F. S. A. 10. Ludwell Genealogy; by Cassius F. Lee, Jun., Esq. 11. Jonathan Alden's Estate; by Hon. R. A. Wheeler. 12. Family Circle of Mrs. Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold; by Mrs. Evelyn M'C. Salisbury. 13. Review of Clarke's Genealogical Statement; by Isaac J. Greenwood, Esq. 14. The Hazen Family; by Henry Allen Hazen, A.M. 15. Rev. John Eliot's Records of the First Church in Roxbury; by William B. Trask, Esq.

NEW ENGLANDER, May, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. Our Treaties with China; by S. Wells Williams. 2. An Experiment in Co-operation; by T. Harwood Pattison. 3. The New Era of Intolerance; by John S. Sewall. 4. Recent Faust Literature; by Franklin Carter. 5. On some Influences which in European Countries at the Present Time modify Preaching; by Sylvester F. Scovel. 6. The Revision of the Authorized English Version of the New Testament; by Timothy Dwight. 7. Congregationalism and Education; by George F. Magown.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1879. (New York.)—1. Our Election Laws; by Secretary George W. M'Crary. 2. Campaign Notes in Turkey, 1877–78; by Lieut. F. V. Greene. 3. German Socialism in America. Part II. 4. Absent Friends; by Rev. O. B. Frothingham. 5. A Plea for Sport; by Lloyd S. Bryce. 6. Notes on Recent Progress in Applied Science; by President Morton. 7. Law and Design in Nature; by Professor Simon Newcomb, President Noah Porter, Rev. Joseph Cook, James Freeman Clarke, D.D., President James M'Cosh.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, June, 1879. (New York.)—1. Mon Testament: Epître à Chloé. An Unpublished Poem; by Voltaire. 2. National Appointments and Misappropriations; by General Garfield. 3. The Stagnation of Trade and its Cause; by Professor Bonamy Price. 4. The Education of Freedmen; by Harriet Beecher Stowe. 5. Secret Missions to San Domingo; by Admiral D.D. Porter. 6. Sacred Books of the East; by Professor Max Müller. 7. Evolution and Theology; by Professor Simon Newcomb. 8. The Pacific Railroad; by Henry V. Poor. 9. Current Literature; by Mayo W. Hazeltine. 10. Will England return to Protection? A Letter to the Editor; by The Right Hon. John Bright, M. P.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1879. (Boston.)—1. The Relation of Schools to Civilization; by Rev. I. M. Atwood. 2. Studies in Hebrew Prophecy—Inspiration of the Prophets; by Prof. O. Cone, D.D. 3. Recent Works on Russia; by Georgianne E. Watson. 4. New Orthodoxy Examined; by Rev. Varnum Lincoln. 5. The Revival of Pessimism; by Rev. J. Coleman Adams. 6. Persecution of the Jerusalem Church; by Rev. Benton Smith. 7. Social Reform and the Church; by Rev. G. M. Harmon. 8. Inspiration and the Bible; by Mary J. De Long.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1879. (Nashville, Tennessee.)—1. Miracles and Testimony; by the Editor. 2. Anglo-Catholicism: Some Radical Questions Concerning Episcopalianism in England and America; by Rev. J. J. Tigert, A.M. 3. The Study of Nature and her Laws, Compatible with the Character and Functions of a Christian Minister; by A. Means, D.D., LL.D. 4. The Human Will; by Prof. W. C. Richardson, Ph.D. 5. Constitution of the Soul; by R. H. Rivers, D.D. 6. The Sinlessness of Christ; by T. O. Summers, D.D., LL.D. 7. Mediation; by Joseph B. West, D.D. 8. The Supernatural in the New Testament; by A. W. Wilson, D.D. 9. The English Language: Its Age and Origin; by A. B. Stark, LL.D. 10. The Poetry of Tennyson; by J. B. Wardlaw, Jun., A.M. 11. Present State of Astronomical Science; by H. S. Thrall, D.D.

The article on the "Human Will," so far as it is intelligible—which is not to us a very extensive *so far*—is strictly Edwardean fatalism, a strange anomaly in an Arminian Quarterly. Its doctrine is that the will is a clock-hammer, whose stroke is determined and fixed by the antecedent forces. Such, we understand, is the meaning, if meaning it has, of the following paragraph:—

The will is the vehicle of the mind's determinations, but it is not the determiner; it determines nothing. It is the executioner

that obeys, or stands ready to obey, the behests of its supervisors and superiors. It has none of the qualities that have been so industriously assigned to it. It has no intelligence, no moral quality; it has *no choice, no elective power. Its sole function is to be determined*, or, rather, to be employed in delivering the mind's determinations. The will is an ax in the hands of the cutter. The tree may have a longer or a shorter respite, but the alternative does not lie in the ax. If we go behind the volition we enter the domain of the moral sense, which *does* command; of the understanding, which *does* decide; of sensibilities, which *do* impel. The moral sense is authoritative, and its command is will. The understanding is judicial, and its decision is will. Sensibilities are impulsive, and their impact is will. If the moral conviction, the judgment, or the desire, be intense, they soar into activities. Each clamors for expression, and the will, perforce, dwindles into the mere organ of action. *It were idle to talk about the consent of the will:* the exaltation of the faculties becomes will. Exaltation is power, power is activity, activity is inclination, intention, determination, action, will. The internal activity grows in force and volume till the resistance of the mind's indifference or indecision be overcome, and then it flies forth without recall or the power of replacement.—Pp. 233, 234.

The same fatalism freezes up Jehovah into an infinite iceberg in the following paragraph:—

We concede too much when we say that God *can* diversify his modes of action. It were more in accordance with strict reason to say that there are different modes to choose from, and only one to be chosen. If that one is chosen, the choice *in esse* necessarily and absolutely excludes all others; and as that choice was directed by intelligent purpose, all others *in posse* were virtually excluded prior to the act of choice. There was apparent selection—choice—but that choice was morally certain, because directed by goodness and intelligence to subserve wise and holy ends.—P. 241.

We welcome the masterly pen of Dr. Summers on "The Sinlessness of Christ." His clear Arminianism cannot be cheated into a maintenance of fatalism. Arminianism goes on the assumption that power to sin is necessary to all moral good desert for not sinning; and yet some Arminians will turn round and maintain that Christ had not power to sin! Dr. S. shows that such authorities as Ullmann, Knapp, Hodge, Bishop Browne on the Thirty Nine Articles, Parker in "Ecce Deus," and Dr. Plumer maintain the free-agency of Jesus to sin.

Dr. Stark's article on the English Language exhibits a fine

mastery of the subject, and opens before us a field of rich and varied interest. We give the following paragraphs on

THE PROPORTION OF SAXON IN OUR PRESENT ENGLISH.

Dr. Weisse has made the most extensive numeric analysis yet attempted. He has selected fifty passages from writers extending through the period from 1600 to 1878, each passage containing one hundred different words of inherent meaning. He thus gets a list of five thousand words. After rejecting all repetition of the same word in different passages, he has left two thousand two hundred and eighty-two ultimate different words, of which, to use his terminology, one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven are Greco-Latin, six hundred and eighty-six Gotho-Germanic, thirty-five Celtic, three Semitic, and one Slavonic; or sixty-eight per cent., Greco-Latin; thirty per cent., Gotho-Germanic; and two per cent., miscellaneous. He obtains almost the same results by a careful averaging of the Dictionaries of Webster and Walker, each containing about eighty thousand words, of which, in round numbers, fifty-six thousand are Romanic, twenty-two thousand Teutonic, and two thousand from other sources. Hence the full English vocabulary, as given in the dictionary, is more than two thirds foreign.

Shall we conclude from these figures that the English language has lost its Teutonic character, and become Romanized? By no means; for it must be remembered that there are thousands of these Romanic words never seen outside of the dictionary, even by well-educated persons, while the Teutonic words are of constant occurrence—"familiar as household words." Shakspeare, the master-mind of the English race, uses but fifteen thousand words in his works that seem to touch all human interests and passions. Milton utters his grand thoughts in eight thousand words. The average American citizen probably does not use more than three thousand different words in his whole life. These words that we speak and hear again and again every day are mainly Teutonic.

Dr. Weisse examines also two hundred specimens taken from all classes of literature, counting all the words, and finds the percentages varying greatly in the different classes. As we would expect, the newspapers, after the historians, are fondest of Romanic words, using fifty-two per cent. of them. The poets are truest to the mother-tongue, using sixty-six per cent. of Teutonic words.

I have made an estimate of Shakspeare's vocabulary by counting the words on twenty-four pages of Schmidt's "Shakspeare-Lexicon," taken at random, one page in each letter, except *x* and *z*. I find fourteen thousand words, of which nearly two thirds are Teutonic.

At every point, in studying our language, we meet hosts of foreign words, but it is pleasant to see that they are forced to do service according to the laws of English grammar. Our gram-

mar, at least, remains almost purely Teutonic. Our few inflections are remnants of Old English forms. Our constructions and idioms are, with few exceptions, Teutonic. French words, on becoming naturalized, have taken an English accent and pronunciation. In versification we learned a lesson from the Normans, and now use rhyme in place of alliteration.—Pp. 318, 319.

We hardly share the regret of some enthusiastic Anglo-Saxon scholars over the large foreign element imported into our language. Not only the copiousness, but the dignity, euphony, and vivacity of the language are thereby increased. It is redeemed from a large amount of necessary homeliness, and even (begging pardon of King Alfred) meanness. The few inflections that we have retained from the Saxon are mostly a hiss through the teeth and a nasal through the snout. There is much twaddle uttered in favor of avoiding the Latin part of our language.

The able Editor, Dr. Hinton, in a notice of Alexander H. Stephens' "War Between the States," makes the following statement:—

The question of secession is settled very conclusively, as a practical matter; it is ended by a verdict from which there will be no appeal. All of us are agreed as to this fact. Only one aspect of the subject is worthy of attention. It may serve to abate the severity of controversy, to allay animosities lately so rife, to learn how ably the right of secession has been vindicated. It may even induce respect, if not affection, for a people who imperiled every thing, lost every thing, by their heroic defense of this political dogma, when it is seen that it was not a freak of madness, of wanton wickedness, that plunged them into the war of secession.

Aside from this view, the question as to the right of secession is of no more interest than the literary problems, Who wrote *Junius?* and Who wrote *Eikon Basilike?*—very harmless and very unprofitable.—P. 358.

We record this frank and, we doubt not, sincere avowal with great pleasure. It was the position upon which Dr. Bledsoe finally stood. We are gratified that the highest periodical of the M. E. Church, South, feels authorized to make so unequivocal a declaration. Such have been the many reverse utterances of late in the South, and so hostile to our nationality have been the temper and measures of the majority in the present Congress, that serious misgivings are now widely prevailing

in the North regarding the prevalence of Southern sentiments adverse to the restoration of a good understanding between the sections. We believe that it is a work well-becoming our Churches at the present time to promote the spirit of national peace.

We regret that Dr. Hinton declares a predilection for politics and his heirship on other points to the politics of Dr. Bledsoe. It is this passion for politics, especially sectional politics, that has overspread the South with poverty and ruin. The central idea of the Southern politician is not how to secure the economical, industrial, commercial prosperity of the South, but how to fight and beat the North. During the whole of Dr. Bledsoe's editorial career there was, we think, not one article pointing the South to the true road to increase of population, to agricultural or manufacturing improvement, to the methods of making the South educated, industrious, rich, and prosperous. For all these interests his Quarterly was a cipher; while he was great on Infant Damnation; great in defending secession and denationalization, the true destroyers of peace, immigration, and prosperous growth; great in a display of controversial intellect against Calvinism and against the Northern section of our country. We say this in no accusatory spirit, but to suggest the query to our Southern brother Editor whether there is not a more excellent way than he seems prospecting for himself.

Another peculiarity of Southern politics is the entire absence of all enthusiasm for our present and prospective greatness as a united nation. A foreigner, a Britisher, a Gladstone, can say, and that jubilantly, "The next census will certainly exhibit the United States to the world as the wealthiest of all nations, having the sublime opportunity to make a continent into a State." Reversely, our Southern American brother, whether editor, orator, preacher, or statesmen, is laboring to show that the disintegration of this continental "State" was wisdom and patriotism; and that the true heroes of our history are those who fought and bled to produce its smash-up. Since Calhoun promulgated his programme of disintegration and anarchy, and Jefferson Davis proceeded to realize it into fact, we have not yet read one paragraph of exultation over our prospective greatness as a peaceful, intelligent, industrious,

united nation from any Southern pen. It is a rich and exhilarating theme. Will Brother Hinton please try his able hand at such a novel production?

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1879. (London.)—1. Christian Theology and the Modern Spirit. 2. The Ethics of Urban Leaseholds. 3. Wycliffe and his Relation to the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. 4. Free Trade and Protection. 5. The Normans at Palermo. 6. The Novels of George Meredith. 7. The Zulu War.

INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, January, 1879. (Bombay.)—1. Famine and the Gospel; by Rev. W. Milne, and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Caldwell. 2. Dr. Duff's Miscellaneous Labors; by Rev. K. S. M'Donald. 3. Self-Support among the Karen Christians of Burma; by Rev. C. H. Carpenter. 4. Absolution; by Rev. S. W. O'Neill, S.S.J.E., and Rev. J. Hay, M.A., L.M.S. 5. Parsi Scriptures; by a Native Missionary of Bombay.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1879. (London.)—1. The Shanghai Missionary Conference. 2. Effects of Disestablishment in Ireland. 3. The Biblical Conception of Holiness. 4. Thomas Fuller. 5. Heard's Tripartite Nature of Man. 6. The Bishop of Porto's Pastoral. 7. Rothe on St. John's First Epistle.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1879. (London.)—1. Michael Servetus; by Rev. Thomas Croskery. 2. Canon Mozley as a Theologian; by Rev. James Iverach. 3. The Reformation and the Free Church of England; by Rev. A. Macleod Symington, B.A. 4. Michael Bruce *versus* John Logan; by R. Small. 5. St. Paul at Athens; by Rev. R. M'Cheyne Edgar. 6. Hengstenberg's Theory of the Twenty-third Psalm; by Rev. R. Balgarnie. 7. Review of Works on Old Testament Exegesis in 1878; by Rev. Prof. Davidson, D.D., LL.D. 8. The Second Epistle of Clement; by R. T. Cunningham, M.A. 9. A New Form of Calvinism; by the Editor.

Since the glimpses that our readers have had of the "higher criticism" in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Dr. Davidson's article on the Old Testament Exegesis in 1878 affords some interesting views. The nature of the difficulties found in the "traditional" views of the Old Testament books and the present "conceptions" of the modern critics are given more fully than our space permits us to present, except by a few specimen extracts. He is answering an Orthodox essay on the subject by Dr. Douglas.

THE NATURE OF THE DIFFICULTIES.

The difficulties which press most heavily upon the minds of those who think that the Old Testament itself teaches them to find an organic connection between its theology and its history, are not those difficulties which Dr. Douglas has set himself to remove: such as discrepancies between the laws defining the age at which Levites shall commence their service, one law making the

age thirty, and another twenty-five; or differences between Deuteronomy and the Levitical books in stating the provisions made for the maintenance of the Priests and Levites. These are great difficulties, but they are, so to speak, superficial—although they may be considered symptomatic of a general condition of the system, like an outbreak on the skin. The hardest difficulties are those which can be seen at once to be constitutional, the observation of which compels one to pass a judgment upon the whole organic structure of history and theology. These difficulties are of two sorts. For example, the complete Levitical system, with its minutest details, is represented as having arisen in the Wilderness. But so soon as the people enter Canaan the history does not exhibit it in any thing like the same perfection. Its principles are observed. There is atoning sacrifice, and a priesthood, and a sanctuary, and much more; but the system in its details does not seem known either to prophets or people. The history every-where shows that all the *ideas* have been deposited in the national mind, but that perfect ritual expression of them found in the Pentateuch does not seem known. We certainly think that those who have drawn attention to this discrepancy between the history and the theology have exaggerated it. It has been maintained that the setting apart of the tribe of Levi for the exercise of priestly functions is not historical. But such a narrative as that regarding Micah, Judges xvii, 13, who is represented as deposing his son from the priesthood immediately on the arrival at his house of a stray Levite, and saying, "Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest," seems sufficient proof of the general consciousness among the people of the tribal priesthood of Levi. And this may be but an instance of much the same kind. And, of course, a certain amount of discrepancy may be explained from the apathy and disobedience of the people, whom the history represents as continually rebelling. But what the history reprobates in them is departure from Jehovah, as the God of Israel, and not disobedience to ritual laws. And very straightforward minds, such as Schultz, referred to below, have felt that the chasm between law and practice is too great to be bridged over by suggestions of this kind; and they argue that when a history betrays by its allusions and by the practice which it records for centuries no consciousness of the existence of laws, we must ask, Did the laws exist? This is a kind of reasoning which to many minds has great force. This reasoning is supposed to apply to the law of the one altar. This law appears in Deuteronomy, but the history in Judges and Samuel betrays no consciousness of it. Even the best men, like Samuel, sacrificed at many altars. Dr. Douglas argues very ingeniously, that after the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh and the captivity of the ark, there being no legitimate place of service, Samuel and such men strove to lift the people out of the complete religious confusion of the time, and introduce again the beginnings of order by falling back upon the patriarchal religion,

and sacrificing at the shrines hallowed by God's appearance unto the fathers. This is a pure hypothesis, which finds no support, either direct or circumstantial, in the history of the time. The impression produced by the narrative is not that this was a device of Samuel, but a universal practice, which he followed without hesitation. And this impression is confirmed by the kind of phraseology which we meet in the Judges, long before the fall of Shiloh. Jephthah is there said (xi. 11) to have uttered certain words *before the Lord* in Mizpeh. But this expression implies a fixed presence of the Lord connected with a shrine or sanctuary. In like manner the people are represented (Judges xx, 1) as assembling *unto the Lord* in Mizpeh, precisely as Samuel is represented as calling them together *unto the Lord* in the same place, (1 Sam. x, 17.) Dr. Douglas is very skillful in suggesting hypotheses, but his hypotheses repose on no firm basis of probability.

The other sort of difficulty, which is but the obverse side of this last one, occurs when a close correspondence is observed between a particular period of history and the theology of a book which tradition assigns to a totally different period of history, as in the case of Deuteronomy. The thoughts and style of that book appear to be those of the middle prophetic age of Israel; the most of the laws which it contains are laws which appear from history to have been in general use during the times anterior to this middle prophetic age, so that it produces the impression of being mainly a codification of former practice; and certain stringent prohibitory laws, which are thrown back into the Mosaic age, are found, when compared with history, to be a repeal of the historical practice existing as to this period of the prophetic age, as if this practice had been found now incompatible with the principles of the Mosaic constitution, especially with its fundamental principle, that Jehovah is alone the covenant God of Israel.—Pp. 349–352.

THREE SPECIMEN DIFFICULTIES.

The very first verse of Deuteronomy reads properly thus: "These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on the *other side* of Jordan." Here Moses, on the supposition that he wrote this verse, names the land of Moab, where he stood, the other side of Jordan. Dr. Douglas explains this by supposing that Moses took up an ideal position in Canaan, the land destined to be Israel's heritage. But is this probable? The verse is not rhetorical or imaginative, but a cool narrative. The very phrase, "the other side of Jordan," was one which in his day had not arisen. It is due to the occupation of Canaan by Israel as a fact. The mind cannot accept a hypothesis merely because it may be suggested. We must go on probabilities. And it is more probable that this verse belongs to a later writer. But there are other parts of Deuteronomy of which the same must be said. Is it probable that Moses in the midst of a moral address should pause to tell his hearers, in chap. iii, 9, that the Sidonians call Mount Hermon, Sirion? Is it probable that any remark about the no-

menclature of the Sidonians, a people living in the north-west corner of the land, while he stood beyond Jordan in the south-east, should have come either from his mouth or pen? It is more probable that all those ethnographical notes which adorn the early chapters of Deuteronomy are due to another hand than that of Moses. Dr. Douglas would not feel such an inference, of course, for he will not deny "considerable editing;" and Witsius acknowledged that some of these passages could not be Mosaic. But all this goes to imply that the beginning of Deuteronomy is not directly Mosaic any more than the end of it.

One of the difficulties in the way of considering Deuteronomy to be of the same age as the Levitical books arises from the position assigned to the Levites in the different books. In the Levitical books there is a sharp distinction drawn between Priests and Levites. The latter are the mere servants of the former, who must be descendants of Aaron. But this distinction is not traceable in Deuteronomy. There mention is made of Priests and Levites, but the state of things is this: Levi is the priestly tribe; all Levites may be priests, but of course all are not, and the distinction between Priests and Levites is, that Priests are actually officiating Levites.—Pp. 353, 354.

STATEMENT OF THE PRESENT PREVALENT CRITICAL VIEW.

The conception which now prevails, (whether it be true or false,) and which has taken firm hold of the critical mind, is that the legislation of Israel, like all parts of the thought and theology of the Bible, is organically connected with the life of Israel, and is not the production of one period of the people's history, but is a growth extending through all the periods. The natural conclusion of this conception is that law and history, seeing they run parallel, will bear mutual testimony to one another: that where history shows no traces of law, law did not exist; and that where a large body of laws appears it may be regarded, not as a mass of abstract rules according to which the national life was to be regulated in time to come, but as the gathering into one code of all the efforts in legislation of the living national spirit in the past, which under the guidance of the Spirit of revelation put forth its energies to subdue what opposed it and mark out channels for itself within which to flow, as its necessities widened and the fullness of its life enlarged. Three such codes are found in Scripture. The first is the small code embracing the Decalogue, (Exod. xx–xxiii,) which may be, with much besides it, Mosaic, although it is first met with in the historical work later than his time, called, from the divine name mainly appearing in it, the work of the *Jehovist.* This contains all the principles of the religion of Israel—its covenant, its Jehovahism, its idea of atonement in sacrifice, the ethical principles of its life, and the outline of its religious worship, for example, the three national feasts, and much more. A second code is the Deuteronomic, belonging, it is thought, to the seventh century, and largely consisting of a de-

however, that not much is due to this, because we have no assurance that the Jewish tradition dates back far enough to cover the period of history of which it is really important to know the opinions. The impression conveyed to any one on reading Deuteronomy, for example, is, that it is directly Mosaic, and the Jewish opinion is based, like that of others, on the *prima facie* aspect of the book. It would be of value if it could be shown to be independent of this. But those who remember the curious details of Jewish tradition regarding Ezra, who is represented as restoring the Law after it had been lost, will hesitate to decide without much consideration to which scale in this controversy the weight of Jewish evidence is to be added. It is scarcely worth adding to either scale, for the same Talmudic passage that assigns the Pentateuch to Moses assigns the Book of Job also to him, an opinion nothing short of an absurdity.—P. 360.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER. Third Volume, Second Number. *Essays:* 1. ULMANN, (Professor of Greifswald,) Essay on the Plan of Maximilian I. to Reform the Church. 2. LENZ, Zwingle and Landgrave Philop. (Second article.) *Critical Review:* A Summary of the Works on Christian Archæology published from 1875 to 1878, by V. SCHULTZE. *Analecta:* SEIDEMANN, Notes on Epistolæ Reformatorum. 2. BRIEGER, On the Dispatches of Contarini. 3. A Letter from Bacon to Melanchthon. 4. HARNACK, On the Author and the Aim of the Prophetia Malachiæ de Summis Pontificibus.

The chivalrous emperor, Maximilian I., was one of the many princes who were aware of the corrupt state of the Church of the Middle Ages, and therefore desirous of bringing about a reformation. He had at one time (1511) even the strange idea of becoming Pope himself in order to carry through the reformation. Previously he had been in communication with prominent friends of Church reform, such as Geiler von Kaisersberg and Jacob Wimpfeling, one of the most distinguished humanists of that time. In 1510 Emperor Maximilian consulted Wimpfeling in particular on a plan to restrict the power of Rome in Germany by the appointment of a *legatus natus et perpetuus*, who was to be the supreme judge of the ecclesiastical controversies in Germany. The author of the first article in the present number of the "Journal for Church History" has found new material relating to the negotiations between the emperor and Wimpfeling, which hitherto were but imperfectly known, and discusses at length the reformatory

designs which were at that time entertained by some of the prominent men of Germany. They were very moderate, and limited to a somewhat greater constitutional independence of the national Church of Germany. They did not touch the doctrines of Rome, and were not calculated to awaken any religious enthusiasm. They made no impression on the people, and they are chiefly interesting as compared with the marvelous commotion that immediately followed the public appearance of Luther.

A very interesting feature of this Review are the critical reviews of all the books on a certain branch, or a certain period, of Church history, published during a number of years. Thus, V. Schultze, of the University of Leipsic, begins in the present number a critical review of all works on ecclesiastical archæology published during the years 1875–1878. The review will be completed in the next number. The present article reviews thirty-seven works, or parts of works, and briefly states their chief contents. The review begins with a notice of one of the most important works on Christian archæology which has been published in the course of the nineteenth century, *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, by De Rossi. The first volume of this work was published at Rome in 1864, the second in 1867, the third in 1877. According to the opinion of the reviewer, De Rossi has explained many important subjects relating to the burial-places of the early Christians for the first time. The description of the plans of the oldest burial-places, of their management, of the college of the *Fossores*, and other subjects, are mentioned as deserving special praise. It is regretted that a writer of so great merit has been influenced in the explanation of many points by his (Roman Catholic) religion, and that he in particular endeavors, like all writers of his Church, to find proofs of the existence of religious rites of late origin at the earliest possible period. In regard to the etymology of the word *catacumba*, De Rossi differs from Du Cange, whose opinion has been quite generally followed, (also in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary,) and who derives catacumba from the Greek κατά, *downwards*, *down*, and κύμβη, *cavity*. De Rossi prefers the derivation from κατά and *cubare*—therefore *catacumba* as much as *cata accubitoria*, or *ad cœmeteria*—and the reviewer approves of this derivation, though

he does not regard it as certain. The researches of De Rossi, which have been laid down by him not only in the *Roma Sotterranea*, but in a number of smaller works, were condensed in the English work published in 1869 by Northcote and Brownlow. This work was translated into French by Allard, in 1872, and formed the basis of an excellent German work by Krauss, professor at the University of Freiburg, of which the first edition was published in 1873, and the second, greatly enlarged, in 1879. Among other foreign works on ecclesiastical archæology which are reviewed in this article, are the *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, by the Jesuit Garrucci, a work which was begun in 1873, and is to be completed in five volumes, and a new edition of the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, by Martigny, (first edition, 1864.) Greater praise than upon Martigny's Dictionnaire, which is said to be rather superficial, is bestowed upon the collective work published by Cahier, under the title *Nouveaux Mélanges D'Archéologie.* Of this work, which was begun in 1847, eight volumes have now been published, the last of which relates to the decoration of churches. The Archæological Dictionaries by W. Smith and Cheetan, (*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London, vol. i, 1875,) by Otte, (*Archæolog. Wörterbuch*, 2d edit., Leipsig, 1877,) and by Müller and Mothes, (Leipsig, 1877, 1878,) are recommended as works of great merit. Regret is expressed that the article, *Begräbniss bei den Christen*, (Burial among Christians,) by Jacobson, in the new edition of Herzog's Encyclopedia, omits altogether the early period of Church history.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Drs. KÖSTLIN and RIEHM. 1879. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. SCHMIDT, The Lutheran Doctrine of the Sacraments. (Second article.) 2. TRUMPELMANN, Socialism and Social Reform. (Third article.) *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. HERMANN, Exegetical Remarks on some Passages in Hosea. 2. NESTLE, On the Original Unity of the Book of the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. 3. NÖSGEN, On Luke and Josephus. 4. SEIDEMANN, Lutuer's Inaugural Address for Dr. Hieronquius Willer. Reviews: 1. HAPPEL, Anlage des Menschen zur Religion, reviewed by Kleinert. 2. Dr. Luther's Complete Works, reviewed by PLITT.

The articles by Trümpelmann, on Socialism and Social Reform, to which we have referred in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review, (October, 1878, and January, 1879,) are concluded in this number. The author gives his own views on the social reforms which the States should introduce. He demands that the suppression of the present atheistic socialistic

party should be an international enterprise, and that each State shall try to solve the social question within its own limits. He reviews what the liberal antisocialistic parties of Germany have done for the solution of the social question, and finds it extremely insufficient; for the chief source of the social misery of which now all parties complain is, according to him, not the low compensation paid to the workingmen, and the evil consequences which poverty directly entails for the family of the poor, but the profound feeling of hopelessness and the dissatisfaction of soul which is found in all classes of society, in the rich and the poor, in the old and the young. When this condition of the soul exists no improvement of the social condition of the workingman is of the least avail. The State can do much toward reducing social misery, and ought to do every thing that can be done in this direction; but to cure the dissatisfaction of the soul is beyond the competency of the State. It will be found by the true social reformers that the co-operation of the Church is needed. In examining the reforms which the State can and should introduce, the author demands that the legislative authorities shall remember, in the first place, that the State has its root in the family, and that the strengthening and cultivating of the family must always remain the beginning and the aim of all social reforms. He therefore demands the absolute prohibition of children's labor, and the greatest possible limitation, if possible the prohibition, of the labor of married women in factories. He quotes with approval the words of Jules Simon, who in his work "L'ouvrière," says: "Isolated work is the only one which is suited for woman, and which allows her to be a wife and a mother." The author also demands that State legislation shall secure to the workingmen in manufactories a certain share in the clear gain; that manufacturers be required to conclude with every laborer employed a legal contract; that industries which are dangerous to the health of the laborers be reserved for State management, and absolutely withdrawn from private control; that all Sunday labor, without any exception, be absolutely forbidden.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) March, 1879.—1. BERSIER, The Law of the Heart. 2. ALONE, Louisa Siefert. 3. MASSEBIEAU, The Two Conversions of Perrot d'Ablancourt and Protestantism at Paris under Louis XIII.

April.—1. E. DE PRESSENSE, The Origin of Religion, and the Darwinian School. 2. BONET-MAURY, John Huss and the Religious Revolution of Bohemia in the Fifteenth Century. 3. BRECOURT, From Paris to Venice.

May.—1. NYEGAARD, A New Biographer of St. Paul. 2. BABUT, God and Cæsar. 3. BRECOURT, From Paris to Venice

The first article in the May number acquaints us with a singular literary production of French Atheism, a new biography of St. Paul, (*Le Vrai Saint Paul, sa vie, sa morale,*) by Victor Schoelcher. M. Schoelcher is widely known as a leader of the Republican Party of France, and as a champion of the abolition of slavery. As regards the character of his new publication, we quote a few passages from the above article in the "Christian Review":—

"After reading this book of M. Schoelcher, one might ask himself whether it is not beneath criticism. This is not our opinion. Notwithstanding the errors and blunders with which the book swarms, the honesty of the author cannot be doubted. The name of M. Schoelcher is one which inspires respect. It is well known that the honorable senator is a generous philanthropist. A rival of Wilberforce and Macaulay, he has contributed to the abolition of slavery in our colonies. An indefatigable soldier of the liberal cause, he has suffered before he has been honored, and before taking his seat in the Senate he has endured the rigors of the exile which the Government of the second December inflicted upon the champions of right and liberty. Why, then, unmindful of the old maxim, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, did M. Schoelcher desire to add to his crown a flower which does not grow in the gardens which he frequents? Neither his studies nor his convictions have prepared him for exegetical works. M. Schoelcher is a professed atheist, and though it has been said of him, on account of the nobility of his character, 'he is an atheist who causes one to believe in God,' no one will be tempted to add, 'and who causes one to understand St. Paul.'

"M. Schoelcher has, however, the pretension of describing the true St. Paul. If he had only flattered himself that he had succeeded, perhaps his illusion might be pardoned. But

since indulging or blind friends in the press have welcomed the appearance of his book as the birth of a child of bright prospects, I must say to M. Schoelcher: Your St. Paul is not the true St. Paul. Though it may be painful to prove the incompetence and injustice of a man otherwise worthy of respect, I have the right to defend, against your undeserved attacks, the character of an apostle who was also the friend of the feeble and the oppressed, the defender of the right, the martyr of a noble cause, with this difference, that the only recompense which he received here on earth was the consciousness of having done his duty."

The table of contents of M. Schoelcher's book, which contains 223 pages, is as follows: Chapter 1. Paul was a heresiarch; Chapter 2. Paul accuses St. Peter and circumcises Timothy; Chapter 3. Paul often departing from the truth; Chapter 4. Paul is vain and imperious; Chapter 5. Paul the apostle of the Gentiles—his invectives against the ancient law and against his adversaries; Chapter 6. Paul has made great errors; Chapter 7. Paul is often incomprehensible—Divagations—What the holy fathers thought of Paul as a writer; Chapter 8. General indefiniteness and dangerous character of the doctrines of St. Paul; Chapter 9. Paul represents God as the most unjust of tyrants; Chapter 10. Paul sometimes expresses malicious and cruel sentiments; Chapter 11. The moral teaching of Paul is very lax; Chapter 12. Paul sanctions the worst institutions of antiquity.

As regards the literary character of Schoelcher's book, the reviewer calls attention to the fact that Schoelcher shows himself entirely unacquainted with the recent literature on this subject, and he even seems to have consulted the Greek original of the New Testament only two or three times. The reviewer finally enumerates a considerable number of blunders into which Schoelcher has been led by his stupendous ignorance in biblical and exegetical literature.

In the April number of the Review, E. de Pressensé gives a condensed and very interesting review of the theories proposed by the chief representatives of the Darwinian school concerning the origin of religion. The article was originally delivered as the first of a series of apologetical lectures, and the author announces that the same subject will be treated by him more

fully in the forthcoming third edition of his history of the first six centuries of the Christian Church. As may be expected from Pressensé, he shows a profound acquaintance with the entire recent literature. He states and discusses the views of Häckel, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, whom he calls the most eminent representative of the school, as well as those of Girard de Rivalle, (*La mythologie comparée*, Paris, 1868,) which he calls the latest publication of the positivist school on the subject.

Art. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE CHURCH OF ROME IN 1879.

The forthcoming eighth volume of M'Clintock & Strong's Theological Cyclopædia contains an article on the Roman Catholic Church from the pen of Professor Schem, from which we glean a few facts supplementary of the information given in former volumes of the Methodist Quarterly Review, (See Meth. Quar. Review, 1878, p. 547.)

The author of the article has carefully estimated the number of Roman Catholics in the several large divisions of the world, and in order to ascertain the relative numerical strength of the Roman Catholic Church among the large divisions of Christianity, has also computed the population connected with the Eastern and with the Protestant Churches. As the tables now presented are several years later than any others published before, they will be welcomed by all who interest themselves in the present extent of the various forms of Christianity. His present tables are as follows:—

Large Divisions of the Earth.	Total Population.	Roman Cath. Population.	Protestant Population.	Popul'n connected with East. Ch'hes.
America, North	59,000,000	23,000,000	35,000,000	. .....
America, South	27,000,000	25,000,900	400,000	.....
Europe	312,500,000	149,000,000	74,000,000	75,000,000
Asia (incl. Indian Archepelago.)	831,000,000	9,400,000	600,000	9,500,000
Africa	205,000,000	2,200,000	1,100,000	3,500,000
Australia and Polynesia	4,500,000	600,000	2,000,000	.....
Total	1,439,000,000	209,200,000	113,700,000	88,000,000

It will be seen from the above table that the total number of Roman Catholics still exceeds the aggregate number of all other Christians. The Church of Rome prevails over both Protestantism and the Eastern Churches in South America, (which is almost wholly Catholic,) and in Europe, it leads Protestantism, but is, on the other hand, somewhat exceeded by the Eastern Churches in Asia and Africa; it falls considerably behind Protestantism in North America and Australia. The fact that both in North America and in Australia the total population in-

creases with much greater rapidity than in any other country of the world, may be full of significance for the future, for a simultaneous continuance of the numerical proportion between Protestants and Catholics in these countries would materially change the relative position of both in the list of prominent religious denominations of the world. There are other indications foreshadowing the same result. The population of the Protestant countries of Europe increases more rapidly than that of the Roman Catholic, France and Spain being, in regard to the rate of increase of population, among the lowest countries of Europe. Though the Church of Rome continues to make some progress in her mission fields, no conquests have been made by her in the nineteenth century equal to those gained by the Protestant missionaries in Madagascar. It is also a noteworthy fact that none of the Catholic countries is at present making, or is expected to make, any territorial annexations in the non-Christian world equal to those which, from year to year, add to the vast extent of the British and Russian Empires.

The following comparisons will be of interest. According to the above article in M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia, the Roman Catholic population in 1879 amounted to about 14.6 per cent. of the total population of the earth; the Protestant population to 7.9 per cent.; the population of the Eastern Churches to 6.1 per cent. In 1860 Professor Schem (American Ecclesiastical Yearbook for 1860, p. 14) estimated the Roman Catholics at 13.9 per cent., the Protestants at 6.8, and the Eastern Churches at 5 per cent. of the total population of the globe. According to these estimates the Protestant population amounted in 1860 to 47 per cent. of the Roman Catholics, and in 1879 to 54 per cent., a remarkable change, which, however, a glance at the rapid increase of population in the United States, in Australia, in England, Germany, and other Protestant countries, fully suffices to make plausible. Adding the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Eastern Church population in the years 1860 and 1879, it appears that the total Christian population amounted in 1860 to 25.7 per cent., and in 1879 to 28.6 per cent. of the total population of the earth, a wonderful progress within nineteen years.

The two hundred and nine millions with which the Roman Catholic Church is credited in 1879 represent, of course, only the population which in some way or other is under the influence of that Church. In the case of many millions this influence is exceedingly weak. Even Roman Catholic writers admit, quite generally, that the bulk of the native population in the Philippine Islands, where six millions are claimed for the Roman Catholic Church, and in the Portuguese colonies of Africa, has little more of Catholics than the name and a few customs. Of the six countries of Europe in which the Roman Catholic faith prevails—France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium—only one, Spain, was, in 1879, on friendly terms with the Pope; and even there the Cortes frequently refuse to grant all the demands of the Church. In all the others the Government was, in 1879, carried on according to the principles which the Syllabus of Pius IX. enumerates among the fundamental errors of our

age. In *Portugal* a liberal anti-Roman party is invariably in the ascendency in the Cortes; even the majority of the priests and bishops sympathize more with the Government than with the Pope; and up to the end of 1878 the Government has forbidden and prevented the promulgation of the doctrine of infallibility. In *France* the success of the Republican party at the last general elections, in spite of its denunciation by all the bishops of the French Church, has placed the Government of the country in the hands of statesmen who are fully determined to annihilate the influence of the Catholic priesthood upon the Government of France and upon the education of the rising generation. In *Belgium* the Catholic Church has, probably, exerted a greater influence upon legislation than in any other country of Europe; nevertheless, at the election of 1878 the Liberal party, which is in open and bitter enmity to the Church, secured a decided victory, and has since, with the personal approval of the King, prepared a law on public instruction, which will exclude the direct influence of the Church. In *Austria* the imperial family is anxious to sustain friendly relations with Pope and bishops, but the majority of both houses of Parliament are adverse to the continuance of Church influence upon public affairs, and firmly uphold the principles of religious toleration and of State education. *Italy* has fully secularized public instruction, and, more than any other Government of the world, it is compelled to reject the claims of the Church, because these claims involve the destruction of Italian unity. Among the States of *Spanish* and *Portuguese America* there is not one which has not from time to time its conflicts with Pope and bishops. The progress of religious toleration, and of a secular school system, after the Protestant models of Germany and the United States, and in opposition to the bishops, proves that the Church has no longer a firm hold of any of these States.

The hierarchy of the Church of Rome, according to the Papal Almanac, (*La Gerarchia Catholica,*) was in 1878 constituted as follows: the full number of the College of Cardinals is 78, namely, 6 cardinal bishops, 51 cardinal priests, and 16 cardinal deacons. Of patriarchal sees there are 12, 6 of which belong to the Latin, and 6 to the Oriental rites. The number of archiepiscopal sees in December, 1877, was 172, of which 151 belong to the Latin, and the remainder to several Oriental rites. Of episcopal sees there were 719, of which 664 belonged to the Latin, and 55 to several Oriental rites. If we add the six suburban sees of the cardinal bishops, the total number of episcopal sees would be 725, of which 670 belong to the Latin rite. The Oriental rites which have archbishops or bishops are the Armenian, Græco-Melchite, Græco-Roumanian, Græco-Ruthenian, Græco-Bulgarian, Syrian, Syro-Chaldean, Syro-Maronite. Where it is found impracticable to establish dioceses in accordance with the provisions of the canonical law, the Pope appoints vicars apostolic, delegates apostolic, or prefects apostolic, in place of bishops. Adding the vicars, delegates, and prefects to the bishops, the total number of hierarchical titles was 1,148. The total number of dignitaries composing the hierarchy, inclusive of the assistant bishops, was 1,198. The

Catholic hierarchy received a very large increase during the pontificate of Pius IX. The number of bishoprics raised to the rank of archbishoprics was 24; number of archbishoprics created, 5; number of bishoprics created, 132. A large proportion of the new episcopal and archiepiscopal sees belong to the English-speaking countries. The hierarchy of England and Wales, as restored in 1850, comprises the province of Westminster and twelve suffragans. In the United States 84 new episcopal sees were established during the pontificate of Pius, and 10 were raised to archbishoprics. The first addition made by Leo XIII. to the Catholic hierarchy was the restoration of the hierarchy of Scotland on March 4, 1878. It comprises the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, which is without suffragan sees, and the province of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, consisting of the archiepiscopal see of St. Andrew and Edinburgh, and four suffragan sees. At the beginning of 1879 the British Empire had 14 archbishops, 76 bishops, 38 vicars apostolic, and 7 prefects apostolic. Including 8 coadjutors or auxiliary bishops, the total number of archbishops and bishops holding office in the British Empire at the beginning of 1879 was 128, a larger number than is at present found in any other country except Italy. Adding to this the 68 archbishops and bishops holding office in the United States, the total number of episcopal dignitaries in the English-speaking world, at the beginning of 1879, was 189, being about one sixth of the entire Catholic hierarchy of the world. The steady advance of British dominion in all parts of the world, and the rapid development of the United States, Australia, British North America, and other English-speaking territories, cannot fail to increase rapidly the numerical strength of the English-speaking bishops in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Probably the most important theological work of entire Roman Catholic literature of the nineteenth century is the *Kirchenlexicon*, or Theological Cyclopædia, by Wetzer and Welte, which was published from 1847 to 1856. Among the contributors were many names of good repute also among Protestants, and while among Roman Catholics it has every-where obtained the authority of a standard work, Protestant writers also have found it a valuable work of reference, and have quoted, with approbation, many of its elaborate articles. The announcement of the publishers of the *Kirchenlexicon*, that a second thoroughly revised edition is in preparation and will soon appear will also interest many Protestant scholars. Of the editors of the first edition, one, Dr. Wetzer, is dead, and the other, Dr. Welte, has been incapacitated by sickness from assuming the editorship of the new edition. The publishers have consequently engaged Dr. Hergenröther, Professor of Theology at the University of Würzburg, as editor of the new edition. Dr. Hergenröther is author of a new manual of Church history, and a number of other historic-

al works. He is regarded as one of the foremost champions of the interests of his Church, and in Rome so high an opinion is entertained of his service that Pope Leo XIII. has recently raised him, on the same day with Dr. Henry Newman, to the cardinalate. We have not learned yet whether the new cardinal will find it possible to retain the position as editor of the Theological Cyclopædia. The prospectus of the new edition, which was issued some time before Dr. Hergenröther was created a cardinal, enumerates no less than 227 names of Catholic scholars who have promised contributions. Among them are four bishops: Dr. Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg, in Wirtemberg, the learned editor of the "History of Councils;" Dr. Greith, Bishop of St. Gall, Switzerland; Dr. Stein, Bishop of Wurzburg, Bavaria; and Dr. Kraft, Assistant Bishop of Treves, Prussia. A large proportion of the 227 contributors are known as authors of books or editors of periodicals. Some are recognized by all parties in Germany as writers of eminent ability. Thus Dr. Bickell, professor in Innspruck, is one of the highest living authorities on every thing relating to Syrian literature and language, and the author of an excellent Hebrew grammar, which has recently been translated into English. Professor Janssen, of Frankfort, is recognized as one of the most learned and accomplished historians of Germany. Dr. Kellner is esteemed on all sides as one of the best writers on education. A. von Reumont, who has been for many years in the diplomatic service of Prussia, has few equals as a writer on Italian history, literature, and art. The Belgian University of Louvain is represented by two professors, Dr. Alberdingk-Thym, and Dr. Jungmann; the large German Catholic population of the United States only by Dr. Pabisch, of Cincinnati, the translator of Alzog's "Church History." Among the other contributors known as authors or men of influence are, R. Baumstark, a member of the Legislature of Baden; Dr. Brischar, the continuator of Count Stollberg's comprehensive Church History, (52 vols., 1811–1859;) Dr. Brunner, prelate in Vienna, one of the oldest leaders of the Ultramontane party in Austria; Guerber, an Alsatian member of the German Reichsrath, where he is known for his outspoken French sympathies; Dr. Moufang and Dr. Westermayer, likewise members of the German Reichsrath; Neher, the author of the best work on Roman Catholic statistics; Professor Kraus, of the University of Freiburg, author of a work on the "Christian Antiquities of Rome;" Dr. Vering, Professor of the Austrian University of Czernobitz, and one of the foremost Ultramontane writers on canon law. There is no reason to doubt that the aggregate number of the contributors to this edition represent a very respectable amount of scholarship, and that the new edition will contain many articles worthy of the attention of Protestant scholars. Roman Catholics, however, themselves sadly miss the absence from the list of contributors of many scholars, whose names were twenty years ago the best guarantee of the literary excellence of the first edition of this work—men like Döllinger, Reinkens, Michaelis, Reusch, Schulte, all of whom are now found in the ranks of the old Catholics.

ART. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Faith and Rationalism. With Short Supplementary Essays on Related Topics. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. 12mo., pp. 188. Price, $1 25. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

This little volume consists merely of an address to the students of Princeton College, and a number of appended general essays. It hence possesses a fragmentary and unsymmetrical character as a whole, and yet, from its clearness of style, is well suited to be a "tract for the times." The main treatise, that upon what the author calls "Faith and Rationalism," sets in a strong light the value of the evidence for Christianity resting on its intrinsic excellence as directly *looked at* by the appreciative soul. We need not say that Methodists have laid very earnest emphasis on the self-evidencing power of the Gospel. To "experience religion" has been from the beginning our stereotype phrase. And we expected that "experience" to result in a "know," and not in a "hope" or a guess. The felt presence of God is to us the final demonstration for the divine personality. The consciousness of pardon and peace, the assurance that we are a child of God, the realized witness of the Spirit, are with us blessed inheritances from "the fathers." Professor Fisher endeavors to sustain the general view by the testimonies of Augustine, Bernard, Coleridge, Schleiermacher, and others; but of the more effective expositions of Wesley, Fletcher, and Watson he seems unaware.

What we most disapprove in this little tract is its setting the conscious experimental evidence of religion in *opposition* to the historical and logical, instead of presenting them as co-ordinate and harmonious reciprocal conditions to each other. Historical Christianity is largely the basis and body of that religion which evidences itself to the soul. Prophecy and miracles are the base of the entire superstructure; and though the superstructure is *higher* than the basis, it has no right to attempt to kick the basis from under itself, and undertake to stand on a stratum of thin air. The rejection of miracles is cultivated by some thinkers with a fine aristocratic air; and a sneer at plain, old-fashioned William Paley generally points the sarcasm at "Christian evidences." It was Coleridge who imported that *cant*ilena into our English thought; but we frankly say that we consider one Paley worth four and twenty Coleridges "all baked in one pie."

We were in our early days, induced by the eulogies of President Marsh and others, an extensive reader, but never a follower or admirer, of the intuitional opium-eater, having better guides for both our faith and philosophy. The sneer at Paley is a sneer at Him who came on earth girt with an array of miracles, himself embodying all miracles in himself. When John the Baptist doubted his Messiahship, what was *his* reply? "Go and show John those things which ye do hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." And he then poured forth his upbraiding upon the near cities who had disbelieved in spite of his "mighty works." How could a divine personage descending from heaven to earth authenticate himself except by supernatural deeds and words? And how could these be authenticated to others save by narrative and history? When, therefore, Dr. Fisher quotes with approbation Coleridge's fanatical ejaculation: "Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word," he is more Coleridgean than Christian. Evidences of Christianity founded the Christian Church, and perpetuated its existence on earth.

To show the unwisdom of a reliance upon miracle, history, and logic, the Professor quotes the fate of Unitarianism, which built itself solely on this basis, yet found a progeny of infidel errors spring from its own system. But how? Not by a generative derivation from that method, but by a categorical rejection of it, and a taking of intuitional grounds. Theodore Parker and George Ripley formed their religions by the direct intuitional gaze both at the evangelical system and their own. Taking his intuitive spy-glass, Mr. Parker eliminated from Christianity all but four great self-evident truths. And the tendency of the professor's over-emphasis of the intuitive evidence, and assigning it a false relative position, is to subject religion to every man's whim, labeled as "intuition," and tends generally to launch the public soul in the same boat with Carlyle, Dean Stanley, and Max Müller. And when we notice that a large share of the semi-Christianity at the present day is intuitional, we can hardly recognize the propriety of bestowing the epithet "rationalism" upon the holding the truth of Christianity as based fundamentally upon its historical supernaturalism. There was once in our collegiate class in Paley's "Evidences" a young man who at the beginning of the course of recitations was a skeptic, and at the close a believer. Very soon after he went to the place of prayer, and avowed that, as now he believed Christian-

ity, to be true he was bound by common sense to become a Christian. That man is now a Christian bishop. Dr. Fisher may think he acted rationalistically; we think he acted rationally.

The appended essays in this book discuss Nescience, Evolution, the Doctrine of Prayer, Atonement, etc. They contain little that is new; they abound in quotations of the opinions of others; but the whole is given with a clear fresh style, and will do no little good at the present day by a broadcast circulation.

The Six Days of Creation: or, The Scriptural Cosmology, with the Ancient Idea of Time-Worlds in Distinction from the Worlds in Space. By TAYLER LEWIS, Professor of Greek in Union College. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1879.

This is a reprint without alteration of a work issued more than twenty years ago, and is the fullest and completest product of the learning and genius of the author. It made no little impression on the public mind at the time of its first issue, and it contains suggestions and views that may appear not less impressive at the present time. The work claims not to be a reconciliation of the Mosaic and scientific history of creation; but a showing altogether irrespective of science that the six time-measures of the Mosaic cosmogony are not six solar days, but six cosmogonic periods; and that the style and phrases of the entire first chapter of Genesis find their true interpretation on this assumption alone. This assumption unfolds grander views and brings us to deeper and more fundamental conceptions; conceptions fully in accordance with the early mind of the human race in the morning of human history. In fact it offers a complete biblical theory of creation, independent of science, but with which all true science must and will accord. The word of God is master, and perforce science is to obey.

The scriptural *chaos* was the orderless and merely "mechanical" condition of elemental matter, over which "the Spirit of God moved," or, more truly, *brooded*, and inspired it with a humble, susceptible vitality, by which it became a fertile "nature." Hence a passive capacity for the production of living beings exists in this nature, awaiting the energizing and formative impulse from above itself. The six creative days were the six repeated impulsive acts from the Above, by which the passive capacity was quickened, and the living ranks of living forms arose. These acts are successively described in Genesis as fiats expressed in words, "Let the water, the earth, bring forth." The Divine is the author, "the nature," the cosmos, is the instrument, and living species the re-

sult.* The divine ideal formation of species our author finds expressed in the peculiar phrases, Gen. ii, 5, "God made every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew." That is, God formed the plant in ideal type before the form was filled with substance, and became a material plant "in the earth." The divine mold preceded the corporeal casts. Divine wisdom sketched the outline of each species and genus, planned the whole programme of species life, before it was realized into earthly fact. Hence, species are ordered and not accidental, and, though capable of variation within often a wide generic outline, are endowed with an æonic permanence.

The creative week is six successive cosmical evolutions either in organic life or the cosmical structure. That it consists not of solar days is certain; for the first three existed before the sun; and the seventh day of God's creative rest is not yet ended. St. Augustine, who, like other Church fathers, rejected the solar-day theory, yet without the fear of science before his eyes, calls these "ineffable days" *moræ*, that is *delays;* which Prof. Lewis renders "intervals," but which we would rather interpret as *pausations*, or successive periods of permanence in the order of things. It is an indefinite night, too, of darkness and chaos, that precedes the day on whose morning light was born. The evening and morning of the cosmical evolutions are the natural decadence into which sublunary things decline, until a great renewal wakes the world to a new day. The professor's exposition of this thought strikes us as a remarkable anticipation of Herbert Spencer's theory of impulsions and remissions, presented in his "First Truths," a volume published after the professor's book. The two authors, unknowing each other, may have been writing their chapters at the same time. This chapter reminds us, too, of Professor Winchell's chapter on the alternations in human history of periods of faith and of scientific skepticism. There is one paragraph of Lewis on religious alternations which is an impressive germinal anticipation of what Winchell has finely expanded.

As to the cosmical evolutions of the six periods our author solves the difficulties upon the optical theory, which he illustrates with a rich philology, a sharp metaphysic, and a vivid fancy. Long since Lewis wrote Dr. Draper has prosaically maintained that the whole biblical system is blown up and scattered sky-high by the change that science has made from the geocentric, or *earth-centered*, view, to the heliocentric, or *sun-centered*. Yet nineteen twentieths of every man's thoughts are, now and ever, *geocentric*. Lewis very conclusively shows that the geocentric, or the anthro-

pocentric position was unchangeably the right stand-point from which such a record should be made. The science of the present day is just as *provisional* as the old popular views; for a future science may throw it as far into the background as present science has flung the popular view. Indeed, the popular, or optical, view, recognizing phenomena as they appear to the eye of the spectator, is the only view that we are sure will never change. If Dr. Draper should describe, with his best rhetorical skill, the features of a beautiful face, he would write from the ordinary optical stand-point, and his description would be permanently vivid and true. Should he, however, survey and describe the same face as seen through a microscope, its entire aspect of beauty would be reversed. Optically, the face is beautiful; microscopically, it is ugly. Yet each description would be from its own stand-point true. So when Moses describes a *firmament*, he states an optical phenomenon in terms true then, now, and forever. The sun, moon, and stars are spoken of from an anthropocentric position, and their magnitudes to man, and uses for man, are described in terms of permanent truth.

But it is in the doctrine of species that Professor Lewis produced the most anticipative views. Before Wallace or Darwin published to the world their conclusions drawn from science that animal species were developed by genetic derivation from species, our author had inferred from exegesis that such a view was probable and no way antibiblical or antitheological. The limiting outline of a given species may be over-passed by the divine energy raising the creature into a higher grade. Assuming that the divine *fiat* quickens the earthly vitality so as to raise a class of beings into life, each species may be raised by a special *fiat*, or the *fiat* may be so generic as to cover a whole programme, evolving species from species, and so generate an ascending or descending scale of living gradations. "In this way species would grow out of species, as individuals out of individuals. There would be an ascent from the first rudiments of vegetable and animal life to the higher life, to the higher and more perfect *growths* or *natures*. It would be the same *word*, repeating, yet expanding, itself in every ascending species, just as it is the same specific *word* repeating itself in every individual birth, which the laws of the maternal nature are ever bringing out from the seminal energy." Again: "A development theory in the sense of species from species, as well as individual from individual, may be as pious as any other. It may have as many divine interpositions as any other. It

may be regarded as a method of God's working, and that, too, as rationally and as reverently as the more limited system to which we give the name of nature in its ordinary or more limited sense." For these utterances Mr. Lewis has been called a "Darwinian before Darwin." It might more justly be said that he was the announcer of genetic evolution from biblical exegesis before Darwin was its announcer from science. Darwin was preceded by Wallace, and Wallace by Lewis. Whether either annunciation was based in truth is not now the question, but which of the annunciations was earliest made.

But while the lower orders of animals are thus flung up from earthly nature, quickened by the divine fiat, man is, according to Lewis, still a specialty in the history of the creation. Here he precisely anticipates Mivarts' view in his "Genesis of Species." Man's body, mediately or immediately, is from the earth; his *anima*, or animal soul, springs from the vitality with which "nature" is impregnated; but the divine breath over all furnishes a higher nature through which immortality is conferred upon his whole being. Hence, while the brute body relapses at death into common earth, and the brute soul melts back into the spirit of nature, man in his tralinity, spirit, soul, and body, is endowed with an endless existence. That man's nature was thus based upon a lower animal form exalted into humanity, he does not find incontrovertibly expressed in the record, yet entirely in accord with it.

Had this [the sacred record] taught us plainly in respect to man, as we think it has in respect to plants, and at least some of the inferior animals, that his body, or even his sentient *animal life*, had been *a natural growth developed from preceding organisms*, by a supernatural quickening, indeed, yet acting *upon* and *through* a former nature, we should have had no difficulty in believing it: no philosophy or science could convict it of irrationality; no other revealed doctrine of faith or morals would be weakened by the supposition of such an origin. For all that we know God could have made in this manner as perfect a *primus homo* to stand at the head of our race, as by any direct or instantaneously miraculous procedure. To such a supposition, too, if confirmed from other sources of argument or other evidence of interpretation, we should find nothing repugnant in the words *he made* or *he created*, as we have previously explained them. They are only general modes of expressing the fact of the divine production, whether such production be direct or through media. This is shown by the fact that they are both used when other declarations in the context leave no doubt of mediate or natural agencies, as we have defined the word nature.

In this part, then, of our argument all that we need contend for is, that the origin of man, as *man*, was special and peculiar. By this we mean his distinctive humanity, as separate from all that he has in common with the lower natures. We are not much concerned about the mode of production of his material or merely physical organization. In regard to this there is nothing in the expressions, "He made," or "He created him," or "He made him from the earth," which is at war with the idea of growth or development during either a longer or a shorter period. Ages might have been employed in bringing that material nature through all the lower stages up to the necessary degree of perfection for the higher use that was

afterward to be made of it. We do not say that the Bible teaches this; we do not think that any one would be warranted in putting any such interpretation upon it. There is, however, in itself, and aside from any question of interpretation, nothing monstrous or incredible in the idea that what had formerly been the residence of an irrational and groveling tenant might now be selected as the abode of a higher life, might be fitted up in a manner corresponding to its new dignity, might be made to assume an erect, heavenward position while it takes on that beauty of face and form which would become the new intelligence, and, indeed, be one of its necessary results.

The following passage intimates a preference for the developmental interpretation of the text:—

In fact the mention of earth as the material from which the body was made—"from the dust of the earth"—*would appear to intimate some use of a previous nature*, together with the laws, the growths, the affinities, the established ongoings of such previous nature. Such a making from material, whatever it might be, would either be a making according to the laws of that material, and then it would be a nature, a growth; or it would pay no respect to those laws, and *then it would be utterly impossible to discover any reason or meaning in the process.*

But the most remarkable anticipation of a special point in genetic evolution is his brief note on Gen. i, 20. Many of our readers will recollect the emphasis laid by Professor Huxley in his New York lectures on the close affinity between reptiles and birds, illustrated by a picture showing what an eligible spinal column for a bird is furnished by the vertebræ of a snake, and how clearly a bird is a winged reptile. How little did Huxley guess that all this was forestalled by our biblical Professor! Lewis's note is, "This refers to the fish and reptile races, and, what would seem more strange, to *the birds*, who are connected with them in a manner which would appear to imply some *community or similarity of origin.*" Our professor is evidently embarrassed by this "find;" he adds not another word upon the subject, evidently unsuspecting how remarkable an anticipation of future scientific thought was expressed in these four lines.

We read Professor Lewis' book at its first issue with admiration but distrust of the validity of his views. We little imagined that on a second reading at this distance of time, in full view of the progress of scientific advance, we should find it the most remarkably prophetic volume of modern times. The book will not soon be forgotten, and, for many reasons, we recommend its perusal to both biblicists and scientists.

Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By Rev. WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER. Two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Carters have done well in reprinting Professor Butler's works. The sermons are well-known to the reading public, and

need no recommendation. We select two characteristics for notice: A prominent feature of the sermons is their teaching character. The preacher was not engaged in attracting attention to himself by showy rhetoric, but in expounding Christianity. In this respect he is well worthy of study by the present generation of preachers. The exhorter style, the rhetorical style, and the clap-trap style, have so largely taken possession of the pulpit of the present day, that the average congregation has little or no intelligent understanding of Christian truth. We believe that in this respect the present generation of church-goers is far inferior to the last one; and the result is showing itself in a general mental and moral molluscosity which it is unpleasant to contemplate. This is due to a failure to teach Christianity. Instead of Christian truth in its wholeness, we have been treated to remarks, sentimental reflections, far-fetched conceits, and divers prettinesses.

The second striking feature of Butler's sermons is that he is not ashamed of Christianity. This is by no means a common characteristic of preachers; indeed, we might say, without injustice, that not a few are ashamed of Christianity, or, at all events, distrustful of it. The last thing they expect results from is from preaching the Gospel. A little philosophy, commonly misunderstood, or a little science, still more superficially known, together with a trifle of poetry, makes the staple of their sermons. If to this be added a constant protest against believing too much, and a faded polemic against men of straw, we have an article which will scatter a congregation in the shortest time possible. Our world is an odd place; and one of its greatest oddities is the existence of a sect which claims to be pre-eminent in doing good, and also to be the only one which has preserved primitive Christianity; but its chief mark at present is, that it is ashamed of Christ. When Christ says, "Go ye into all the world and preach my Gospel," the impure type of Christians go; but the primitives begin to speak of ethnic religions, which are better for their followers than any other; and then they stay at home. When Christ speaks of prayer, the primitives ask "science" whether prayer can be of any use, and in general they go with science. Christ taught us to pray; but the primitives have learned that prayer and petition are quite distinct. We mean no disrespect to either philosophy or science, and we have no fears of either; but we do believe that the power of the pulpit lies altogether in preaching the Gospel; and except as philosophy and science serve to illustrate Christian truth they belong to an-

other place. The average man is not disturbed by either scientific or philosophic difficulties. Not one in twenty in our congregations know or care any thing about the so-called "burning question" of speculation. It is questions of an altogether different type which burn in daily life. And though the minister needs to be furnished with all knowledge, he makes a great mistake when he fancies that he must fill his sermons with "advanced thought." It is the great questions of conscience and sin, and life and death and the vast forever, and how to think worthily of the life we now live and of our dead who have gone from us, which really concern the men and women about us; and there is little doubt that Christ's declaration on these points will carry more weight than any amount of abstract argument. A great and consistent theory which harmonizes our total experience is its own best defense; and the Christian theory is at once so simple and sublime, so adapted at once to heart and head, and so glorious in its present power and future promise, that it cannot but win its way when presented in its own simplicity. There is no argument for Christianity like Christianity itself; and there is no defense of it so powerful as its simple presentation. On these two accounts, therefore, their teaching character and their positive Christian character, we greatly approve of Professor Butler's sermons.

B.

From Egypt to Palestine through Sinai, the Wilderness, and the South Country. Observations made with Special Reference to the History of the Israelites. By S. C. BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D., President of Dartmouth College, late Professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary. With Maps and Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 555. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Though President Bartlett went over much the ordinary route of travel, his is by no means an ordinary routine book of Egyptian and Palestinian travel. Its object is to summarize the results which many travelers have furnished, in order, so far as now practicable, "to place the narrative of the Pentateuch in its historic and geographical surroundings." Eminently qualified for this responsible task by his mastery of pentateuchal erudition, and furnished with about the entire apparatus of publications upon Egypt and the Wilderness, his chapters are not only a narrative of travels and a description of scenes, but a full discussion of their bearings upon the sacred record. His chapters on Egypt and Pharaoh furnish a very interesting survey of that land of which it has been quaintly but truly said,

> Antiquity appears to have begun
> Long after thy primeval race was run.

Fully unfolding the wonderful conquests made by Egyptologists in Egyptian history, Dr. Bartlett effectively but courteously exposes the unreliable pretentiousness of Egyptian chronology. A rich discussion of "traces of contact" furnishes a chapter of "undesigned coincidences" between the Egyptian and pentateuchal records of a very impressive character. As George Smith has shown the Chaldaic character of the Genesis history, imported probably by the Abrahamic family into "the promised land," so Egyptian research fully demonstrates that the rest of the Pentateuch is no late forgery, but a true Mosaic series of documents. Passing to New Testament ground, Dr. Bartlett discusses the site of Capernaum, and shows the balance of evidence in favor of Tell Hum to be conclusive unless weakened by further evidence to the contrary.

St. Paul at Athens. By Rev. CHARLES SHAKESPEARE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This work consists of nine sermons on "Spiritual Christianity in Relation to some Aspects of Modern Thought." A preface, by Canon Farrar, praises it very highly, and, in the main, justly. Thoughtful persons, to whom the line of thought may be new, will find the work suggestive and stimulating. Those who are not aware of the present drift of opinion will find it insignificant and irrelevant; and that large class to whom manner is more edifying than matter, will find it dry and uninstructive, even if they do not pronounce it irreligious, because of its lack of technical religious phrases. But from another stand-point the thoughts are weighty and "very full of comfort." The author's thesis, though nowhere expressly stated, is, that of all religions Christianity is the only perfect one; of all philosophies, Christianity is the only sufficient one; and of all ideals of life and practice, the Christian ideal is the only one which can bring harmony and dignity to the soul. He finds in Christianity the solvent of the skeptic's doubts and the perfect satisfaction of the heart's deepest longings. What the old philosophers groped after it reveals; and all that was true in the old religions it combines in its divine simplicity; and it also supplements their fatal shortcomings. In it the divine and the human are blended, as in Christ God and man are one. In this short work, of course, only a few hints are given; but they are of a high spiritual and philosophical order. We believe that a great deal of effective work in the way both of defending and of recommending Christianity is yet to be done

in this direction. The comparative study of religions, though often carried on in a spirit hostile to Christianity, is making the absolute superiority of Christianity more and more manifest. At the same time it is making it apparent that the religious factor is no accident in the soul, but is an essential factor of humanity. The soul has a Godward side, as the whole history of the race proves; and any attempt to discredit the implications of the religious instinct can only throw doubt upon all the faculties, and drag the entire mind down into skepticism. Especially should the evolutionist allow the validity of religious sentiment, as he regards every opinion and feeling as produced in us by reality, and he has no test of truth except generality and persistence. The evolutionist, therefore, should be the last to repudiate the belief in the supernatural object of religion. But if we allow the religious instinct, we must also allow that those views of the supernatural which best develop the soul and harmonize it with itself are certainly nearest the truth. Fiction and falsehood, as not parallel with reality, cannot fail to bring one into collision with the universe. And here Christianity confidently challenges comparison with every other system, natural and unnatural alike. The Christian conception of God and man is the only one compatible with a perfect religion and a perfect life; and we believe that a thorough study of the soul would lead to the essential tenets of Christian theology as the only adequate foundation of religion. Christians in general have a narrow and pitiable conception of Christianity. It is the union of all the antitheses, the solution of all the problems, the reconciliation of all the opposites. By it man is reconciled to himself and to life, no less than to God. A philosophical study of religion in its relation to human nature, and a comparison of the results reached with the actual system of Christianity revealed in Christ, would be a highly useful work.

Lectures on Preaching. Delivered before the Theological Department of Yale College. By MATTHEW SIMPSON, D.D., LL.D., a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

The lectures of the present volume are ten in number. They treat of the nature and work of the ministry, and of the call to it; general and special preparation for the pulpit; the best mode of delivery; ministerial power; the influence of the pastorate on the pulpit; and miscellaneous work of the minister. The closing lecture discusses the question, "Is the modern pulpit a failure?" answering it emphatically in the negative. We commend these

lectures to all who are looking forward to the ministry. They are "apples of gold in baskets of silver." Of all the multiform and multiplied advices which have been given on the point discussed, we know of none better calculated, or, in fact, so well calculated, to impress the candidate with the responsibilities of his office, and aid him in the performance of his holy duties. Others have been written which are more formally philosophical, and more elaborately learned, but we like an author whose work has more of the heat of the battle than of the mechanical drill of the parade ground. There is a cant of "culture" which is as provoking as that of religion; and provoking, generally, for the same reason, because it is as empty.

The counsels here given are wise, numerous, and varied, gathered from much observation, experience, and reflection. They are, also, eminently religious, spiritual, as they are drawn from a deep experience. They show in every line the broad, warm, generous spirit of the Arminian theology; nor do we see how the powerful evangelism which the author inculcates can exist, logically, without this theology. David's sling is of little use, unless he also has the smooth stones to throw at the enemy. C.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Gospel of Matthew. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. Translated from the Sixth Edition of the German by Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM STEWART, D.D, Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow. Vol. II. 8vo., pp. 308. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Scribner's specially imported edition. Price, $3 per vol.]

Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the New Testament. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. From the German, with the Sanction of the Author. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., and WILLIAM STEWART, D.D. Parts V and VI. The Epistles to the Corinthians. Pp. 514. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Scribner's specially imported edition. Price, $3 per vol.]

These volumes received by us indicate that the entire work of this eminent New Testament exegete are going through the press as rapidly as perfect accuracy will admit, in the order of their completion, and that the whole will be easily accessible to the American scholar at reasonable price through the enterprise of Mr. Scribner.

Conference Papers; or, Analyses of Discourses, Doctrinal and Practical, Delivered on Sabbath Afternoons to the Students of the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. 8vo., pp. 373. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879.

The most *interesting* part of this volume to the ordinary reader is the introductory sketches of the three Princeton theological Pro-

fessors, Miller, Archibald Alexander, Dr. Hodge, as they appeared at the Sabbath afternoon "Conferences," or religious exercises of the Seminary. The "Papers," consisting of one hundred and forty-nine homiletic sketches, have rather a *professional* interest for preachers and for admirers of the eminent author, who delight to trace the movements of his eminent intellect in developing biblical and theological principle into practical form and application.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy. By WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER. Two volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1879.

These lectures have long been held in high esteem as a brilliant rhetorical exposition of the ancient systems of thought. We are inclined to think, however, that their brilliancy as lectures, while making them easy and delightful reading, detracts from their value for the reading student. We are introduced to the old systems in a very pleasant way, but are left at the door; whereas the earnest student wishes to enter. We believe, also, that the students who heard the lectures would have carried more away with them if the significance of the several views had been more dwelt upon. Philosophy, so long as it lives in the schools and deals only with scholastic arguments, comes in no contact with daily thinking, and partly merits the contempt which common sense heaps upon it. It must come forth from the schools and vindicate its importance by showing that life is built upon it. We hold that no satisfactory history of philosophy can be written for beginners which does not itself positively philosophize. It is this element which we especially miss in these lectures. Take the doctrine of the Ionics, that the primal element is water or air or fire; in this simple form it seems both insignificant and ludicrous; but as a revolt of reason against sense, as a primal manifestation of the mind's demand for system and unity in the manifold and diverse, it was a mighty advance. It was to reason what the dawn of self-consciousness is to the individual. Again, the doctrines and polemics of the Megarians are well described, but the significance is not clearly brought out. They had no principle of reasoning except the law of identity, or A=A. By consequence, they denied the possibility of any affirmative predication. For example: We cannot say man is good, but only man is man, and good is good. Their polemic led to the insight that reasoning is impossible without a universal related-

ness of ideas; and thus the barren principle of identity was supplemented. The Heraclitic principle, that all things flow, is neither expounded nor criticised as could be wished. This principle is at the bottom of most theories of evolution, and of the relativity of knowledge, and has lately assumed great importance. The discussion of Plato is the most elaborate in the two volumes. Here Butler is at his best. He makes a glowing and enthusiastic exposition of the great idealist; though even here the abiding significance of his views is not made as prominent as could be wished. But, in spite of all short-comings, one cannot read either these lectures or the sermons, elsewhere noticed, without feeling that Butler died all too young for both philosophy and theology. B.

A New, Easy, and Complete Hebrew Course. Containing a Hebrew Grammar, with copious Hebrew and English Exercises, Strictly Graduated; also a Hebrew-English and an English-Hebrew Lexicon. By Rev. T. BOWMAN, M. A., Clifton, Bristol. In Two Parts. Part I, Regular Verbs, etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford. 8vo., pp. 208. Price, $4 50.

This is an attempt to render, for the acquisition of the Hebrew Language, by beginners, somewhat the same service that the modern style of reading-books do for the classical tongues of antiquity. The author thus sets forth his design in the preface:—

> Having acquired such knowledge as I possess of Hebrew by self-instruction, and having had considerable experience in teaching the language, I may fairly claim to be well acquainted with the difficulties that beset the path of the learner, whether he proceeds unaided or with the assistance of a master, to familiarize himself with the divine original of the Old Testament; which difficulties, if they do not arise altogether from the fact of there being no elementary text-book exactly suited to his requirements, are certainly increased by the absence of a work, which, to be entirely satisfactory, should be sufficiently easy without being superficial, and sufficiently comprehensive without being abtruse and critical.

These conditions are fairly met in the work before us. It contains the main outlines of etymology, including vocalization, the forms of nouns and adjectives, the pronouns, the numerals, and the various inflections of the regular verb, with full progressive exercises both for turning Hebrew into English and English into Hebrew. For learners who have ample time, and wish to be thoroughly grounded by *praxis* in the elementary forms, we judge it will prove very helpful. It is adapted to being taken up readily, either with or without a teacher. A second part is to follow, completing the grammars.

History, Biography, and Topography.

A Popular History of the Dominion of Canada, from the Discovery of America to the Present Time, including a History of the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, Manitoba, and the North-west Territory, and of the Island of Newfoundland. By WILLIAM H. WITHROW, M. A., Author of "The Catacombs of Rome," "School History of Canada," etc. With Steel Portraits, Maps, and Numerous Wood Engravings. 8vo., pp. 616. Boston, Mass.: B. B. Russell. Toronto, Ont.: Clough & Townsend. Montreal, P. Q.: L. A. Kendall. Yarmouth, N. S.: John Killam, Sen. Portland, Maine: John Russell. 1878.

Our respected contributor and brother editor was the fitting man to write the history of his native Province, the present Dominion, and future Empire, of Canada. He seems to be something of a pioneer, making research in "original documents in French and English, parliamentary reports, newspaper files, and has brought his narrative down to present times with, he would hope, a strict impartiality." Those who have read Mr. Withrow's admirable work on the Catacombs will justly infer that his research has been thorough, that his style is clear and pictorial, and that his history will furnish a complete and symmetrical narrative. And his field of history furnishes him many a subject for animated narrative, portraiture of individual character, and picturesque description both of scenes and events. The large share of the early history is eminently tragic. Canada, with the New York region lying near the lakes, was a "dark and bloody ground." The monotony of treachery and massacre suggests that the American savage is, on the whole, the most diabolical specimen of the human species. It is not the aggressions of the white man that has rendered him that human devil. On his own grounds, and with his own fellow-tribes, it is no compliment to the brute to call him brutal. His supreme appetite was for massacre; his highest moral admiration was for implacable revenge; his noblest conception of a man was to be a destroyer. As a race his claim was to retain the surface of the continent a perpetual wilderness for his desolate hunting ground and bloody battle-field. Civilization, in order to spread its domain, required him to be swept from the earth, and civilization was right. If he is aboriginally and irreclaimably a separate race, he is bound to give way to a better, and leave the world the happier and nobler of his non-existence. If he is an irrecoverably fallen race, he has committed capital crime, and is entitled to capital punishment. Such are the reflections suggested by the earlier chapters of Mr. Withrow's history.

The work consists of fifty continuous chapters, furnishing an

unbroken stream of history, without any generic division into great varying periods, with recapitulatory survey. There are, however, marked ages and epochs in the life of Canada. First, there was the period of (French) colonization, with Catholic "wilderness missions" and bloody forest wars with the savages, extending from A. D. 1600 to 1688. Second, the period of wars between the French and English, beginning in 1689 and extending to the conquest of Quebec under Wolfe in 1760. That conquest, well described by Mr. Withrow, and the victory of Saratoga, are the two decisive conflicts of American history. The third period embraces the war between America and England, in which Canada was unfortunately on the wrong side, and which extends from the beginning of our Revolutionary War to the close of our second contest for American independence, the War of 1812. The fourth is the period of Canadian peace and progress, extending to the present time. The tranquil growth of this period has been occasionally interrupted by lawless and disgraceful raids from our American shores, and enlivened by some internal party fights, with a rebellion or two. The aforesaid raids were largely committed by imported Britishers, shamefully countenanced, indeed, by some of our unprincipled politicians, mostly democratic, but never by our Government.

In discussing the relations between our America and Canada, Mr. Withrow, as might be expected, while generally disposed to be fair, is often, to an American view, one-sided and unhistorical. His view of our Revolutionary War is just and true; but of the causes and results of our War of 1812 he omits the vital facts, and furnishes no true conception. Our first war was waged to free us from the tyranny of England on the land; our second, to secure our freedom on the ocean. After England had acknowledged our national independence she still claimed the right to send any petty marine upon our decks and seize any man he was pleased to pronounce a British subject. This was done, Mr. W. omits to mention, in a multitude of instances. Thence "Free-trade and Sailors' Rights" became our just and patriotic national motto. It was a question with us of the freedom of the sea. For us as a commercial nation the rejection of British espionage was quite as important and just as our rejection of a tax upon tea. We made the issue with England and not with France, simply because England enforced that claim upon us, and France, not being a maritime nation, had not the power. As to the pretense that the law of nations justified England, the "law" was only a law with

nations able to exercise such tyranny, never with those who had to suffer it. The said "law" expired forever when President Madison issued his noble declaration of war against the depredations of the British shark. Think of England stepping on ship-board for such a purpose *now!* Remember her menaces over the cases of M'Leod and the Trent. And so remembering, we see that Mr. Withrow's statement that the surrender of the right of search was not mentioned in the treaty of Ghent is trifling. Mentioned or not, that right was not only surrendered by England, but its abrogation is the basis of England's most imperial displays of power. It was annihilated by President Madison's manifesto, which was one of the great advancing steps of national law and human progress. In the third cavalier attempt of England upon us, namely, during our late civil war, the treaty did contain not only a *surrender*, but a categorical confession of her malfeasance against us; a confession that properly disarms extended criticism. Let us cherish kindly thoughts of each other. We heartily thank Mr. Withrow for this grand volume, which will stand for a long day a memento of his clear head and noble heart.

We may add that the typographical work is creditable to the publishers, and the intelligibility and interest of the narrative are greatly increased by the map and the plentiful illustrations.

Lectures on Mediæval Church History; being the substance of Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London, by RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. 8vo., pp. 444. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

These lectures were delivered before collegiate classes of young women, and after careful revision and enlargement laid before the public. The author has not attempted a consecutive history of the Church during the Middle Ages—a long and dreary period extending from the pontificate of Gregory the Great, (590,) to the great Reformation, (1517.) He has pursued the wiser course of limiting himself to the more important topics and characters embraced in that period, arranging them in chronological order, and allotting a lecture to each. Thus, besides the introductory lecture on the study of Church history, we have the following topics treated in succession: The Middle Ages Beginning, The Conversion of England, Islâm, The Conversion of Germany, The Holy Roman Empire, The Iconoclasts, Monasticism, Hildebrand, the Crusades, The Papacy at its Height, The Eucharistic Controversies, The Schoolmen, The Mendicant Orders, The Waldenses, Wiclif, Huss, The Mystics, The Revival of Learning,

Mediæval Christian Art, Life and Work, The Eve of the Reformation.

The author's plan for avoiding both the overcrowded minute events of extended histories and the meagerness of the compends, is suggested by the question, not "How much can I put into my story?" but rather, "What can I omit, and yet at the same time effectually tell that story?" This question he declares to have been continually before his mind in the preparation of these lectures.

The author not less judiciously seeks equally to avoid the danger, on the one hand, of losing sight of the supernatural character of true Christianity by merging it in the history of the world, and, on the other, of forgetting that the Church exists for the world quite as really as the world exists for the Church. He defines, or rather explains, the nature of Church history in the following sentences: "It is the record of the carrying out in time of a divine purpose for the knitting anew into one fellowship, under the headship of the Son of God, all of those who, receiving him, do themselves become also sons of God." "The history of the Church is the history of the life of Christ in his members, not, indeed, without infinite faults, infirmities, shortcomings, sins, cleaving to those in whom that life is working; but, despite of all these, a prolongation of the life which he began upon earth, the history of a divine society by him founded, and which, strange to say, like an inverted tree, has its roots above and not below, in heaven and not on earth. All that has been the true expression of this divine life, all that has helped, and all, too, that has hindered, the unfolding of it, all the precious flowers and fruits by which it has made its presence known, it is of these which any true Church history should tell us."

The successive sketches found in this volume are eminently readable. In every one of them may be discerned the chaste style and the fine taste of an author not only celebrated for his notes on miracles and on the parables, but also for his critical works on English words and synonyms, and also on the synonyms of the New Testament.

The perusal of Trench on Mediæval Church History may be recommended to two classes of persons. Those who shrink from reading voluminous and systematic histories may here find detached and yet connected sketches of many events and subjects of intrinsic interest, by which they will often be prompted to broader readings. On the other hand, those who have previously

read upon these subjects in detail, will here find delightful summaries with which to refresh their memories, and even increase their interest in the subjects discussed.

The Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates. By Lady Anne Blunt. Edited, with a Preface, and some Account of the Arabs and their Horses, by W. S. B. Maps and Sketches by the Author. 8vo., pp. 445. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

We have here, emphatically, a new book. The authors, Wilfred S. Blunt, and his wife, Lady Anne, who had already wandered, in a leisurely way, through Spain, the Barbary States, Egypt, and Syria, fixed their eyes on Mesopotamia and its wandering tribes, and resolved to become acquainted with them. They were unusually well prepared to make exploration in this direction by the fact that they possessed intelligence, abundance of time and means, and some knowledge of the Arabic tongue.

In prosecution of their design they left their English home in November, 1877, and on the 5th of December landed at Scanderoon, a little sea-port on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, two hundred miles north of Beyrout. Engaging a muleteer to convey their baggage, they journeyed eastward, seventy miles or thereabout, to Aleppo. Here they bought horses and a tent, hired servants, made a new engagement with Hadji Mahmoud, the muleteer, and pushed boldly into the desert, with an escort of five Turkish soldiers, or mounted police, whom they got rid of as soon as possible. A march of two days brings them to the valley of the Euphrates. From this point they travel down the river four or five hundred miles to Bagdad, which city is fifty miles north of ancient Babylon. Turning north, they march through the desert, and along the Tigris, and again through the desert, first westward and then south, crossing the Euphrates at Deyr, visiting the ruins of Tadmor, and reaching Damascus on the 17th of April, 1878, having spent four months and a half of time, and made a journey of about fifteen hundred miles.

This wild wandering life was full of novelty, and not without its charms. Our travelers sought out the camps of the Arabs, became acquainted with their chiefs, and with the habits, customs, ideas, and general condition of their people.

The work, as might be inferred, gives us a very entertaining description of desert life: the country, the Arabs, and their camels and horses, their flocks and herds, their persons and dress, their dinners and their marriages, their politics, feuds and raids, their sturdy honor in some directions, and their utter duplicity in others;

the wild birds, hawks, ducks, woodcocks, and others; the wild animals, jackals and foxes in the desert, and wild boars along the rivers; every thing that quick eyes see and intelligent minds think to be worth seeing. It is, indeed, a strange panorama to set before the multitude who prefer to stay at home, and, by the help of dainty volumes like this, secure much of the pleasure of travel without any of the toil and discomfort.

Lady Blunt, the chief author of the work, rides as fearlessly as her husband, and takes as lively an interest in the wild scenes which they encountered. Moreover, she "talks horse" much, in a delicate way, and becomes enthusiastic over equine eyes and necks and quarters, and other matters which lie beyond the depth of the unlearned. To the thoughtful reader the chief interest will center in the Bedouins, in regard to whom he will find much new information.

The last eighty pages of the book are written by Mr. Blunt, They treat of the physical features of the country, the history, characteristics, religion, government, modes of life of the Arabs, and also discuss at considerable length the horses of the desert. A postscript discusses the scheme of a railway which shall traverse the valley of the Euphrates, and bring England nearer to her Indian possessions. The eastern cape of Cyprus, England's latest territorial acquisition, is only one hundred miles from Scanderoon, which port is one hundred and twenty miles from the Euphrates, and, following the general course of the river, a thousand miles from the Persian Gulf. The author pronounces the project chimerical, and finds his reason in the physical difficulties of the route, the excessive heat of the desert, and the hostility of the wandering tribes. These obstacles, however, can hardly be greater than those which seemed to bar our way to the Pacific, and which have been overcome.

The book is well written, very readable, and in its field instructive. A beautiful map and thirteen illustrations add to its value.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

The Four Presidential Vetoes.

Our "stalwart" northerners are pealing their huzzas over the newly-discovered "backbone" of President Hayes. Heretofore they have excluded him from the "vertebrate" genus. They would allow him nothing but a cartilage "notochord;" no osse-

ous spinal column. Four heroic vetoes maintaining the integrity of our national Constitution against the congressional factionists in their efforts for our denationalization, have thrilled them with triumph, and revealed the presidential *vertebræ* to be, in their estimate, as firm and springy as steel. We echo the applause and acknowledge the steel, but not as a new discovery. On the contrary, we recognized the statesmanlike firmness of the President in so unshrinkingly maintaining the policy of "conciliation" and "civil service reform" in the face of the clamors and taunts of these same "stalwarts." He stood true and perpendicular upon the planks of the original platform laid by the Republican Convention by which he was nominated, while their limber backs curved down, and their unmanly legs stepped off, from the base of truth and national patriotism. According to that platform he was the true vertebrate, steel-backed Republican, and they were molluscous, soft-shelled deserters.

Firmly and bravely after his inauguration did the President appeal from city to city, with living presence and voice, to the *people* of the North in favor of "conciliation" between the people of the two sections; and from *the people* of the North did he receive a most hearty response. Next he made procession through the South, with conciliation and peace on his lips, and with conciliation and peace was he responded to by *the people* of the South. Could the question have been left, not to partisan politicians, but to the hearts, consciences, and intellects of the non-partisan *people*, the national divisive spirit would have softened and faded; parties might have made issue on non-sectional specific questions, and the brotherhood of the ancient days would have returned. We should have again been one people.

But at the present day, pre-eminently, we have a special political *profession*, with interest and purposes of its own, separate from, and often adverse to, the interests and spontaneous feelings of the *people*. They have organization, well-developed professional science and tactics, and a subservient press completely in their own hands. That profession, North and South, was for a while silent; but its spirit and utterance proclaimed themselves when Congress met. First a "solid South" was announced, and proscription, in its most crushing form, was passed upon the Southerner who dare dissent from complete incorporation into this "solid South." Then President Hayes was repaid for his generous offers by the raising of the Potter Committee, with the unquestionable purpose of deposing him from the presidency. This measure

was happily as ignominious in its end as it was ungrateful and every way ruthless in its beginning. So far as President Hayes' title is concerned, every member of the Potter Committee well knew that not only under a fair election was he entitled to the three disputed States, but that he was deprived of three more by the southern "bull-dose;" that is, by the union of fraud and violence. Next came the extra session, in which the tiger of the "solid South" at first displayed himself as large as life, until he found it wise to shrink from public gaze, and hush down before the public voice. Now the people of the South, we are well convinced, have been misrepresented by these violent leaders. Doubtless, to a large amount they have been briefly excited by a violent partisan press into a temporary sympathy with the congressional "bull-dosers." But more than once has the Southern religious press expressed its manly dissent and its earnest wish that those imperious seditionists would adjourn and go home. So far as we can understand our section, (and the public elections will soon express the true understanding,) the "solid South" has made a "solid North." Every other question is postponed until we have it decided whether the blood of our national defenders has been shed in vain, and whether we are A NATION or not. The election of 1880 promises to be the "solid North" versus the "solid South." We hold that to be the worst sort of an issue. Yet it seems to be a stern necessity. The questions of the war are not yet decided. Our nationality needs to be proclaimed by a final vote. But beyond 1880, if the *people* of the two sections will, *minus* the politicians, assert their views, a union sentiment, if not a union party, will proclaim peace and brotherhood forever. In this purpose the religious press and the Christian ministry and the evangelical Churches should take the lead. When the sentiment and the purpose are established measures can easily be arranged. To the South a liberal policy of internal improvements should be accorded. In regard to the colored population the common interest of both sections requires that he should be a freeman, but normally not a ruler. Southern Christians should do the Christian philanthropy of the North the justice of recognizing that its purpose is sincere, and should secure its genuineness by heartily uniting in the work. If we will lay our absurd prejudices and passions aside, the two sections have really nothing which, as sections, they need quarrel about.

Periodicals.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for 1878. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern. 1879. 8vo., pp. 64.

Dr. Rust rejoices, and we with him, on the fact that the results of this eleventh year of the Society's existence, and fifteenth since the abolition of slavery with its laws forbidding education, surpass those of any former year. "It has erected more school edifices, more commodious and commanding; educated more teachers, prepared more ministers for their sacred calling, led more souls to Christ, set in operation more streams of elevating influence, done more and better work for Christ and humanity, than in any like period before."—Page 3.

In regard to the relative magnitude of Churches South, "Statistics show that the Methodist Episcopal Church ranks third in Church membership in the South. If we reckon colored members alone, she ranks second, the Baptist Church only having a larger colored membership. But if we refer to Christian work among the poor, she ranks first, for no other denomination in the South is doing more to erect churches, build school-houses, educate the masses, preserve the Union, defend the faith, and save the poor and ignorant."—Page 5. We have of educational institutions, ten chartered schools, three theological schools, two medical colleges, and ten schools not chartered, educating near three thousand pupils. The progress of the pupils is encouraging. "Our teachers are unanimous in the judgment that colored pupils learn as rapidly as white, and that they are far more enthusiastic in their studies. . . . The people in the South had been so long familiar with the degradation of the slave that they were reluctant to abandon their long-cherished view of the inferiority of the race; but the progress of the pupils in the schools has been so remarkable that public opinion has been changed, and it is now quite generally admitted that colored pupils make as rapid advancement in the acquisition of knowledge, all things considered, as the white, and that the improvement made in our schools has rarely been surpassed by any class of students."—Page 8. So much for the puerile prattle about "the North not understanding the negro." While this progress has been going on, it is disheartening to read the statistics showing that as the Southern Caucasian recovers power, schools and pupils diminish in number, education recedes, and the shades of ignorance gather in denser darkness! The banishment of the

"carpet-bagger" is the decline of the school-master. Can it be that the enlightened Christian men of the South, our religious editors, our ministers, our bishops, South, can read such statistics without dismay and earnest purpose to remedy the sad decline? What say men like Bishop Keener, Dr. Summers, Dr. Haygood, and Dr. Sledd, to such portents?

The speeches at the anniversary narrated in this report, delivered by Bishop Haven and Dr. Fowler, though too accusatory, perhaps, in their tone, are rare specimens of eloquence, and deal out thrilling truths and appalling facts in bold and brilliant style.

The so-called exodus of the colored people westward is simply a clear announcement that the days of fugitive slave laws are past, and that the relations between the two races are, therefore, to be settled not by the arbitrary dictum of one race, but by fair compromise between the two. The movement, slow or rapid, is just the ordinary fact of a people going at their own will to the region where they can improve their condition; and its progress will be in the proportion of the clearness of the improvement. If Kansas or Arkansas affords to the negro better conditions than Mississippi or South Carolina, then thither he will and should go. If the emigrants' own statements be true, (and in these days *their* statements will be listened to with impartial regard,) that they are oppressed with exacting bargains, withheld education, and political disfranchisement and bloodshed, it is their right, as it is ours, to remove to sections where these disabilities have no existence. This free and natural mobility will, we cheerfully trust, prove favorable for all parties. It will withdraw the colored surplusage, both political and economical, from the overcrowded sections, and thereby leave a colored political minority, and a diminution of laborers which will increase the value of labor and secure fair compensation and equitable dealing. Politically, as our readers are aware, we do not approve the subjection of the intelligence and morals of a people under the predominance of an unintelligent and demoralized majority. Give to all the means of education, moral and intellectual, but give control to superior qualification. In this respect both sections, North and South, are wronging each other. The South has, through nearly our whole history, aimed to rule the North through its unintelligence; and at the present time the North has been endeavoring to base one corner of a great national party upon mainly the Southern negrodom. It has proved to the negro a crushing weight, and, so far as the party in the South is concerned, a disastrous failure. Now, the withdrawal of

negro majorities from given sections will withdraw the apprehension of negro predominance, without disfranchising the negro. It will leave him a suffrage to be wielded in choosing the most favorable Caucasian rulers, without being himself, nomially, the ruler. The present physiological as well as historical inferiority of the colored race plainly indicates a humbler grade as a whole, yet without suppression of individual superiorities wherever exhibited. And physiology speaks as positively of the improvability of a race as of its inferiority. The prospects of the colored people are hopeful, and we do not hesitate to recognize their exodus as one step in their march of progress. Of this exodus there is no Moses; the only leader is Jehovah.

Miscellaneous.

Stories of the Old Dominion. From the Settlement to the End of the Revolution. By JOHN ESTEN COOKE, Author of "Leather Stocking and Silk," "Professer Pressensee," "Henry St. John, Gentleman," etc. 12mo., pp. 337. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A very readable series of historical and biographical sketches of eminent Virginians, as John Smith, Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, John Marshal, and John Randolph. It is written for the author's two sons, but may be recommended to every body else's sons for perusal.

Daniel Quorm and his Religious Notions. (Second Series.) By MARK GUY PEARSE, Author of "Mister Horn and His Friends." Illustrated by Charles Tresidder. 12mo., pp. 225. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Daniel is still quaint and wise and good; he is still very readable, but, perhaps, hardly as spontaneous as his first issues.

The Second Coming of Christ considered in its Relation to the Millennium, the Resurrection, and the Judgment. By S. M. MERRILL, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 282. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

One of Bishop Merrill's tracts for the times, re-asserting and maintaining the Catholic doctrine of the Church in regard to the future judgment, and well adapted for popular reading.

How to Get Strong and How to Stay So. By WILLIAM BLACKIE. 12mo., pp. 299. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

A fresh and admirable treatise on physical education, advancing many new and, perhaps, true ideas in popular and piquant style.

The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia. With Introduction and Notes. By Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 127. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford. Price, 75 cents. 1879.

Specially adapted for Bible classes.

Palms of Elim; or, Rest and Refreshment in the Valleys. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 12mo., pp. 307. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

A Saintly and Successful Worker; or, Sixty Years a Class-Leader. A Biographical Study. Including Incidental Discussions of the Theory and Experience of Perfect Love, of the Class and Class-Meeting, and of the Art of Winning Souls. suggested by the Experience and Labors of William Carvosso. By DANIEL WISE, D.D. 16mo., pp. 276. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY.—*Robert Burns.* By PRINCIPAL SHAIRP. 12mo., pp. 205.—*Edmund Spencer.* By R. W. CHURCH. Pp. 180.—*William M. Thackeray.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Pp. 206. New York: Harper & Brother. 1879.

Young Folks' History of England. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. 12mo., pp. 415 Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York, for the Official Year Ending December 31, 1878. 8vo., pp. 419. New York: Hall of Board of Education.

The Rifle Club and Range. By A. H. WESTON. With Illustrations. 16mo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

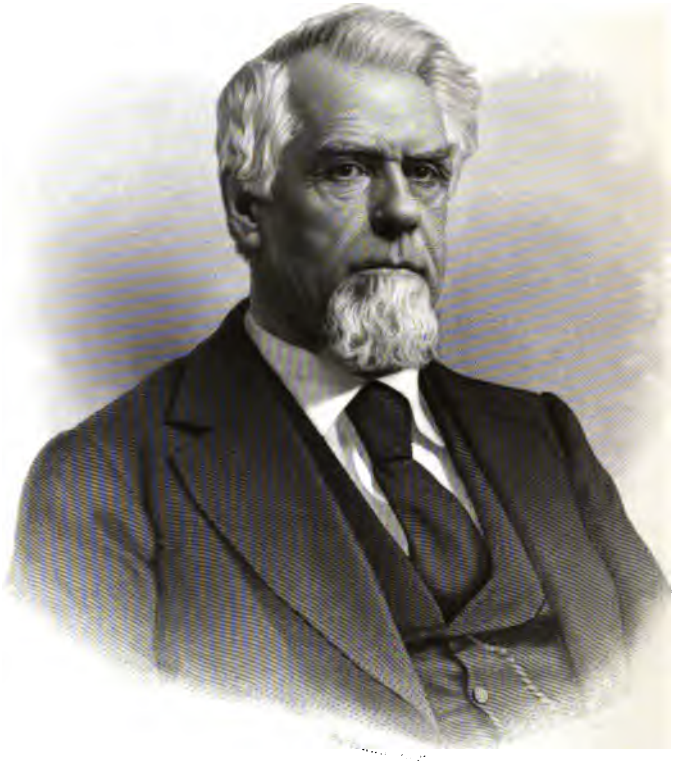
FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *A History of Our Own Times,* from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the Berlin Congress. By JUSTIN M'CARTHY.—*An Eye for an Eye.* By ANTHONY TROLLOPE.—*Basildon.* By Mrs. ALFRED W. HUNT.—*Coward Conscience.* By FREDERICK M. ROBINSON.—*Lady Lee's Widowhood.* By CAPTAIN EDWARD B. HAWLEY, R.A.—*That Artful Vicar.* By the Author of "The Member for Paris," etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Notices of the following postponed to next number:—

Raymond's Theology. Vol. III. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Janet on Final Causes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Bowne's Studies in Theism. New York: Phillips & Hunt.



R. Nelson

METHODIST
QUARTERLY REVIEW
OCTOBER

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In 1822 he became a priest, ... the University of Munich. ... he speaks of himself as having ... of these years, the period of ... he was deposed from his ... Lola Montez and ... to the ... compelled him to forego ... and to begin likewise ... of a work on "The Doctrine of ... Five Centuries." Two volumes of ...

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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1879.

ART. I.—DÖLLINGER.

JOHN JOSEPH IGNATIUS VON DÖLLINGER was born at Würzburg on the twenty-eighth of February, 1799. We have no information concerning his early years, family connections, or worldly circumstances. The *von* which precedes his name indicates noble birth, but cannot assure us that his family was in a prosperous social condition. He says by chance that his grandfather was once in the service of the Prince-Bishop of Bamburg and Würzburg, but does not tell what the service was. Of his own father or mother we hear not a word. We know nothing of the influences that wrought upon him at home, in school, or at the university. Of his earlier moral and religious development, also, we know nothing.

In 1822 he became a priest, and in 1826 Professor of Theology in the new University of Munich. In one of his later addresses he speaks of himself as having accomplished a professorial career of fifty years. In point of fact, the only interruption of his academic duties occurred between the years 1847 and 1849, when he was dismissed from his chair by ministers whom the infamous Lola Montez had raised to power. It was a noble testimonial to the purity and energy of his character that such people must silence him before they could sin unashamed. His career in authorship began likewise in 1826, with the publication of a work on "The Doctrine of the Eucharist in the First Three Centuries." Two volumes of an elaborate "Church

History" appeared between 1833 and 1835. He next published a "Manual of Church History," intended for university classes and private study; of this the first volume appeared in 1836, and the second in 1838; a second edition was issued in 1843, whose title-page describes it as improved. In 1838 he printed in Munich a work on "The Religion of Mohammed: Its Interior Development and Influence on the Life of Nations." This very valuable work was the first in which he gave distinct token of that vaster range and keener intellectual penetration which make his maturer works so memorable. In the years from 1845 to 1848 he was sending out at Regensburg three stately volumes on "The Reformation: Its Interior Development and Effects within the Sphere of the Lutheran Confession." In 1853, by his "Hippolytus and Calistus; or, The Church of Rome in the First Half of the Third Century," he took an able share in the controversy aroused by the discovery of the "Philosophoumena," at first ascribed to Origen, but afterward, and on more satisfactory grounds, to Hippolytus. In 1857 he sent out a most able and learned discussion of the general historical preparation for Christianity under the title, "Heathenism and Judaism." This was followed in 1860 by "Christianity and the Church in the Time of their Foundation;" the next year after that came "The Church and the Churches; or, Papacy and Church State." In 1863 appeared "Fables of the Middle Ages Concerning the Popes;" in 1871 was issued his work on "The Prophetic Spirit and the Prophecies of the Christian Era;" and in 1872 came his "Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches."

Besides these more extended and elaborate treatises, Döllinger has sent out many occasional publications. In 1828 he printed a short account of "The Reformation," in Hortig's "Ecclesiastical History." "The Religion of Shakspeare;" "The Introduction of Christianity among the Germans;" "A Commentary on Dante's Paradise," furnished with designs by the renowned Cornelius; "Mixed Marriages;" "The English Tractarians;" "John Huss;" "The Albigensians;" "The Duty and Law of the Church toward Persons Dying in other Communions;" "Error, Doubt, and Truth;" "The Freedom of the Church;" "Martin Luther, A Sketch;" "The Past and the Present of Catholic Theology;" "Three Speeches in the Bavarian Diet;"

"Three Speeches in the Unions-Conferenzen;" "The Universities, Formerly and Now"—these are the minor productions of this tireless author.

Several years ago a great deal of interest was aroused about Dr. Döllinger on account of his sturdy resistance to the definition of the infallibility of the Pope by the Council of the Vatican. This was fed by the fact that he was one of the few who braved the horrors of excommunication rather than recognize that Council as a true one, and its dogmatic decisions as binding matter of faith for the members of his own communion. The announcement that he was about to set up, in connection with other like-minded Catholics, an Old Catholic Church, was greeted with surprise, sorrow, and hope, according to the various sympathies of different parties. The development of the new organization, though more rapid and divergent from Rome than Döllinger could have wished, has not answered public anticipation. We think it fair to hold Döllinger largely responsible for the form matters have assumed; and hence deem it necessary to study him in order to understand that movement. One who had been acquainted with his professional career, his ecclesiastical affinities, and his elaborate treatises, might easily have foretold the extent and reserves of his action as a reformer. If we study his chief works with considerate attention, we shall readily make out why he bore himself as he did toward the Vatican Council, and as a reformer of the Church.

Döllinger's earlier works had given evidence of great acquirements in many fields of theological science, unwearied industry in his vocation, and decided skill in that wise ordering of literary tasks which is one of the rarest of human gifts. He writes from the first in remarkably clear, concise, and well-handled German; and this in itself is something remarkable for a German theologian. His larger and smaller Church histories might well enough have aroused the expectation among German Catholics that their author would yet perform honorable service for their cause; but there was nothing in them to draw the especial attention of German Protestants, not to speak of those of foreign lands. But when his great work on "The Reformation" came out, in the years from 1845 to 1848, it was no longer possible to make this assertion. The performance was well calculated to make a sensation. It was the most

formidable indictment ever brought against the great reform of the sixteenth century, framed and urged home by a most wary and consummate advocate. It was novel in plan, rich in information, moderate in tone, remorseless in purpose, and masterly in its grandly marshaled presentation. Döllinger himself tells us how this work grew upon his hands: "It was the preliminary labors and studies for my 'Manual of Church History' which conducted me to a more comprehensive investigation of the history of the Reformation, and thence onward until I took the decision to publish the results in a separate work."

So important did this new task appear to him, that he interrupted the publication of his "Church History" until he could carry it through.

When we look into the work itself we are not a little surprised at its character. An author who issues three solid volumes of nearly seven hundred pages each under the title of "The Reformation" gives his readers good cause to look for an attempt to portray the inducing causes, chief actors, and leading results of that great religious revolution. Though aware of this, Döllinger does not try to answer that reasonable expectation. He tells us in the Preface of his first volume that this has often enough been done already, and that he shall not undertake the work afresh. He states his own design as follows:—

> The problem which it is here attempted to solve, or, at least, to bring nearer to a solution, is different: it is the course of the interior development of Protestantism; its progressive doctrinal movement; the means through which the victory of the Protestant system was won and its sovereignty confirmed; the molding influence exercised upon it by distinguished individuals; the reactions which gradually established themselves within its own realm; the religious bearing and temper that were called out by the new system; the contrast of the Catholic and Protestant institutions; the effects which have been connected partly with the destruction of the old ecclesiastical arrangements and partly with the new substitute—these are the matters to which a more careful and comprehensive investigation than has yet fallen to their lot elsewhere will here be devoted.

It results from the very nature of this plan that Döllinger must extend his survey far beyond the usual limits assigned to the Lutheran Reformation. Most historians include in this period the time from 1517 to 1555; that is, from Luther's

first appearance as a Reformer, when he nailed up the memorable theses against indulgences on the doors of the Schloss-Kirche, to the time when the conclusion of the Council of Trent occurred; for, by defining and denouncing the reform as heretical and schismatic, that body had set the two systems up in helpless antagonism. It is plain that Döllinger's design could not well be carried through within so narrow a space of time: hence he extends his survey from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. The material which he employs is found largely in biographies, in correspondence between different parties—much of the latter unpublished, though drawn from accessible collections in public libraries.

In the first volume, the persons whose opinions and statements concerning the mischievous changes and evil fruits of the Reformation are adduced, excepting Luther and Melanchthon, were men who kept themselves remote from any sympathy with the new movement, or who had withdrawn their sympathy after awhile, or who followed a tendency of their own in opposition to the prevailing one in their day. Under the general heading, "Judgments and Feeling of Contemporaries in the First Period of Protestantism," we have the testimony of Erasmus, Georg Wizel, Johann Haner, Johann Wildenauer, Crotus Rubeanus, Theobald Billicanus, Jacob Strauss, Johann von Staupitz, Vitus Amerpach, Wilibald Pirkheimer, Ulrich Zasius, and Heinrich Loriti Glareanus. These men were all Catholics, and their testimony is employed instead of that of the contemporary Catholic controversial writers who had assailed the reform, as being less open to the suspicion of exaggeration. Then follow the first Separatists and Anabaptists: Sebastian Frank, Johann Denk, Ludwig Hetzer, Berchthold Haller, Johann Bader, Greiffenberg, Johann Eberlin, Heinrich Satrapitan, Johann Kymeus, Urban Regius, Justus Menius, Curicius Cordus, Coban Hesse, Rudolph Walther, Lambert, Matthäus Zell, Löschenbrand, Vogler, Schwenkfeld, Agricola, Bader, and Albada. Finally come Luther and Melanchthon.

Under the last section, on "The Relation of the Reformation to the Schools, Universities, and the Education of Youth; the Theological Faculties; Position and Views of Individual Savants," a like series of eminent school-men is produced. After

these we have a discussion of the employment of the censorship of the press as a weapon of warfare against the Roman Catholics and the various Protestant sects, in the interest of Lutheranism. A large space is given up to the views and feelings of certain men of learning in relation to the Reformation and its fruits as affecting scientific progress. We shall defer all criticism until the following volume has been outlined; but meantime we may contemplate with advantage specimens of the way in which these witnesses are handled.

The celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam is the best known in this list of names. His general relation to the Reformation is so well defined in the public mind that it need not be described here. He was a man whose character and learning made him quick to feel the weak points and faults of both parties. His evident liking for the new movement in its earlier stages awakened both the hopes of the Reformers and the fears of the Catholics concerning his future action. Yet his irresolute and easy nature made it hard for him to assume any decided bearing. He felt keenly the faults of Rome, but he had as keen a sense of Luther's offensive traits. In the controversy that he sustained against Luther, in favor of the freedom of the human will, he was made to feel the gall of the irate Reformer. He grew more and more inclined to withdraw from the scenes of religious strife, and soothe his anger with scholarly works and delights. Hence he would be sure to encounter his opponent's new system with hostile criticism. Döllinger reads up the writings of Erasmus, and examines his abundant correspondence, to find out all the ugly, malicious, and contemptuous things contained in them regarding the Reformation. Especially does he welcome passages in which the great humanist really makes a good point against his adversary—such as this from a letter to Melanchthon:—

> Had Luther only with as much zeal avoided occasion for tumult, and insisted upon right living, as he showed in defense of dogma!

And again:—

> What can be more destructive than when these words come to the ears of the unlearned throng! The Pope is Antichrist; bishops and priests are hypocrites; human ordinances are heretical; confession is corrupting; works, merits and struggles are heretical words; there is no free-will, but every thing happens from necessity; it matters not what may be the quality of the works of men.

If Erasmus writes to Anton Brugorius, "I am favorable to the Gospel, but shall never connect myself with this Gospel unless I see different gospelers and a different people," we are sure to have it laid before our eyes. The section of citations from Erasmus is concluded with several such passages:—

I know this, that never was there greater luxury or more adultery than among the Evangelicals, as they are fond of being called. Did not Luther himself declare that he would prefer the old dominion of Pope and monks to this lawless species of men that, under the pretense of the Gospel, is addicted to a sybaritic life? Did not Melanchthon, in a letter to me, bewail the same thing? Did not Œcolampadius, in conversation, confess the like? While so much is put away, nothing better comes in its place.

If the preachers would thunder against the vices of their friends with the same pitiless severity with which they ply those of the priests, I should be surprised if they retained three hearers. Whether they do this they may tell themselves: I have never heard any thing about that.

I know one whom I loved for ten years as a son, who in return regarded me as a father, and who seemed born for goodness. But when he had sucked in the evangelical spirit he became, against all expectation, a good dicer, a night-long card-player, a spruce whoremaster, strutted around girded with an excessively long sword, and thought about getting married.

Those I had previously known as pure, upright, and unsuspicious people, began, as soon as they had joined this sect, to talk about girls, play dice and despise prayer, grew covetous, intolerable, revengeful, slanderous, vain, poisonous and rabid, and unaccountable in their depravity. In my experience I have found the Evangelicals severer and less trusty than the others.

Among our bishops I know some whose piety I should prefer to that of a thousand Evangelicals, who, nevertheless, speak about priests, monks, and bishops as though they were sunken in vice and were enemies of Christ.

They have thrown the entire legislation concerning marriage into confusion. They may learn from the ecclesiastical visitors what cases have come before them. But why mention one, since they themselves confess that on account of the Gospel many give themselves over the more freely to all vices?

Most among them are men who have nothing to lose, bankrupts, fickle people, recreant monks and priests, men who are eager for novelty and freedom from constraint, raw young people, thoughtless women, day-laborers, characterless folk, adventurers, soldiers, and even persons branded through their crimes.

Foes of the reform of every honorable kind are brought forward, briefly sketched, set in the most favorable light, have their faults thrown into the background, and then are heard

with respect while they say the worst things they can devise against the great revolution which they bitterly abhor. The tale grows monotonous after awhile; but the relentless papal advocate forces his readers to follow him through three hundred pages of such vituperation. It would serve no useful purpose to give any more detailed and extended presentation of this mass of reactionary and contradictory matter. Some of the witnesses might add details to the charges adduced, might paint the same facts in lighter or darker tints, and might diversify somewhat the too abundant vocabulary of contempt and reproach; but at last we should come to nearly the same general impression as now.

Yet it ought to be said that many of these deponents are free from any intention of slander, and were only giving vent to profoundly serious convictions. If we had any doubt concerning this point in the case of easy-going Erasmus, we should freely concede that men like Georg Wizel and Casper Schwenkfeld would not speak so bitterly as they do about the reform if they did not deeply feel the grievances they utter. But it is from precisely this class of morally earnest men—men who command the sincere respect of their best opponents—that the worst descriptions of the actual and apprehended evil results of the new system proceed.

It is interesting to observe the skill and daring with which Luther and Melanchthon are made to confirm these hostile criticisms of their own work. Döllinger begins with a confession of the great abilities, marvelous acquirements, and skillful conduct of Melanchthon. He represents him as one who swept the whole scene of ecclesiastical contests with keenest vision, discerned the remoter as well as the immediate dangers of the new system, modified and improved the extreme views of the other reformers, and who knew how to strike his theological foes without risking his own cause. But this broader intellectual range and keener perception of latent perils forced him into a mildly tenacious opposition to Luther on important points. If Melanchthon saw the most important doctrinal gain of the new movement in the dogmas of justification by faith alone, and in the rejection of the eucharistic sacrifice, hi deep sense of their value forced him to insist that the new obedience, as he phrased it, or good works, are indispensable

to the character of a justified man, and inclined him toward the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper. When he had come into conflict with Luther he more than once was made to feel the disagreeable qualities of his great but arrogant friend. Hence complaints in letters to his trusted companions, criticisms on Luther, blame for his violence and love of power, forebodings of future disaster because his monitions were neglected, animadversions on advancing evils, fears as to the value of his work, dejection over defeated hopes, prayers and longings that death or the end of the world might terminate his sorrows; in short, Melanchthon showed himself weak and human on many occasions, and all his outpourings of this sort, in letters, sermons, addresses, and books, are collected as precious evidence that his work was any thing but divine. He is charged with dishonesty in maintaining that the Reformation was the bringing back of the long-forgotten doctrinal purity and simplicity of the apostolic Church. He is represented as a time-server in his relations with various parties; his own illogical severity against the rejecters of Lutheranism is strongly set forth. He is charged with dishonesty in drawing up the Augsburg Confession, and especially his subscription to a paper declaring that Philip of Hesse might keep two wives and not imperil his salvation, is adroitly kept before the reader. Not a fault is omitted, not an error is passed over, not a weakness is excused; and, in brief, the entire human, frail, cowardly, inconsistent, weak, and sometimes wicked side of the Reformation is arrayed before us in its pitiful completeness. Then the impression is conveyed in a thousand skillful turns and touches that all these faults and weaknesses have an intimate connection with the new doctrines. Of course, the better class of Luther's Catholic opponents sincerely believed their sinister allegations, and one can still catch the accents of this sincerity in their words. Then Luther's absurd doctrine of the bondage of the human will, and his conception of the soul's entire passivity in the process of salvation, led him not only to reject any possible merit in human works before justification, but conducted him to the conclusion that works of righteousness, after justification as well as before, were neither evidence of that state of grace nor a preparation for sanctification. In his rage against the legal conception of sal-

vation, he went so far in some cases as to affirm that a man who had no good works was more likely to be saved than one who had; and this not only when the man was not yet in a justified state, but also after he was. One can see easily enough that such doctrines had a fearful peril of practical antinomianism in them, and that they must have given a severe shock to multitudes of well-meaning persons who had found religious support and comfort in the doctrines and pious customs of the old Church; to those whose philosophical insight taught them that such principles would undermine the Gospel of the grace of God, and render the fruits of holiness in a sanctified life impossible; and especially to pious souls who instinctively saw that it could not be true that the more one looked like a devil, the nearer one was to true godliness. We must bear in mind that there was a large class, then as ever, who sought, under pretense of gospel freedom, license for wickedness, and that these would be sure to exhibit in their godless lives all the natural evil consequences of Luther's erroneous teachings. Sects did arise who taught not merely that the soul which sincerely accepts Christ's righteousness for its own not only does not sin, but cannot sin; and that the worst sins in such cannot touch their peace, purity, or safety, since these repose not on the perfection of their obedience, but on the perfection of their faith. Of course, it was not easy at first for these honest people to see that by translating and circulating the Holy Scriptures, and making their teachings the ultimate arbiter of theological opinions, the most effective correction had been supplied by Luther for his own errors, as well as those of Rome. Amid the manifold moral and spiritual confusions of those stormy and angry times, what wonder if men passed through great diversities of feeling, were agitated by all sorts of conflicting fears, and saw not the end of their troubles? Of course, these diverse emotions found expression in all kinds of ways, and these deliverances are what Döllinger partly depends on for revolutionizing our conception of the great Reformation.

In the second volume the author arrays a mass of similar evidence, turning mostly on the same points. But here it is "the authors of the Reformation, their friends, assistants, and disciples," whose judgments and testimony concerning the condition and development of the Protestant ecclesiastical system

we hear. We shall not trouble our readers with specimens, and, indeed, it is needless, since we are ready to admit that under the skillful handling of this most subtile Catholic advocate these friends of the reform are made to confirm and exceed its enemies in their portrayal of the evils evolved from, or latent in, the new system.

We have refrained hitherto from comments on the method pursued by Döllinger throughout these volumes, in presenting the story of the Reformation; but as the first two volumes conclude the presentation of witnesses in regard to the exoteric results of that great revolution, it is needful to bring that subject under consideration. We have more than once implied a severe criticism in calling Döllinger an advocate, a skillful and intelligent and subtle advocate. For, whether conscious of it or not, the person who says concerning any great historical event which he proposes to discuss, We will not consider the whole topic, but only such and such aspects, necessarily risks a partial and false exhibition of the matter. On a careful and candid perusal of this book the discerning reader will be prone to say to himself, The real purpose, the shaping motive, of this work is nowhere distinctly avowed; but, nevertheless, there must have been a distinct intention on its author's part to show that the reform has been rather a curse than a benefit to the world. When one had come to see this fact he would read without surprise Döllinger's confession to Mr. Plummer, that "The Reformation" was "a one-sided book, written with the definite object of disproving the theory that the Reformers in Germany revived pure apostolic Christianity in the presbytery." But while it is a great satisfaction to have one's own opinion of the work, independently formed, confirmed by the testimony of its author, we should be in error if we let the subject pass as of no further consequence; the work itself will still remain for the bewilderment of many honest readers.

The first general criticism we have to offer on the whole production is, that the author's plan relieves him from the task of discussing the most difficult portions of the history of the reform. For instance, a comprehensive history of the Reformation would compel its author to investigate the deeper causes of that movement, those that lay back of the mental and moral peculiarities of Luther, Melanchthon and their friends, beyond

the appetite of the populace for novelty and greater freedom, and the hunger of the princes for the fat estates of the Church. Through what sins, vices, and corruptions had it come to pass that throughout all Christendom men felt the inappeasable necessity for a thorough reform? How was it that just where men were most in earnest about religion and piety this need was most keenly realized? How came it that the very worst men of that depraved period were not only in possession of many important dignities of the Church, but were elevated to the papal throne? It was of the Popes that administered the Roman See during the days of Luther's childhood and early manhood that Döllinger himself had written in his "Manual of Church History":—

In such Popes the ecclesiastical office and the pontifical functions were wholly suppressed through secular activity. For the signs and heralding tokens of the violent storm which was soon to devastate Europe from end to end, and shatter the Church to her foundations, they had neither eyes nor ears; they lived and acted as though every thing was arranged for the best in the Church, and the anguished outcry of the illuminated and pious for a thorough improvement was to be ascribed only to peevish censoriousness or excessive and inexperienced conscientiousness. And yet was it perhaps precisely the guardianship of Providence watching over the Church which held these Popes back from meddling oftener in ecclesiastical concerns. Innocent died July 24, 1492. In order to fill the papal treasury he had, after the example of his predecessor, established fifty-two officials for the drawing up of bulls, each of whom paid 2,500 ducats for his office; with the same intent he had created three hundred other offices, and had increased the college of papal secretaries to thirty. These swarms of greedy curialists were now impelled for their own advantage to devise new means for exhausting the Church, and to resist every reform of the *curia*.

Now came the time of the deepest shame and degradation of the Apostolic See. The incredible happened. A man concerning whose impure, yea, vicious life nobody could be mistaken—though otherwise distinguished for sagacity, persuasive powers and active business dexterity, but pre-eminently for his crafty arts of knavish policy—was raised to the highest dignity only because, through his insatiable greed for gold, he had scraped together the sums with which he was able to purchase the votes of the cardinals. Without external compulsion, without undue haste, with free consent, fifteen of the twenty cardinals who were then in the Conclave elected a man who had begotten several children in adulterous lust, a man whose character was so well known that the cardinals who had opposed his election immediately sought by flight to es-

cape his vengeance. Such cardinals had the previous Popes given to the Church. It was the Cardinal and Vice-Chancellor Roderigo Lenzuola, from Xativa, in Valencia, named Borgia from his maternal uncle, Calixtus III., who had adopted him into his family, and already in 1456 had made him cardinal, that now, as Alexander VI., ascended the papal throne. For the satisfaction of his lusts, for the enrichment and elevation of his family, he had hitherto lived; for these he also lived as Pope; for these he employed his high dignity; for these he used any means, lying and breach of trust, even murder and poison.

When one reads these sternly sorrowful words of the learned and pious historian, and notes the repressed indignation which throbs in every syllable, a feeling of astonishment steals over the mind that men of the profoundly religious type of Luther, Melanchthon, and many other Reformers, should have had such scanty justice at his hands. How was it unnatural that whoever was most pious, spiritually illuminated and intelligent in Europe should then feel a profound repugnance to all that was Roman and Papal? What wonder that it sent thrill upon thrill of the profoundest moral disgust through the noblest hearts of that generation, to see the thrones of ecclesiastical power, the sources of ecclesiastical influence and the highest doctrinal authority, in the hands of men whom hell has swallowed up in its hottest fires? What wonder that the sincerest souls thought Rome was Babylon, proclaimed the Pope Antichrist, and prophesied the speedy approach of the day of judgment? Surely such an ample and hearty confession of the extraordinary moral corruption of the Church should have made Döllinger swifter to extenuate the bitter vituperation with which the Reformers assailed the old system.

A second criticism addresses itself to the failure to give the entire testimony of any one witness in relation to the various points to which he speaks. Of course, we should not think of demanding that all the testimony of any person should be spread before us upon any one point, much less upon all. What we mean is this: In most cases little or no care seems to have been observed in giving a just and proportionate expression of the whole thought of the witnesses concerning the topic in question. To quote any startling admission in regard to the faults of the Reformers, any confession that their doctrine had not had all the moral results they had

hoped for, any outbreak of gloomy anticipations for the future of their system, without an impartial exhibition of their deliverances of a different sort, has the effect of falsehood. When men in moments of dejection write dismal accounts of the moral and religious condition of the world, it is unfair not to give them the benefit of an adequate statement of their thoughts in brighter hours. This is a very serious fault of this work; if we supposed the writer aware of it, we should severely censure him.

When we take into account that our author allows himself two centuries to range over in quest of damaging declarations against the Lutheran system we are forced to admit that one might make out a case against any thing whatever in the same manner. Suppose somebody should undertake an indictment of our American Revolution on these principles? Can any body fancy that he would not succeed in making out a startling case? Let him collect all the published depreciatory statements of people in that period who were of Tory sentiments, or who once had a halfway interest in the movement, which they afterward gave up and strove to explain or palliate. Would he lack materials? And if he did, would he not find abundant supplies in the Tory correspondence which went on before, during, and soon after our Revolution? Suppose, further, he should glean up every thing to our disadvantage uttered or written by aristocratic statesmen, or found in pamphlets or newspapers? Would he not have an embarrassing wealth of material? Let him add next all the disparaging things that creep into the books of the various travelers who from time to time honor us with their presence and their unsolicited advice. Let assiduous care be taken to collect all the endearments addressed from England to the American cousin whenever he has a war with Great Britain, or with Mexico, or a civil war of portentous magnitude, or an ugly Trent case, or an Alabama question on his hands; then assuredly one could find hues black and dismal enough even to paint ourselves. Then let the respectable character of our assailants be carefully depicted, so as to give the due moral support to their statements.

When the manipulator of this assault upon the great republic had outlined his own conception of our true national and political character, let him, as Döllinger does, seek to confirm

all this by evidence out of our own mouths. Let all the things that we have written down against ourselves in books, pamphlets, newspapers, reviews, sermons, lectures, speeches, private correspondence and public documents, be collected and set in order against us; let it be disconnected from its immediate purpose; and let the very respectable character of these deponents be duly set forth. Let our abuse of each other in political contests, our angry denunciations at the hands of fiery moral reformers, our arrayals of each other's sins in the time of our civil war, and our declarations concerning one another in the negro suffrage business—let all these be garnered up and used in portraying us. Would not the results of this inquest seem to be a strict confirmation of the worst declarations of our enemies? Continue this inquisition for two centuries, and the result would seem overwhelming. But would such a portrait be truthful, or a caricature?

There is no nation and no institution which might not be painted as dismally as one pleased under such conditions. Rome might thus be made to look again like the great scarlet Indecency, and from few authors could colors more impressive be drawn than from Döllinger himself. And this would be true of Rome since the Council of Trent as well as since the Council of the Vatican.

Yet should every student of the Reformation weigh this work with care; for it contains much rare information, arraigns the inconsistencies of the movement and the weaknesses of its leaders, and justly criticises the dogmatic faults of Luther. Of especial interest is the exposition of Luther's view of those "works of the law" which Paul rejects as grounds of justification, in contrast with the view maintained by Catholic tradition. And not without good reason does he accuse Luther of translating the Bible in the interest of his special system, putting in an *allein* or a *nur* which the Spirit of God had omitted. Thus where our version correctly runs: "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law," (Rom. iii, 28,) Luther renders the last phrase, "without the deeds of the law, only through faith." His exceptions to the frequency with which Luther translates the Hebrew term צדק, as well as the Greek δίκαιος, by *pious* instead of *righteous*—a transaction against which Methodism would have its own protest to utter,

as tending to obscure the brighter examples of pre-Christian holiness—are perfectly well taken. Of course Luther supposed his added words lay in the minds of the sacred writers, and were part of the truth the Holy Ghost intended to teach.

From this survey of "The Reformation" we can see how rooted in the inmost convictions of Döllinger was his feeling that the institution of the papacy is needful to the weal of the Christian world. Terrible as were the woes under which the civil and ecclesiastical society of that time groaned, great and urgent as were the reasons that impelled men to seek a reformation by casting off the authority of the Roman See, Döllinger sees no moral justification for this daring step. Of course, a separation from the fellowship of Rome has never been justifiable if it was not in those dreary years which the author himself describes as the most fearful that have ever befallen the Christian community; days which, for the elect's sake, were shortened. To this result Döllinger was driven by convictions concerning the relation of Rome to Christendom which he had drawn in with his mother's milk, had learned from his theological masters, and to which he had long since given a scientific statement in the first volume of his "Manual of Church History," (page 48,) in these words:—

> The holder and representative of this unity of the whole Church, keystone and central point of the entire episcopacy, was the Bishop of Rome; all stood mediately or immediately in continual connection with him through letters of commendation and fellowship. He was the successor of the Apostle Peter, whom Christ had declared the Rock and Foundation upon which his Church was to rest, and to whom he had assigned the supreme pastoral office of the whole mass of believers. Peter had exercised the primacy assigned him among the apostles; then he had come to Rome, guided the Church there, suffered martyrdom in that place, and the supreme ecclesiastical dignity held by him had accordingly passed over from him to those who had succeeded him in the episcopate at Rome. Thus had the Church at Rome become the main Church of Christendom, the central point of the total Church. Hence even St. Ignatius calls the Roman Church "the president over the covenant of love, that is, of all Christendom."

In the fortieth section of the same treatise he had thus defined the main attributes of the Roman Bishop: 1. The Pope is the supreme doctor and guardian of the faith; 2. The Pope is the visible representative of the ecclesiastical unity; 3. The

Pope is the lawful president over ecumenical synods; 4. The Pope is legislator, guardian, and administrator of the canons; 5. The Pope has superior power over the Eastern Patriarchs; 6. The Pope is the judge to whom the final and decisive appeal must be made in ecclesiastical differences.

Of course Döllinger sees in the direction things have taken in Protestant lands since their rejection of the Roman primacy the amplest proofs for the need of such an officer in Christendom. He does not directly take up this topic and illustrate it in the survey of "The Reformation," but it, nevertheless, rules his whole view of that event.

In 1861 Dr. Döllinger delivered two lectures in Munich on the question, Will the Church State maintain its existence or disappear? The air was then full of rumors that the secular authority of the Pope over the States of the Church would in some way be wrested from him. Under the lead of Victor Emmanuel Italy was eager to complete her political unity by seizing the Papal States and assimilating them with the rest of the peninsula. There were great hopes on the part of the radicals of Italy and Europe that at last the detested civil authority of the Pope would be overthrown. The desire was loudly uttered that the spiritual empire of the Holy Father might not long continue after his temporal independence had been broken. On the part of the Catholics there was great fear that his civil authority would vanish, and grave apprehension that the religious functions of the Roman See would in consequence be greatly obstructed, if not suspended. Döllinger deemed the temporal power of the Popes very important to the welfare of the entire Catholic world. He dared to pronounce the rights of the Pope grounded in the strictest legitimacy; yet he felt all the absurdities and contradictions of the actual government of Rome by the Church, and plainly had little hope that the Pope would long continue a secular prince.

To penetrate the near future was his purpose, and to show what chances still remained for the Papacy. He could see but five possible solutions of the Roman question: 1. An Austrian triumph might give the Pope fresh power; 2. The papal power might be removed to France; 3. Napoleon might submit the matter to the decision of a congress of Catholic powers;

4. The Pope might be forced to forsake Rome, and wait in some Catholic country till a reaction should conduct him home to victory; 5. Lastly, the Papal See might forever lose its secular possessions. It is possible that the lecturer expected the fifth alternative, and, in view of such an event, desired to say to friends and foes alike that the possession of territorial jurisdiction, however desirable, is not essential to the Papacy: if that goes, this will remain, because God wills it, two hundred millions of Catholics demand it, and Christendom needs it.

These lectures were a defiance, flung proudly forth in that hour of gloom and storm at all the political and ecclesiastical foes of the Roman See. Reports of these lectures, partly exaggerated and false, soon got into the papers, and went the rounds of the world; and then there was a large party of the Catholics who deemed it imprudent to say at such an hour that the Pope's territorial jurisdiction could not be indispensable to the Papacy since it had existed and done its work for seven centuries without that. Why put such a perilous weapon of offense into the hands of the enemies of the Church? They preferred to shut their eyes upon the truth, declare that the civil dominion was an essential part of the Apostolical See, and asseverate that the fidelity of God was pledged for its perpetuity. To enlighten all parties Döllinger expanded his views upon the functions of the Papal See into a book, under the title, "Church and Churches; or, The Papacy and the Church State." The volume seeks to show that the Church State—the Church, as far as it is a State—may go down, and yet the Papacy remain unassailed in its inmost vitality.

To set forth this view of the subject Döllinger develops his conception of the powers and offices of the Papacy, depicts the situation of the Church under its rule, exhibits the variations of the separated Churches—from the Greek Church down to Protestantism in all its forms and lands—and finally traces out the history of the Church State from its foundation down to 1861. It is interesting to observe how so learned and candid an inquirer judges of the recent condition of Protestantism; and it would be pleasant to enter upon his survey of Methodism, and of religion in the United States in general; but at present we can only deal with his view of the essential attributes of the Papacy. Döllinger begins with the fact that

the ancient world regarded religion not as a bond of unity, but as an occasion of the separation and segregation of diverse nations. The heathen philosophers found one of the absurdest features of an absurd religion in the strange pretension of the Christian faith to universality, and they scorned the folly of supposing that the various nations known to them could ever be bound together by the ties of a common religion. But it soon appeared that the new faith was accomplishing this impossible task, and was laying the foundations of her empire beneath the nations which grew up on the ruins of imperial Rome. The characteristic feature of the Church was that it should not be Italian, French, English, German, or Greek; but human and universal. National Churches Döllinger looks upon as dechristianized, so far as they are made to bear the distinctive features of a particular people. Thus he regards the Papacy as grounded in the peculiar architectonics of the Church, as satisfying the Saviour's command that his disciples should all be one, and as maintaining and guiding the normal activity of the body of Christ. On page 25 he says:—

> That a Church for the nations could not maintain itself without a Primate, a supreme center of unity, is evident to every body, and history has proved it. Every living whole requires such a central point of unity, a supreme head which binds the parts together. It is grounded in the nature and structure of the Church that this central point must be a definite person, the chosen holder of an office corresponding to the thing or necessity of the Church. Whoever asserts: "I do not recognize the Pope, for the Church to which I belong will be independent; to us the Pope is a stranger, his Church is not ours," thereby declares, "We renounce the universal Church; we will be no members of that body."

The author proceeds to ask those who maintain that this Roman institution is unscriptural and opposed to the will of God, to show him any scriptural or other evidence that the dismembered and separate condition of Christianity is willed or desired by God. He argues the gain for the individual Christian or minister of the Church from connection with a universal organization. He rejects the invisible, spiritual Church just because it is invisible, as unfit for the service of pious souls or the world. From this argument he returns to ask once more:—

What in the present is the proper function, the vocation, of the Papacy, and why is the entire stability of the Church now and hereafter so indissolubly connected with the existence and the free operation of the Papal authority?

Döllinger finds the answer to this inquiry in three particulars, and the first is best given in his own words:—

The Catholic Church is the richest and most manifold organism. Its task is nothing less than to be the teacher and molder of the nations. Much as she may find herself hindered in this, limited as the sphere may be which is still left her in this or that State, her task still remains the same, and for this the Church needs and possesses a fullness of forces, a multitude of diversified arrangements yet all directed to the same purpose, and to which she is ever adding new ones. All these forces, institutions, spiritual corporations and combinations, require a superior guidance, exerted by a firm and strong hand, that they may work in harmony, may not degenerate, may not fail of their destination, nor suicidally turn their powers against each other, nor against the unity and welfare of the Church itself. Only the Primate of the Church can perform this task; only the Papacy is able to maintain each member in its sphere, and to relieve any existing disturbance.

The second peculiar office of the Pope's primacy in the present time Döllinger finds in the fact that he is to represent and defend the rights of particular Churches against princes or the civil authority; to see to it that the Church does not, through entanglement with the State, get essentially marred or spoiled, nor weakened in her vigor.

The third office of the Papal See is to do justice to the peculiarities and special claims of individual nations in the Church, to understand their necessities, to reduce their wishes to the measure of Catholicity and to the limits required by the unity of the Church.

These views of Döllinger are cited, not that they may be shown unscriptural or unreasonable, but that we may see how fully he was a papist after thirty-five years of study, instruction, and observation in the domain of theology and Church history. We can already see that in some directions Döllinger could hardly be tempted for a moment to opposition against Rome. In the direction of the Anglican Lutheran or Calvinistic Reformers he can never go; all his prejudices, tastes, associations, habits of thought and objects of hope would alike prevent his founding a new sect of Döllingerites. No possible fate could appear

more pitiable to him than to be forced out of communion with Rome, and into a greater or less sympathy with her Protestant foes.

It is remarkable that among all the probable events of the Roman question, Döllinger did not mention the chance that the venerable Pio Nono might summon a new General Council to give advice as to the course to be followed out in the confused condition of the world, and that a serious attempt might be made to strengthen the Pope by collecting the administrative authority of the entire organization more fully into his hands, and also to exalt the head of the Church above the entire episcopate and above General Councils by declaring him infallible. So well informed a person could not have been ignorant of the meaning of the act by which the Pope, acting as the supreme Doctor of the Catholic body, defined the Immaculate Conception as an article of the Catholic creed. He had seen the Syllabus, and knew its significance. That the Pope was quite inclined to be declared infallible was notorious; and that the Ultramontanes were bent on carrying that point of their programme was every-where evident in Catholic journals and circles.

Probably Döllinger regarded such an event as impossible, and refused to ask himself what course would be open to him should all his hopes be cheated? It will be necessary to devote careful study to other works of this writer before we shall be able to see how completely he had turned his face on every thing distinctively Protestant, and enchained himself to that Roman See which was one day to forget all his splendid services, fulminate against him her decree of excommunication, and rob him of all signs of her tenderness. This act was for him the saddest tragedy possible on earth save personal guilt; he, too, must be content to say, like dying Savonarola to his papal persecutor, "Over the Church triumphant thou hast no power."

Art. II.—OUR COLLEGES.

Are our colleges fulfilling the intentions and expectations of their founders as a moral and spiritual force? Are they degenerating in this respect? Are they meeting the legitimate demands of the age as positive auxiliaries of Christianity? Is the college primarily or solely an intellectual gymnasium? Is there any incompatibility between learning and piety? If not, do not intellectual expansion and the acquisition of knowledge rightfully call for proportionally higher types of piety and greater spiritual power? Is not the ideal college primarily and chiefly a spiritual force, whose first qualification is to possess in its officers of instruction men who unite with professional ability the highest types of faith and religious attainment, and whose proper work is to carry on all mental training with immediate reference to religious culture, and in all its operations and principles of action to show itself the uncompromising and foremost force of aggressive Christianity?

It is not our purpose to answer these questions in detail, but to discuss in a general way the main idea which they suggest. In so doing, we take the American college under those peculiar characteristics which render it an organization and a community by itself; as having a life of its own more isolated and self-dependent for its internal character than any other organization that has sprung from the bosom of society; and withal ruling society beyond any other element of the body politic.

It is undeniable that the general drift of influence on the part of our colleges preponderates in favor of religion. Here and there may be found, possibly, an institution whose moral force may be reckoned at zero, or even on the minus side of the equation. But the large majority of colleges would stand plus in the reckoning. Their general moral tone, the religious auspices under which they are supposed to exist, the general results of mental culture and discipline which are considered favorable to the acceptance and defense of all truth, the moral element that finds a place in nearly all courses of study, the religious exercises that accompany college work, the Christian character of many college professors, the number of Christian students, many of whom graduate into the pulpit, are so many

religious elements whose sum, varying in different colleges, would probably entitle them to claim a balance of influence in favor of Christianity. But whether this balance of influence is not diminishing through the lessening of some or all of these items is a serious question. It is probably true that the colleges of this country are not as decidedly Christian, as thoroughly religious, now as in former days. The religious atmosphere is less healthful and positive, and the purer oxygen of the college life of that time has been carbonized by the liberal culture of this age. The institutions that have sprung up more recently take their stamp from the spirit of the times. State and private institutions are in some degree taking the place of those that were founded under denominational or Church auspices. The possibility of such a thing is a step backward, and a measurable release from religious control. Moreover, whether mental culture and discipline are intrinsically adapted to encourage religious truth or practical piety may well be questioned in view of the skeptical tendencies of the student mind in its first beginnings of study and thought, and in the irreligion, not to say infidelity, of many literary and scientific men. It is doubtless true that the formative period of college life is the time when there is greatest need of strong general and personal influence and teaching to counteract the youthful love of independence and of speculative doubt. The influence of any purely ethical, or even biblical, study which may enter into the curriculum will depend largely on how it is taught—whether on a scientific basis, or with practical applications. The fact that the frequency of religious exercises in connection with the work of the college is less than formerly in many institutions, and that they are made optional or abolished in others, shows a tendency toward secularization. The fact, furthermore, that eminent scholarship and ability in a given department is about the only consideration in the selection of college instructors indicates the popular estimate and demand.

There is one other point of no slight importance in estimating the religious power of the college to-day. It is a notorious fact that many of the influences of college life are adverse to piety. Certain phases of college morality ignore the laws of God and man. Certain customs and traditions are held ex-

empt from the usual moral tests. It is easy to see how inevitably fatal to true piety such a theory of morals must be to all who accept it. Moreover, the rivalries, ambitions, crude notions, and youthful impulses of young men are stimulated by the fact of large numbers, and become insidious snares to capture the conscience. The flutter of newly-fledged freedom from the restraints of parental oversight, the direct temptations of an unscrupulous few, the novelty of the new life, the skeptical halo that dazzles youth in the first gray dawn of independent thought, are among the enemies that find a temporary foothold, if not an undisputed possession, in the fortress of the moral sense. These well-known perils are the terror of many a parent who trembles at the ordeal his son must pass, and warns him earnestly against them as he leaves the home circle.

Such facts and tendencies indicate that the demand is both legitimate and strong upon our colleges to exert a positive religious power. It is not simply a question as to whether they have maintained their original standard; but have they kept pace with the increasing influences that are hostile to religion and provided an adequate antidote for the varying conditions of irreligion and unbelief? It would be a great thing to say that the ideal purpose of the American college in its origin is still held, and greater still, that earnest effort is every-where made to carry it out. There can be no question that the original purpose of the college was mainly as an auxiliary to religion. Whatever may have been its design as a means of mental culture, the dominant one was to promote the cause of Christ. The founders of these institutions in our early history were eminently pious men. Their chief thought in their noble work was to inaugurate a powerful agency of an aggressive Christianity. No doubt they believed, what is true, that the college, as a means of liberal culture, as a center of intellectual power whose utterances should exercise an authoritative control upon the popular mind, and as a discoverer and disseminator of useful knowledge, would be such an agency in a very high sense. But that culture, intellect, and knowledge without the vitalizing forces of religion would realize their intent in the founding of a college never entered their minds. Academic culture was rather the instrument of religion; a

blade of cold steel that must be tempered in the blood of Christ if it would do any real service to humanity. Education was not regarded as a Christianizing force except in the hands of religion. Every effort to promote the one, from the common school to the college, was made on the belief that it was the outgrowth and auxiliary of the other. A large part of the funds given to found William and Mary's College were given as a missionary donation, and conditioned on such an application of them. The seal of Harvard bears the motto *Christo et Ecclesiæ.* The seal of Yale has the words *Lux et Veritas,* and what other light and truth than that of the Holy Scriptures were in the thought of the ten clergymen who laid the foundation of that beacon on our shores? Dartmouth College began as an Indian mission. The announced purpose of the Synod of New York in founding Princeton College was "to supply the Church with learned and able preachers of the word." President Witherspoon well embodied its spirit in the words: "Cursed be all that learning that is contrary to the cross of Christ; cursed be all that learning that is not coincident with the cross of Christ; cursed be all that learning that is not subservient to the cross of Christ." There is not a New England college but is the result of the religious enthusiasm of its founders as a means primarily of defending and propagating the Gospel. A large number of Western colleges are missionary enterprises, designed to furnish a supply of pious and learned ministers in those new and growing regions. And the history of the very few institutions that have been founded in irreligion shows them a failure until they have passed under the controlling influence of religion. The founders of Methodist institutions were men of whom it would be sacrilege to suppose that they did not intend them to be directly as well as indirectly a power for Christ. They are the children of the Church, born and baptized with the hope and purpose that they should become the giants of her advancing armies, and the invincible bulwarks of her defense.

Giants and bulwarks they have been and are. From their very nature our colleges must be the Malakoffs and Gibraltars of the friends or enemies of Christ. In the estimation of the people they occupy the front rank of the forces of intellectual power. They are called to the dictatorship of public opinion.

Their faculties wield the scepter of critical learning and scholarship. Their decisions upon questions of history, language, archæology, interpretation, stir the Church of God to its foundations. Their opinions on scientific subjects agitate, confirm, or unsettle the faith of thousands. Their doubts ripple the surface of vast communities, and stretch to the farthest shores of humanity. Their heterodoxy unhinges the faith of society and becomes the stronghold of willing infidelity, which eagerly claims their half-faith as the indorsement of its unfaith. If an unorthodox teaching or an indifferent moral example could be confined to college walls it would not be so fatal, but the infection is caught by those who are able and willing to spread it, and the scars of the malady forever disfigure those who have suffered from its terrible power.

It is not too much to assume that the measure of intellectual power, of liberal culture, and of influential position is also the measure of Christian power, piety, and influence that the world has a right to expect of a man. If the Christian system be true, its doctrines vital, and its new life a reality, it is rightfully expected that those who are most capable of grasping these things intellectually should be also their best defenders and examples. If Christianity were of such a nature that the more thoroughly it is studied the more uncertain it becomes, and the better it is comprehended the broader the basis of doubt, the hope of the world would have gone out in despair long ago. But the reverse is true. He who studies religious truth most carefully finds the strongest grounds for faith. He who has the best endowments of mind and culture can best comprehend the vastness and stability of the everlasting pillars of truth. He who has such endowments is responsible to use them. He who meets this responsibility and possesses most of the truth in its theory and of the faith in its evidences is bound to illustrate them in the positiveness of his Christian teaching and in the earnestness and purity of his life. The best exemplar of humble yet active piety ought to be the man of great learning; and this has often been the case. Men who by their talents and acquirements command the deference and admiration of others in the knowledge of this world ought to do the same also on the more important themes of the future world. He who is an authority in chemistry or mathematics,

if he be a Christian, ought to be an authority in the analysis and demonstration of the Christian faith. He who is an authority in geology ought to be an authority in its biblical relations. He who is a master in language ought to be a master in the interpretation of Scripture. It is too often the case that science and learning content themselves with suggesting or stating doubts and difficulties instead of going on to solve them. They do not hesitate to speculate; they have less care for the old foundations. There is a delightful excitement in showing their power to unsettle; it is a harder task to establish. They do not remember that it is Satanic to create confusion, but godlike to reduce chaos to order. They seem to relegate this last to those who are disturbed, and whose profession commits them to the defense of the Gospel.

Here lies the mistake of many men in college faculties, and of the college in its relation to Christianity. By their lofty position, by their superior endowments, by their obligation to the Christian Church for their existence and support, by their vast influence for good if they are loyal, by their overwhelming inertia if they are silent, and by their destructive powers if they assail the truth, they are called upon to be the most positive and outspoken of forces for the religion of Christ. But under the shelter of the claim that they deal only with the head and not the heart, that their mission is simply to educate and discipline the mind in the fields of human knowledge, this higher work and duty are ignored. Alas! that the laws of divorce in these days should so easily sever the holy tie that binds religion and education; that man should so willingly put asunder what God hath joined together. They were never meant to live apart, either in the design of God or in their intrinsic mutual dependence.

The Christian mission of the college ought to govern in the choice of men to fill its chairs of instruction. The first and indispensable qualification should be that they be Christian men. And this in no ordinary sense. They should not only be orthodox in the faith, but mighty through it. They should not only be uncompromisingly loyal to the great principles of Bible Christianity and a supernatural religion, but vigorous advocates of their truth and living epistles of their power. If there is such a thing as experimental religion, they ought to illustrate it. If

human character can be marked by noble and pre-eminent piety, based on a highly intelligent apprehension of divine things; by a strength of faith above the mass because superior reason has been used to dispel doubt and unravel mysteries; by a love that burns and glows through an eye of high spiritual discernment, it ought to be so marked in the men who wield so mighty a power in shaping the character of the Christian Church. Not less, certainly, for the college officer than for the minister of the Gospel is such pre-eminence demanded. The body of young men to whom he ministers as a Christian teacher and example is to have vastly more to do with the doctrines of religion, with the public conscience, and with honest government, than is possible for any Christian congregation. He has them at a time when skepticism, doubt, and indifference will infuse permanent poison into susceptible natures, and when Christian nobility and positive likeness to Christ will reproduce themselves in young lives with lasting effect. He is making or marring the chief forces of God and humanity. He has his hand on the springs and motors. It is rank treachery to God and his Church, to the country whose destinies they will soon so largely control, to those whose prayers and sacrifices have planted the college, and to the highest welfare of those who enjoy its privileges, to bury this highest mission of the college under the plea that its chief work is to advance intellectual discipline and culture and to stimulate literary and scientific investigation.

An unchristian man, or a man of doubtful religious character, much more a man of well-known skeptical opinions or an irreligious life, should have no place in a board of college instruction. Without doubt, such an opinion will be met with the charge of bigotry and illiberality. These are days in which men are exceedingly sensitive to such a charge. The glamour of Liberalism charms like a Circe, and petrifies like a Gorgon. To be called narrow is to be reckoned in conflict with the advancing tread of the ages, and to be called an adherent of the old-time faith, and pious after the Puritan fashion, is to be called narrow. Broadness is deified. Strip off the angelic garb from our Satan, and his name is Liberalism. And it becomes Christianity to do what it can to disrobe him.

Non miscentur contraria, says Seneca. But he is talking of a

divine administration. It may be within the sphere of divine wisdom and power to transmute evil into good, and thus justify their juxtaposition, but it is a dangerous experiment for men. It is wise to make the best of circumstances we cannot control, but unwise to make the circumstances. Let me poison your spring that I may test your power to cleanse it. No, we have no occasion for such a test. Then you are unscientific. Meet me on the arena with pistols and seconds. No, dueling is wrong. Then you are a coward. Let me stand in your pulpit to advocate universal salvation, or the advanced doctrine that there is no God but force. No, we believe these are dangerous errors. Then you are unwilling to hear or have your people hear both sides. Let men of scientific culture and professional ability, but of liberal ideas and infidel notions, share with Christian men in shaping the beliefs of the young; give free thought a fair field. No, this is a Christian institution, planted to advance a pure Christian faith among men. Then you are bigoted and illiberal. But if these men and these doctrines are needed in the world, why should they be content to live only a parasitic life? Why should they be allowed, like the mistletoe, to suck the life-blood from the healthy tree? Let them plant themselves on their own foundations and flourish under the patronage of separate endowments. A Christian college cannot afford to give either to insidious or outspoken infidelity the prestige of its allowance. The power of its poison is enhanced a hundred-fold by the dignity of its association. Its opportunities are enlarged and its authority strengthened. The college should be as pure as the pulpit in its doctrine and piety, and its work should be as direct and specific.

These views are not inconsistent with the popular theory of the design of a college. We are no advocate of a dogmatic Christianity nor of religious asceticism. The college is not a monastery. Its chief function is the culture of the intellect through the channels of art, science, and language. But these channels will inevitably carry a moral current too. It is the solemn duty of a Christian college to see to it that its moral teaching be pure. It needs no parade of religious profession, no offensive boasts of its religious character. It should be as unostentatious as true religion always is, but it should be as

firm as the hills in its principles, and well-known by its fruits.

Such a Christian character is best promotive of its legitimate ends. If it be allowed that the chief design of a college is to secure for its students mental culture, it cannot be realized but by overcoming serious obstacles. The most formidable of these lie in the young men themselves. They are found sometimes in their low aims, their inadequate views of the meaning of life, their tendencies to frivolity, idleness, and disorder, immaturity of judgment, and impatience of restraint. The young easily mistake impulses for judgment and fancy for wisdom. Their estimate of life and character and morals is often wholly abnormal. Robert Southey, speaking of college sentiment in Cambridge University at the close of the eighteenth century, says, "The best bruiser enjoys the highest reputation; next to him, but after a long interval, comes the best cricket-player; the third place, at a still more respectful distance, is allowed to the cleverest, who, in the opinion of his fellows, always takes place of the best scholar." If this be not a true picture of the American college of to-day, something answering to it is the tendency of unrestrained human nature. The practical estimate of many a young man grades his fellows after the same standard, and if the more barbarous forms of athletic sports are repudiated, it is due to the civilizing influence of religion. To see that there is yet need to eliminate barbarism, and yet room for Christian refinement, one will have only to read the current history of college hazing. Now, if false ideas are to be corrected so that physical and mental gymnastics shall hold their true relation; if the moral code of the college is not to be distinct from that of society at large; if the traditions of youth are not to go further than divine and human law in the control of the most vital and perilous period of life, then there must be somehow a most mighty counteracting force constantly present and aggressively active in the college world. This force must restore, correct, control. It must touch not merely the outward behavior, not simply the intellectual convictions as to what is best, but the deepest and finest springs of the spiritual nature. No other force can do this but the power of genuine Christian principle. If the weight of college influence in its faculty and in the majority of its students is

marked by thorough piety and a manifest religious purpose, then the general tone of college order, the standard of judgment in regard to the importance of college years and work, and the social relations of instructors and students, will be the most conducive possible to the highest attainments of culture. The machinery will be of the most polished sort, with the least possible friction to hinder its efficiency.

These principles are true in regard to the student's individual success. If his principal aim is culture, he will secure it best by putting himself under the guidance of the highest motive. *Bene orasse, bene studuisse.* It will require a good deal of the Christian element to invert the Cambridge grade and put the best scholar first and the athlete last. But after the theory is righted there is still need of a right motive in order to reach the highest standard. Ambition, the love of applause, even the love of learning for itself, are all too weak for the best results. There is no goal like a Christian goal, no purpose like a Christian purpose. There is no antidote for instability, discouragement, and defeat like Christian principle. If the atmosphere of a college is helpful for this its students stand on the highest vantage-ground. In proportion as a college possesses this positive and leading element will the standard of its culture rise, and the results of its mission be accomplished.

But it is a false view that makes high scholarship and broad culture the most important outcome of the college life. That life can never be a moral blank. It can give no suspension of the functions of conscience, no irresponsible interregnum to moral conduct. There is no interruption of spiritual forces nor of spiritual receptivity. It used to be the custom, if we may credit English writers, never to inquire concerning the morals while in college of a young man about to receive holy orders. That custom is largely perpetuated now both there and here. But whatever moral blank in the known record a man may leave behind him when he stands on the threshold of professional life out in the world, the record has been made upon himself, and in fifty cases to one that record is not reversed nor materially modified in the conduct or principles of his future career. The mold of those four years has set and hardened, and the moral features are irrevocably fixed for life. The young do not realize this truth; but those who have traced

their histories know it but too well; and it ought to stir, like the trump of God, those who have the charge and direction of such a crisis period of immortal lives.

It is one of the most serious errors of the day that the educational system of our country ought to be divested of the religious element; that this element of itself and by itself, and in its own specific channels, is sufficient for the religious welfare of the young. Nothing is more strange than such an idea in a Christian country. Nothing but the hypocrisy of Romanism seconded by the demagogism of politics could have given it such currency. The very heathen have a better theory. The Constitution of Lycurgus made the morals of the Spartan child, after their standard of morality, the principal thing in their education. Philip of Macedon thanked the gods, upon the birth of Alexander, not so much that they had given him a son, as that Aristotle might be his instructor; and none like Aristotle comprehended the immortal nature of man and strove to mold his pupils by that lofty conception. The Chinese blend religious with secular instruction, and the Persians teach their children virtue as the best of all knowledge. The Christianity of history has never dared separate religion and education. From Jesuit to Puritan the theory and practice of education have regarded religion as the most positive and direct of its forces. It is reserved for the last half of the nineteenth century, and the most Christian of all lands, to maintain that in the most critical of character-forming processes and periods it is safe to withdraw the power of a positive religious influence. As though any event of life should go on without it! And so, men who would be conscience-smitten not to ask the blessing of God upon every meal, think it unimportant that the word of God and prayer should introduce the daily transactions of a school or college. It is dangerous business to make the prayers of Sunday last for the week; it is equally dangerous to offset an extra amount of religion in the family and Sunday-school against a minus quantity in the halls of secular education.

But it is the relation of this theory to the college with which we have especially to do. Whatever entanglements there may be in the connection of the public schools and the State, making it justifiable even in the estimation of some good men to

make the schools purely secular, to carry on the most essential and extensive institution of a Christian republic without even asking the blessing of God upon it, the same plea will not hold for our colleges. Most of these have no formal connection with the State. They are the offspring of individual Christian benevolence. They are under the control of private corporations, and are amenable to the sentiment of their founders and patrons. There is no valid reason why they should not be known as among the mightiest and most aggressive of Christian forces. There is no reason why a young man contemplating a college course should not be aware at the outset that he is to come in contact with a spiritual power which, from the character and pre-eminent piety of his instructors, from the unwavering orthodoxy of their teachings, from the prayers of the patrons of the college which center there with the most yearning intensity, and from the religious sentiment of its students, will be most helpful to him if he be a Christian, and irresistible if he be an unconverted man. There is no reason why he should not enter an atmosphere of Christian manliness that will remove from him and his friends all apprehension of his demoralization. There is no reason why a college should not be the safest of all places to carry young men across the speculative period of life, to solve their skeptical doubts, and demonstrate the practical power of religion. The best forms of its experience and the largest aggregate of its influence ought to be there.

The importance of this high spiritual character and this eminent prevalence of the Holy Spirit in college communities cannot be over-estimated. Nothing less than the Spirit of God as the dominant element in all teaching and learning can lift college culture to its legitimate place. No lower ideal than this is worthy of instructor or pupil. Arnold of Rugby, writing to an old pupil, says, "I trust that you will gain a good foundation of wisdom at Oxford, which may minister in after years to God's glory and the good of souls; and I call by the name of wisdom, knowledge, rich and varied, digested and combined, and pervaded through and through by the light of the Spirit of God." No man more than he carried this sentiment into his teaching, and no man has left a brighter record or a more lasting influence as a Christian teacher. His theory

of a college was in entire harmony with the principle. In his letter to Bishop Otter, in regard to the new University of London, he says: "It is expressly declared in our charter that we are founded for the advancement of religion and morality." "A liberal education without the Scriptures must be, in any Christian country, a contradiction in terms." He urges examinations, even in the Scriptures, and declares that Christian knowledge is a necessary part of the formation and cultivation of the mind of every one.

If the relations of the college to the Church at large and to the propagation of Christianity are so important, it would seem that its claims upon public support and sympathy are very strong. We speak not now of the financial phase of the claim, though much might be said of the obligation of the Church to support the schools that are at once her children and her benefactors; and not merely to support them in struggling existence, but to render them as efficient as possible. But in the direction in which we are urging the sphere of the college, is there that active sympathy in the Church which the case demands? The college expects, and, no doubt, receives, the prayers of those Christian fathers and mothers whose sons are enjoying its privileges. Other ties than those that link the Church and the college secure them. But is the mind of the Church at all awake to the importance of the relationship? Does it half realize the power of the college for good or evil, its conservation and aggressive influence for Christ, its grasp on the Christian pulpit, its plastic power on educated mind, and through this on the less thinking masses? Is not the almost exclusive idea about them in the popular mind that they are simply intellectual gymnasia? That if they have a good moral tone it is well, if not, it is a necessary evil? Do they know that their highest need is a stream of prayer from the whole Church, whose constant, mighty flow shall flood them with a divine light and life? That such a need is partially felt is seen in the establishment and observance of the day of prayer for colleges. That such a day should have been thought desirable is high proof of their importance in many minds. But how many of the Churches observe this day by any suitable exercise of worship? How many family altars and secret closets burn with sacrifice on that day? Possibly it

is more widely observed than we know, but it is to be feared there is a sad neglect and a general indifference to the whole subject. If so, nothing can be more fatal to the highest interests of the Christian religion. The Church should have a jealous care for the sources of its power.

The Christian mission of the college in this age is not chiefly conservative. It is not merely general, and so mingled with other streams of the intellectual current as to be unobtrusive though healthful. It is in its very genius aggressive, and should assert its place in three particulars. First, in an open warfare against the open or secret attacks of modern science and philosophy. Second, in the outspoken advocacy of a pure Christianity through the press. Third, in an internal condition of such practical piety and spiritual power as shall prove that learning is conducive to religion, and that the training-schools of the Church cultivate the head through the heart.

First. It will be generally conceded that much of science and philosophy is openly or covertly hostile to Christianity. The theory of modern culture cannot exclude the subjects from courses of study, and must include all phases of their discussion and all shades of opinion. It is neither desirable nor possible to ignore the subtlest strategy or the heaviest cannon of these enemies of religion. The student of history will come in contact with the pagan fatalism of Buckle and the godless development ideas of Draper. The student of philosophy will feel the boreal breath of his arctic voyage as he sails away with Spencer into the sunless regions of no God. The vulture talons of Mill's sharp logic will tear away at his heart in the endeavor to substitute metaphysics for Christianity. The subtle opiates of materialism will lull his conscience to sleep if he follows Huxley or Tyndall into the chambers of nature. Literary and linguistic criticism, governmental science, social theories, and specialists of every name will thrust their keen tests into every crevice of the Christian system. Under these batteries, masked or open, it is suicide and sin for a Christian college to attempt neutrality, to parley, to slumber. It is false and fatal to argue that indecision is allowable for the sake of further light, and that the demands of liberal culture require us to suspend judgment on Christian truth and action. If instructors waver pupils waver. If they lead their pupils

to the shades of the debatable ground for any other purpose than to show them that the enemies of Christianity are but the ghosts of the pit, they are doing them an irreparable wrong. If the college is silent, or on the wrong side of the struggle, the people, the Churches, are swept into its opinions or demoralized for lack of defense. The mission of the college is to step fearlessly to the front with a ready answer to every voice that defies the living God. This is the least it can do if it would be loyal to its own students and the great public, who feel its far-reaching power.

Second. It seems to us that the college has a legitimate field and an important duty to do through the press. This is the great channel through which the enemies of religion will exert their power. This is the arena on which infidelity and irreligion will marshal their forces. They should be met on their own ground. When men of learning and mature thought, at home in the realms of science, philosophy, and criticism, speak from their years of study and reflection, their words are invested with a wonderful authority. They reach the ear of the thousands who have left college walls and are absorbed in the cares of professional or business life. They are caught up by just that class of minds that most need trustworthy help on questions they have not time to consider thoroughly for themselves. They have a vast influence on the pulpit, and through this on the minds of the intelligent hearer whose faith needs to be established against rumors and puzzling questions. The writings of Dwight, Edwards, Woolsey, Fisk, M'Cosh, and Thomson, are specimens of what college presidents can do to mold religious thought and doctrine. And if more of such writing from similar sources could be brought to bear on current and cardinal errors it would do incalculable good. And if our colleges were a unit in their advocacy of a pure Christianity, and in promptly meeting the attacks of its numerous foes, the power of their combined influence would be overwhelming.

Third. We have already said much as to the standard of practical piety that should be set and realized, so far as possible, within the college itself. We believe there is no difficulty in finding men to fill the chairs of college instruction who unite the largest caliber and culture with the most devout piety and the highest sense of Christian responsibility. Arnold, Thom-

son, Finney, are the types of the men who should fill these posts of honor and power. Some of these might have to leave the ranks of the ministry, as did Bishop Thomson. If so, they will say as he did:—

> The post of instructor in college is by no means an enviable one. The compensation, small; the honors, after death; the labors, arduous and incessant. I know no employment more heart-trying, spirit-wasting, health-destroying. Were all students amiable, talented, and pious, they would reconcile professors to their lot; but, alas! in this land children are rarely trained by parents in the way they should go. Still, we welcome them with hope; we spurn not without trial, the surly, proud, self-willed youth; we throw around him arms of love, pour into his ears the voice of entreaty; and bedew his cheeks with the tears of fraternal sympathy; we read to him the commandments of God, preach to him Jesus and the resurrection, bear his name to the throne of grace, and often, in the watches of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, we see the terrible vision of his danger, and our pillows cannot bear up our aching heads. Why, then, do men leave the word of God to serve college tables? Men called to preach have qualifications to influence mind that others have not, and surely the highest abilities for operating upon the human soul are needed in the college.

No wonder that a man animated by such a spirit should have made a deep and lasting impression on the college, the Church, and the world. But it is neither necessary nor desirable that college faculties should consist exclusively of ministers. Pious men are not all clergymen. Neither is there any incompatibility between the highest professional ability in any department of the college curriculum and the highest practical sense of the religious meaning of education. Men of this class are just what are wanted to give a many-sidedness to the religious power of an institution, and to rebuke the notion that specific Christian teaching belongs to clergymen alone.

True Liberalism is that which includes Christianity in all the length and breadth of Bible doctrine, and of a supernatural religious experience. The creed of modern Liberalism either excludes Christianity altogether or strips it of all supernatural authority. That creed adopted leaves the body of human learning a corpse, and nothing more. The heart and lungs of the world's thought and knowledge are revelation and the faith it has inspired in humanity. The human mind is caged in every department of science and learning until the religion of

Jesus lift the bars. Breadth of vision comes only from the heights of God. The horizon of law is infinitely broader from the summit of Sinai than from the forum of the seven-hilled city. Political science runs mad and leads the nations into anarchy as soon as it leaves the council chamber of God. Philosophy rings its dull changes through all the centuries in the narrow circles of Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Fate until it hears the voice of the great Teacher. Science digs in the earth like the mole or hoots from its perch like an owl in the sunlight until the Master opens its blind eyes. History is a labyrinth inextricable without the golden clue of the divine word. And every branch of human knowledge has its only key, its richest sanction, and its proper culmination in the religion of Christ. There is no breadth nor profundity of culture without it. College education must be inspired by it, or else be soulless and dead. The college life, like the individual human life, should be hid with Christ in God.

Art. III.—THE DEITY AND THE PHYSICAL FORCES.

Shall we say that Mind and Matter are the only existing things in the universe? Or shall we not rather say there are three, Mind, Physical Force, and Matter? The former, held as doctrine, tends to unsettle the foundations of physical science, and to give a fatal tendency toward pantheism. The latter gives a clear, well-understood formula under which science and art have been doing their work, and on which they can build safely and wisely, and under which the religious life can have the safest practice and find the soundest religious philosophy. But much of the aggressive science and theology of Germany and New England affirms the former, and speaks of it as affording the only ground for a philosophy that is both religiously and scientifically tenable. Mind is first, last, and intermediate; is the spiritual force omnipresently and continuously active in giving change and form and motion to matter otherwise inert and dead; and thereby nature becomes, and is, God immanent and active in impassive matter. The physical forces of heat, light, electricity, gravity and chemical affinity are but the disguising names which human ignorance or a

dim-eyed science has given to the direct, immediate, personal Divine agency. These scientific names are a sort of "fence words" with which an inexact science has set limits to our knowledge; they are the stiff, yet imaginative, drapery behind which, it is said, the blazing splendors of the Almighty Power are dimmed and tempered to our coarse, unpurified, materializing understanding. And also the so-called natural laws with their fixed, definite, precise, quantitative qualities, are only forms of the Divine energy, are only modes of the Creator's activity, which has been thus condescendingly and mathematically and mechanically qualified in order that He might keep faith with his creatures, and so afford them confidence in their calculations, and safe ground for their work, by thus giving a uniformity and trustworthiness to the sequences of nature. And this identification of nature considered as the sphere of cause and effect, as a series of births and deaths, with an immanent and ever-active Deity is spoken of as the only sound religious philosophy. It is sometimes referred to as a blazing certainty of axiomatic science.

On the other hand, the theory connected with the belief that there are three things in the universe—matter, force, and mind—holds that God has lodged in matter various forces and tendencies which, under his foreordaining wisdom, have brought on in orderly succession the geological formations, the procession of the seasons, and which perpetuate the races of organic and sentient beings through their successive generations. This theory holds to secondary causes, and accordingly speaks of first forms of organic matter as direct, *absolute* creations made by Divine agency, and from these first forms came other but derivative creations through natural agencies, in virtue of a power, of an innate tendency, mysterious but real, given them of evolving the subsequent forms under suitable conditions. This we regard as the best, clearest scientific basis of a system of Christian theism. Accordingly, we refuse to say that natural law is God, or that God is natural law, as is so positively affirmed by the other theory.

Now, the best accredited scholarship in science as well as in theology alike demands assent to the doctrine of the spiritual *origin* of physical force. Only a materialistic science will deny that. But beyond that fact of spiritual origin neither science nor theology is agreed with itself. Diverse theories are

held as to the relation of the Deity to the physical forces, but of these we need refer to two only. One of these, affirming that only matter and mind exist, refers all the phenomena of the material universe to the direct, immediate, momentary energy of the Divine Spirit, so that all natural laws are but a conventional name for the direct Divine volitions, and all the physical forces are the varied forms of the Divine energy; thus bringing into prominence again the old Cartesian dualistic method of philosophizing, which included all existences in the two categories of mind and spirit, and which, largely through Geulincx and Malebranche and Spinoza, had its logical outcome in pantheism. The other, affirming that mind, physical force, and matter exist, refers the present phenomena of the material universe to the working of forces that had, in the first instance, their origin in the Divine personal energy, but that are now not to be considered a part of it. This is the *natural* side. But the *supernatural* side is not excluded, but affirmed, inasmuch as the Divine omnipresence and omnipotence can and do stand back of or over the visible or secondary causes, and work changes in the ongoings of nature whenever the welfare of the creature or the plans or the ends of his government render changes necessary.

Of these two either one can be taken by a religious faith for a foundation of a Christian theism. Both of them can minister to the feelings of devotion. But the former, with its strongly marked dualistic basis, we regard as an error of fact, and, therefore, as unscientific; it draws no distinction between a simple *causal* force and an intelligent volitional force, between material and spiritual causes, and thereby agrees with the fetichism of children and savages, who put a *personal* cause back of every event. And it also has a fatal facility toward pantheism, from which "heresy" no assertion of the Divine transcendency over nature can save it, unless it be in the cases of those whose minds are strongly controlled by the imagination and deeply dashed with mystic sentiments.

In the Boston Monday Lectureship, of January 31, 1879, Mr. Cook referred to Herman Lotze, the renowned German biologist and philosopher, and the distinguished advocate of this dualistic philosophy. Lotze's doctrine of the relation of Deity to physical force and matter are given in this lecture,

from which we select a few points of interest to this discussion. From these it will be seen that secondary causes, which form the accredited frame-work of natural science, are utterly discarded. There are but two things in existence, matter and mind; and matter itself, in Lotze's view, is visible force, a sort of frozen, tangible energy that is inert. The absolute substance, or God, fills freshly every moment the whole universe, as cloud at noonday is filled with sunlight. The interactions of the Divine mind and matter form the cosmos. The whole sphere of causation rests, not derivatively, but directly, on the Divine will. God is natural law, and his volition is physical force. The processes of nature in flood, field, and air; in suns, planets, and comets; in branch, bud, flower, and fruit; in the birth, growth, and death of organic things—all these are the present products of God materializing. He shapes each grain of corn as directly, as personally, by collocating carbon and the other elements, as the graver carves the image from wood, or ants build their hill-cities. He rolls in the tides, roars in the wind, stabs in the lightning, flames in the gas jet, sours in cider, ferments in leaven; for, according to this view, God is natural law. The material universe is the variable garment of the unchangeable Spirit. All the play of the physical forces, from material affections of sense-organs down in degree and back in time, to the ancient action of the gravitating force that condensed our primordial, solar, nebulous mist into solid globes, with all that lies between of gas, liquid, rock, and plant, are the products of the direct, personal expenditure of Divine energy.

But we will refer to definitions and fundamental statements, in which the claims of this system of objective idealism are so placed as seemingly to rest on scientific verities, and accordingly are spoken of as incontrovertible, axiomatic certainties. By its definitions a doctrine must be judged, and not by casual statements or rhetorical phraseology. From the lecture above referred to we quote: "When matter acts upon soul, or is acted upon by soul, it is not necessary to suppose that it acts as matter through the physical forces of its external sheath, but that the supersensible basis or core of matter directly acts upon and is acted upon by that supersensible reality, the (human) soul. . . . We talk of matter as if it were a hand, and not a glove with a hand in it. So far as matter is inert, it is glove

only. This glove may be taken off; the supersensible reality at the core of it, the spirit, is God, and is indestructible." Accordingly when "matter acts upon the soul it may be that the supersensible element in one and the immaterial element in the other are brought into contact." This reminds one of the pantheistical occasionalism of the Cartesian school of philosophers, of which the historic results were gathered in the pantheism of Spinoza.

To the same purport and with the same pantheistical trend of thought we have before us the lectures before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 1871, by Prof. Bascom. He says: "We may as accurately, as safely, and with the same instruction speak of the force of the whirlwind as a portion of the infinite power of God, and as a partial presentation of it, as we can of the area of a circle as a portion of space." "We doubtless conceive God most exactly when we conceive him most closely to facts." "The mind has but to will to move the head, the hand, the foot, in order to shoot force through them. If now matter in all its forms be but the force of God, God's will is as omnipresent to (and directly active in) the entire material universe as my will to the tense muscle of my arm."

Says Joseph Cook, ("Biology," page 269:) "Natural law becomes the magnetization of all matter by the influence of one omnipotent Will. As our wills play on the key-boards of the influential human nerves, so omniscience and omnipresence, magnetizing all worlds and their inhabitants, play upon the infinities and the eternities." [The *infinities* we suppose to mean all the material creations in space, and the eternities all the events of time.] "The connection of the divine will with matter may be thus obscurely revealed to us by that of the *human will to matter*. In a better age science, lighting her lamps at that higher unity, will teach that although He whom we dare not name transcends all natural laws, *they—the natural laws—are through his immanence literally God.* Science does this already for all who think clearly." Of like import, in making the physical forces the direct pulses of a Divine volition, and thus making the material universe not so much the drapery of the unseen One as his very body, we read on page 199: "Wherever we find heat, light, electricity, we infer motions of the ultimate particles of matter as the cause, and wherever

we find motions we infer pressures as the cause, and wherever we find pressures, we infer will as the cause. You say this is poetry, and so it is; but it is also cold, exact science. Your Lotzes, Carlyles, Richters, Danas, and others, all hold that behind the pressures that produce the motion of the universe is—will! Motions, pressures, will—is the universe transfigured; this is established philosophy of the latest date."

In a very pregnant sense in these extracts God is put as the personal agency in all the interactions of matter and force. The whole field of physical causation is God, momentarily materializing. Spirit alone is causal agency. Now we do certainly get our notion of causation from the conscious activity of our own will, and analogically, we may refer all events to an immediate spiritual cause. But clear experienced thought soon learns to put other than spiritual agencies immediately back of the mechanical, chemical, and cosmical motions, and refuses to regard the Deity as *natura naturans*. But according to this view the heat, light, and actinism of the solar radiance are motions, are pressures of the Divine volitions. The Divine energy is as close to nervous tissue in the fact of bodily warmth as heat to boiling water. Accordingly we do not look up through nature to nature's God, for nature in its laws is God. He is very close to us, not only as the derivative, funded energy of nature, but as its momentarily expended energy. When the fire burns the flesh, it is God touching us to our hurt; when wine exhilarates, it is God tickling our nervous system; when the wind cools the heated face it is literally the breath of the Almighty breathing pleasantly on us. On the outside is God, on the inside is soul, and between them are inert bodily tissues. The immanent Deity sits patiently in all the months of spring and summer, in numberless flowers and leaves and seeds, in the vegetable film of continent and island, wondrously weaving and shaping their varied forms; wondrously compounding with numerical accuracy the carbon and other compounds, and with a quantitative accuracy mysteriously co-ordinating them in vegetable tissue; and with a wondrous analytic accuracy decomposing and recomposing in the process of fermentation. This is called the scientific vision that throws wise men on their knees in devotional trances. The material world is only the vesture of the "unseen Holy," under which he hides, and through which he

flames as natural law transfigured from scientific certainties into present efforts of the Divine will.

How in this system of objective idealism material forms and motions are shot through and through with the present pressures of the Divine will, until under the "axiomatic certainties" of science they begin to flame from within; how God holds all moveless things omnipresently, weaves all living tissues omnisciently, touches all changing things omnipotently, can be clearly seen in the lecture of Mr. Cook at the Chautauqua Assembly, on "God in Natural Law." We quote: "It is proverbial that when a summer storm at night, drooping low and tipped with electric fire, swirls thundering from league to league, the inhabitants of a whole region are overawed. But what is the element in this that has such efficiency to overpower the soul? It is, of course, a sense of the Divine omnipresence. God is almost visibly near on the other side of the curtain of the storm." Again: "What force is capable of producing this result which we *call* an ivy plant? Evidently only a force possessing intelligence . . . that force cannot reside in matter. It must reside in mind. It must at this instant and at every instant be exerted by mind. That mind is omnipresent natural law. What, then, is natural law? It is, to speak literally and without figure, the present thought of the Deity. It is the method of action of the omnipresent, infinite Will. So that this ivy plant, growing on the wall, is as really at this instant God's present work as a painting of the ivy, growing before your eyes, on the canvass of the painter, beneath the pencil of the artist, would be the artist's present work."

One form of Christian theism, opposed to the above, avers that at the beginning of things, say of the primal seed, the substances and the forces of nature were supernaturally wrought upon by Divine wisdom and power, and thereby in the first seed there was formed the plantlet, with its radicle, stem, and plumule, endowed with the mysterious power, under favoring conditions of soil, moisture, and warmth, of producing a plant, and this plant itself still further endowed by Divine wisdom with the power of producing seeds after its own kind. And this is the rendering which science gives to Genesis i, 11: "And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself,

upon the earth: and it was so." God works omnipresently in second causes, in mediate agencies, by delegated powers, by instituted laws. Mr. Cook says: "Scientific theism supposes that the whole universe is filled by the infinite, omnipresent Will, as the rainbow is filled with light, and this in such a sense that we may say that *natural law is God*. But, beyond all that, Christian theism affirms that God, knowable but unfathomable, billows away beyond all that we call infinities and eternities, as light beyond the rainbow. We are equally sure of the Divine Immanency in all nature and of the Divine Transcendency beyond it."

We object to this form of theism as not based on the scientific certainties, as not correctly stating the relation of Deity to the physical forces. Referring to the thunder-storm, let us see what are the clear facts of science in regard to it. We know that back of the swift, swirling cloud there was the wind as the cause of its motion; back of the wind was the action of solar heat on land and sea; back of that solar radiance, millions of miles away, was the fierce play of chemic force in the sun; back of that local solar energy is the age-long expenditure from a fund of force gathered in the *eons* past in the nebular condensation—a fund of force whose measureless amount and whose origin we do not now consider. And between that primal solar energy and the drifting storm-cloud the mind, taught by science, places the above series of second causes, that are not spiritual forces; that are causal, derivative agencies, not creative ones. Clear scientific thought refuses to impute a direct intelligence or will to the many agencies that lie between the divine entrance into nature and the remote visible effects. So, too, back of the rain-drops was the cohesive molecular force; back of this, the vapor of water in the air; back of the vapor, the solar heat; back of that heat, the forms of water; back of that water, other drops, vapor, and cohesion; and so in cycles of circulation running back beyond the memory of man or sense of beast, and yet back still further, even beyond the first written record: "There went up a mist from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground." And so, too, back of the electric flash was the disturbance of the equilibrium of the positive and negative electricities; back of that static equilibrium were the disparting agencies, named friction, evapora-

tion, and others. And these are serial agencies which we must speak of as devoid of intelligence and will. They are a part of natural law, but are not part of the immanent God. Just where in these is the immediate pressure of the Divine will? Just where does the transcendent Deity lay aside his spontaneity, and become a quantitative, fixed, measured, climatic, molecular agency, whose impulses are rigidly subject to thermometrical and barometrical gauges? There are "beings," "activities," that originate under conditions imposed by the Creator. They are not God, though they are natural law and are from God.

Then, also, science avers that the successions of species, whether of plants or animals, have had their descent from a beginning, when the creative power directly, supernaturally formed the "seeds of things," giving them the incomprehensible power of like producing like in foreordained methods. The light that perpetually flames from within organic existences is not the direct light of the creative Spirit, for that light flamed at the "beginnings," at the first births. The light that now shines to the eye of science is only a derived light, a bright reflection of the primitive Divine light.

But the theory of Lotze, as applied to the successions of species, makes them a succession of instant, specific, Divine creations. The succession of species is, by his theory, to be interpreted as a prolonged series of miraculous acts. The natural is only the prolonged, unbroken, stated, regular supernatural. By this theory the chasms between the mineral and the vegetable and the animal are readily bridged. For the *nexus* between them is that they are each and all the direct creations of the omnipresent Intelligence and Will; the difference between them being that in the mineral and in the vegetable and animal, the Divine will takes, so to speak, different directions; one method in crystallization, whether by sudden start or slow accretion; another method in organic compounds. But it is not science to say, "So God wills it."

Besides, to put the unseen Spirit as the sole, active energy in the universe is to make his spontaneous personality pass down into the rigid, inflexible, mechanical, quantitative activities that hold in the revolution of planets, the fall of the tides, and the laws of industrial machinery; so that the roar and the

rustle within the factory walls may be regarded literally as the rustle of the quivering wings and the sound of the subdued tempest-breath of the unseen Spirit; while the tension of steam within the iron boiler of its driving machinery is only a funded portion of the sole universal energy, shut up, imprisoned; in another portion, also, funded in the tense cohesion of the particles of boiler iron. For "since only matter and mind exist in the universe, and matter is inert, it follows that all force and motion in matter must have not only a past and remote, but a *present* and *immediate* origin in mind." Thus to make science a mere registration of sequences, and to put God as the sole causal agency between them, imprisons him within the rigid, inflexible planes of material structures. To put the microscope under the eye and watch the motions of living bioplasm in flesh of frog or brain of rabbit, where animal spirit is weaving nutrient matter into tissues of nerve and muscle, and of this wondrous action of preordained and co-ordinated organic powers to cry out, "We bend, hushed, in the presence of the living, acting God!" this is to fling into inextricable confusion both the natural and the supernatural—is to put on seven-league mystical boots and stride hugely and swiftly toward pantheism. To bring under the cultured, scientific imagination the play of the molecular activities in body of beast or stalk of corn in the vital processes of assimilation, and then to cry out, "I am in the immediate presence of almighty God, and could I but understand the little throbs of the organic cells I should know what God is!" this is to imagine yourself on holy ground, and to slip the shoes from your feet in presence of fires that secondary causes have kindled; is to make a mystic transfer of the beauty of the clover over to a miraculous brightness of the Divine presence. To bring under this trained imagination the play of bioplasmic matter within an existing organic form, weaving the complex structure of a new derivative organism as the basis of a new personal life, and then to cry out, "The creative Power throws out souls into existence as fire kindles other fires!" this is to put the Creator as immediately active in the soul-birth of an idiot with his sixteen cubic inches of a brain mass, as in the spirit that dwelt within the sixty cubic inches of the brain mass of the primal Adamic pair. To study the exact numerical combinations and the

chemical affinities of substances in a laboratory or in a leaf, and then to say, "The action of molecular law is, perhaps, the profoundest expression of the Divine will;" this is to place a scientific identity between the moral indignation of the Son of Man against the hypocrisy and meanness of the Pharisees, and the explosions of hydrogen and oxygen gases when touched by fire. The human mind must put the first link in the chain of cause and effect in the hands of a supreme Intelligence, but between that first act of a spiritual force and the remote visible effects there are agencies that are definite, measured, mechanical, and rigid, and to whose action we must attribute other qualities than those of a free personal agent.

But side by side with this Divine Immanency in the interpretation of nature is placed that of the Divine Transcendency. There is an uplifting power and some saving grace in this doctrine of the Deity transcending nature while immanent in it. It is affirmed that while God is natural law yet he is also something more and higher. God fills all the forms of matter with his personal force. He is physical force, but is also a force beyond the physical. The impulses of his volitions fill and are all the laws of nature, just as solar light fills and is the rainbow. But this is only a partial truth, for in his transcendency he is the law beyond and back of natural law; he is all of natural law, but immensely more than natural law; is the force back of and beyond all physical force; just as the dazzling solar radiance is light beyond and back of the colors seven of the rainbow. It is this transcendental element in this theory of scientific theism that really lifts it above the narrowness of pantheism. The measureless fund of the Divine energy is only partially expended in the creating and upholding of all the forms and motions of matter and of finite mind; the residue constitutes his transcendency. And of these two, the Divine Immanency and the Divine Transcendency, it is claimed that they give a continental standing-ground amid the shifting currents of philosophies, against which the turbid waves of materialism will dash only to break themselves into harmless ripples on a safely sailing sea.

But we claim that the history of philosophy and intrinsic probability give the system a threatening outlook of pantheism. For the perpetual varied play of the physical forces touches

the practical Anglo-Saxon in all the periods of his life, includes most of his observations, gives tone and color to most of his moods of mind; in fine, touches him at nearly all the points of his outer and inner experiences. All the senses are fed and filled by it. Birth, growth, and death; pains and pleasures; the cold and warm; the wet and dry; the changes of the seasons; feelings of health and sickness; exhibitions of passion—all these are a part of the environment that strongly impresses itself on the spirit. Now let a mind of average ideality identify this forceful manifoldness of visible nature with the present momentary action of the Divine will, and inevitably the idea of the Immanency will be enlarged and intensified, while that of the Transcendency will correspondingly be lessened and weakened. Let one be taught that in listening to the roar of the wind he is as close to the divinely supernatural as the apostles were when on the day of Pentecost "suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind;" give him to understand that back of the sudden electric flash of a thunder-storm, hidden as if by thinnest veil, lies the present personal activity of the Deity, so that under this electrical blaze he is as close to the divinely supernatural as were those apostles in the presence of the "cloven tongues like as of fire;" let men regard the whole universe, the whole sphere of physical activity, as luminously, pervasively shot through and through with the present impulses of the Divine volitions—and how long will it take to reach pantheism? A sound science and a safe theology alike demand the recognition of three things in the universe: matter, physical force, and mind; and no less the distinction between the Divine power and its derivatives, the physical forces. They demand the distinction, both in thought and in fact, of a primary cause and of secondary causes. All force is or was of spiritual origin; but the thing originated is not part of the originator any more than a parent form or force continues to be its offspring. That God is all of natural law, and all natural law is part of God, is a trend of doctrinal thought that has a steep decline toward confusions in science, toward contradictions of experience, and mischief in theology.

It is true that this dualistic form of theism may be safely held by strongly emotional and imaginative minds. As the

human spirit derives its notion of cause from its volitional consciousness, so the transfer is easy to the notion that causation is predicable of mind only, and hence that a material cause is an unscientific conception, unthinkable in the light of clear ideas, and is one of those crude, popular misconceptions of nature of which a pure, scientific theism compels the abandonment. This error, which is one of the mind's own throwing, and by which it transfers a form of conscious activity to the material world, is apt to be a fondling of men of strong imagination and mystic sentiments. To them all the activities of matter and of finite mind glow and flame with immediate manifestations of the Divine Immanency, and thereby suggest the Divine Transcendency. To them the impassioned utterances of the Hebrew psalmist are more literal than the declarations of cool, exact science. The psalmist says: "The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars of Lebanon. He maketh them also to skip like a calf." Accordingly, they would have us to understand that when the trees on the mountains are split by a thunderbolt, and the earthquake shakes them, the action of the so-called electric and seismic forces are misleading, metaphorical terms that hide the divine agency, of which the psalmist speaks literally, holding close to the facts. In minds of this temperament it kindles the feelings to a devotional fervor and inflames their imagination, when the stellar universe is put under the Mosaic figure of a burning bush, of which "Orion and the seven stars are lowermost leaves," of which the Milky Way is bending branch, and the strange nebula of Orion is bursting bud—distant promise of worlds yet to be. Minds thus idealistically endowed and trained may fall into a "trance" at the sight of the phosphorescence of a fire-fly, and call it the cool but gleaming splendor of the Divine Immanency.

To this system of objective idealism the thunders and lightnings of Mount Sinai in the sight of the Jews in olden times were not more of a direct exhibition of Divine power, were not a whit closer to the Divine energy than the blaze and the roar of a thunder-shower on any summer afternoon; only that God did then for moral reasons what he does now for climatic ones. In this theory force is assumed as applicable to an intelligent will only, and the scientific frame-work of secondary causes is broken to pieces. "The laws of nature are only a figure of speech.

The powers and active inherent properties of material atoms are mere fictions." From this to pantheism the road is direct and the distance is not far, even in spite of its temporary saving counterpart, the Divine Transcendency.

The relation of this doctrine of the Divine Immanency to the human soul, and its laws of descent, can best be seen from the stand-point of Lotze, as we take it from the Boston Lecture of Rev. Joseph Cook, of January 31, 1878, from which, for our purpose, we take the following propositions:—

"1. Only matter and mind exist in the universe.

"2. From the idea of mind all material properties may be deduced.

"3. Matter is a form clothing supersensible reality, and this supersensible reality at the core of it, the spirit, is God, and is indestructible.

"4. When matter acts upon soul, or is acted upon by soul, it is not necessary to suppose that it acts as matter through the physical forces of its external sheath, but that the supersensible basis, or core of matter, directly acts upon, and is acted upon, by the other supersensible reality, the soul.

"5. The birth of the soul is not the result of the natural course of things.

"6. The substance of the soul is derived directly from the substance of the absolute.

"7. The extended world of phenomena is not distinct from the domain of the absolute, or the spiritual world, whence the spirit comes, but is penetrated every-where by it.

"8. That condition of the natural course of things in which the germ of a physiological organism is developed is a condition which determines the substantial reason of the world to the production of a certain soul, in the same way that an organic impression determines our soul to the production of a certain sensation."

As in this dualistic system matter and mind are assumed as the only existences, it becomes a question of peculiar interest, how an influential connection is made between them. According to Lotze, matter is inert, cannot move itself, is a *caput mortuum*, or, rather, never has been a *caput vivum*, and the forces of nature, which are a part of the Divine energy, are not properly inherent in matter, but back of it, and yet pervading it.

An illustration has been given: Matter is glove, and when two gloved hands clasp we may, in common language, say that the gloves clasp; but glove is inert matter only; it has no clasping power; the living, flexile, forceful hand within the inert glove does the clasping. When matter acts on soul through the senses, it is not matter acting, but the living hand, the flexile force within it; that living hand, that flexile force, is the supersensible reality, is God. Accordingly, "when matter and a soul to which the Divine will has given individuality influence each other, we have a gloved hand, matter, meeting (clasping) an ungloved hand, the soul. You say that the glove presses on the ungloved hand. What you mean is that the hand in the glove presses the hand that is without the glove." All molecular activity is here regarded as the pulsations of the Divine will. Hence the solar heat shoots its radiant undulations against our bodies, and thereby its ether-tremors are changed to molecular tremors of the nerve tissue, in which form of molecular force the Divine hand within the nervous glove presses the soul, which responds with sensation, called heat. Heat here is a mode of motion of the Divine energy. "It is but reasonable," says Herschel, "to regard gravity as the *present* effort of a will." So "our earth's motion must, at this moment, *originate* in a mind." Just so the gliding of the boys' sleds down hill is the present pull of the immanent Deity. And apples fall from the trees by the direct drawings of Divine energy. Secondary causes are put aside as fictions of human misunderstanding and misnaming. In a bit of pulverized tobacco plant, which, as matter, is inert glove, but the supersensible reality, the Divine living force within it, sends a molecular tremor along the olfactory nerve up to the gray, cellular nerve-tissue of the brain, and there presses the soul in the pungency of a pinch of snuff. In the carbon compound called alcohol, whose precise quantitative atomic combination is, as Lotze suggests, a "profound expression" of the Divine will, and whose mind-affecting property is as directly an act of that will as the prophetic inspiration of Hebrew prophet, the peculiar stimulus communicates an exhilarating tremor to the nervous centers, which pressure of the Divine hand within that carbon glove, the soul receives as an intoxication. The peculiar alcoholic force in the juice of the grape, which force is the sup-

ersensible reality at the core of it, presses the human personality till it reels in drunkenness. The living hand within the glove of grapes may so act on soul that the reason will abdicate its throne of judgment, and the passions will begin to flame luridly from within, or the sentiments soften into maudlin sympathies. Shall we then say that a drunken man is God-intoxicated? For "all the phenomena of the material universe are the results of the immediate Divine agency," said Descartes, Malebranche, Berkeley, Samuel Clarke; and so says Professor Bowen, Professor of Metaphysics in Harvard University. And while others of this school are more moderate, yet they assert that all the molecular, quantitative organic and crystalline collocations of matter are produced *immediately* by *direct* acts of the Divine will. It is the ever-present, ever-continuously creative, sustaining, and destructive Deity, the omnipresent, omnipotent Under-soul, that is in inert matter as its present force, and through dead, inert matter touches and acts on the soul, which in its turn determines the sensations of heat, pungency, and intoxication.

We are not responsible for these statements. They are only the logical inferences of the fundamental statements of a doctrine which, once accepted, the face and footsteps are set inevitably downward toward pantheism. The only relief and safety are in the assertion of three existing things—matter, force and mind—and of the fact of second causes, with the Deity distinct from nature, yet personally sustaining and presiding over it in such a way as to meet the special needs of his creatures or the ends of his government.

One of the most interesting points of idealistic dualism lies in the birth of souls, and incidentally in the propagation of species. The birth or origin of the individual soul is no longer much of a mystery, for God is assumed as the omnipresent, sole, creative agency in the extended world of germinal or bioplasmic matter. And the conditions attendant upon the formation of an embryo are just those which determine the immanent God to the production of an individual soul, in the same way that an organic sense-impression determines the soul to the production of a sensation. Now, on this latter point physiology teaches that in an act of vision a molecular tremor may be supposed to pass up the optic nerve to the brain, and there

to be converted by the soul into a fact of consciousness. In like manner the motion of the vibrating air is passed through the hearing mechanism into the auditory nerve, up which it passes to the brain, and is there determined by the mind as a sound sensation. The organic sense-impressions are the conditions that determine the soul to the production of the sensation; just so, we are told, the conditions that attend the formation of the physiological germ of a human organism determine the substantial reason of the world, or the "unseen Holy," to the production of an individual soul. Just as the brightness of the divine glory in the days of the Jewish tabernacle in the wilderness pervaded the holy of holies and fell over all the objects therein, so God pervades and hovers over all germinal matter, from low sponge and prone fish up to erect man; and just when the bioplasmic matter has by fertilization passed into a perfect physiological organism, then the immanent Creative Power breathes into it the breath of its peculiar life. Just as light, falling on the optic sense-organ, determines the soul to the production of vision, so the perfect germ of a physiological organism determines the great Under-soul to the production of an individual soul. The cruel, licentious Nero derived from Agrippina, his mother, the features of body indicative of excessive animal passion, for which she herself had become infamously famous, and the immanent Deity, from whom come all individual souls, as fire kindles other fires, breathed into that sensual body the breath of a spirit-life loaded on the side of self and cruelty as heavily as the body was on the basely sensual side. We are told that Lotze would not have us think of the immaterial world, the unseen Holy beyond us, as separated from the material universe, but that each individual soul originates in God, who is omnipresent, and where he is there is the capability of creation. The physical and mental identity of parent and child are by this theory referred to the immanent Deity, as the great Dynamis, the Absolute, from whose exhaustless power and substance the soul comes as direct as heat and light from lightning flash, as immediate as flashing spark from smitten steel.

The scientific doctrine of heredity, which states that strong mental impressions exert a special influence on an organism in the embryonic stage of life, must, by Lotze's theory, be referred, not to the parental mind, but to the Divine. The strong passions,

the peculiar traits, which the law of heredity transfers down the line of genetic descent, are passed from parent to child by the great Under-soul, in whom all nature is spiritualized, and from whom all souls are as closely and immediately derived as bud and blossom and fruit from the branch. In Mr. Cook's lecture on "Heredity" an Irish woman is referred to, who fiercely, intensely, steadily hated another woman. After a daughter was born the cause of that hatred was removed, but that daughter grew up unlike the other children, and was so devoid of the kindlier feelings that she would plunge a knife with girlish glee into the body of a sister, and feel no regret for the act. We would say that the fierce, persistent hating mood of the mother had passed by heredity over to the child; but Lotze, the accredited advocate of this form of dualistic theism, would say, When God created the bioplasmic matter to be used as the basis of that individual life called the Irish woman's daughter, then he locked with it that immaterial, hard, ungloved hand, the heartless soul. For every human soul, he affirms, comes directly from the exhaustless substance of the Absolute.

It is difficult to see how the question of human responsibility can be fully or fairly met by the philosophy that thus identifies the ongoings of nature with modes of the Divine mind, and that affirms that, apart from God's immediate energizing, there is no vision, no hearing, no birth of soul, no formation of body, no start of crystallization, no motion of masses of matter, no union of chemical substances, no formative power of any thing.

Not many men are idealists, even of a moderate kind. The physical side of things is that with which they have most to do, and of which they will think and feel most. Above them, about them, through them roll the ever-active currents of physical law. Sense and thought are largely filled by it. Accordingly let them be taught to believe that natural law and God are one; let them believe that the growth and death and fall of the season's leaves are as direct a putting forth of divine power as the withering and death of the fig-tree cursed by the Son of Man, save that the one was a momentary, supernatural act, and the other is a prolonged supernatural; let them place the inherited mental wickedness and imbecility, as well as their opposites, to the account of God's direct, personal gifts to man; let them regard miasmas creating pestilence as radia-

tions of the Divine Immanency, as wasting javelins shot fresh from his quiver; let them believe that close behind the curtain of a storm, as close as driving hammer to driven nail, sits the Divine power, shooting the lightning gleams as directly as he flashed the light about the footsteps of the persecuting Saul; let them be taught that only mind and matter exist, and, therefore, the universe is not so much the garment as the living body of God, and that all its changes and activities are his momentary or prolonged volitions; let these thoughts and beliefs hold them, then inevitably the doctrine of the Divine Transcendency will weaken and fade away, and the Divine Immanency will push it back, cloud it over, and crowd it down into the region of tradition or philosophic vagary. By the mind of average imaginative capacity the Divine Transcendency will not long be held. Its occasional devotional trances, its gleaming, swiftly-passing poetic visions, its religious fervors kindled by transient mystic fires, will become fewer in number and weaker in force, and sooner or later suffer hopeless, helpless shipwreck on the restless sea of the daily passing physical experiences. On the other hand, the Divine Immanency, as the active, controlling Principle of the universe, as the omnipresent Dynamis, as the immediate Energy back of the physical experiences, crowding out the distinction of second causes, and the belief in physical force as distinct from divine volition, will then pass, with an easy and dangerous incline, down into the confusions, the limitations, and the contradictions of pantheism.

Art. IV. — THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH: ITS SYNOD OF 1872, AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

The prominent official position accorded to Protestants of eminent ability under the Third Republic, and the manifest movement of active minds in France, hitherto reckoned as Catholics or Freethinkers, toward Protestantism during the past two years, awaken a lively and hopeful interest in the fortunes of the French Reformed Church. To any proper

view of the present condition of affairs in French Protestantism a knowledge of the position and work of the Synod of 1872 is necessary. The assembling of that Synod realized a long cherished desire: it brought into more definite attitude the relations of the antagonistic elements which had been for a generation contending within the Church, and by its decisive action furnishes an important point of departure for the consideration of subsequent events. Some review of the earlier history of the Church will be appropriate, and of course at certain points essential to a proper understanding of the matters we wish especially to present.

The Albigenses in the south of France and more obscure sects were early precursors of the Reformation, while at the opening of the sixteenth century a marked spirit of Gallicanism prevailed in the north. Before Luther, Lefèvre d'Etaples, a doctor of the Sorbonne, commenting, in 1512, on St. Paul's Epistles, found in them the doctrine of salvation by faith. In 1521 Lutheran missionaries passed through France, and within fifteen years made immense progress in Dauphiné, Languedoc, Poitou, Saintonge and Normandie. The Lutherans have constituted a large section of the French Protestant communion; but the loss of Alsace and Lorraine has cut off the major portion of them, over 200,000, from the dominion of France. According to statistics given in 1872 there remained 80,117. The same authority, the Almanach de Gotha, gives the number of Reformed at that date as 467,531, only communicants being reckoned in these statistics.* The center of the French Lutheran Church was established at Strasbourg. Napoleon gave this body a special organization by the side of that of the Reformed Church in the Law of Germinal, 1802. It was in like manner modified with that of the Reformed Church by the decree of March 26, 1852. A Lutheran Synod was held in Paris in 1872 to reconstitute the Church after the losses of the war. Some agitation has existed for a union with the Reformed Church. A project introduced into the Legislative Assembly in July of last year for a further reorganization of the Lutheran Church was remanded to the next session.

Our concern is with the Reformed Church, and particularly

* The general Protestant population of France has been of late years estimated at about 1,500,000.

with that portion of it attached to the State, embracing almost the entire body — the National Reformed Church. Among those who listened to the preaching of the Reformers in France the doctrines of Calvin early became predominant. Without organization at first, the people read together in Olivetans, Lefèvre d'Etaples' Bible, or the new translation of Geneva, each one adding his comment. The foundation of the organized Church was laid in the first Synod, called by Antoine de Chandieu with other pastors, and held at Paris May 25, 1559. In a hidden street in the Faubourg St. Germain, this small company, assembled under peril of death, formed in three days their celebrated Confession of Faith in forty articles, similar to the other Reformed symbols, and a Church organization approaching that of the Scotch Presbyterians. The Synod held at La Rochelle, in April, 1571, was the first which met under full sanction of the King, and was distinguished for its imposing character. Theodore Beza presided. The Queen of Navarre, the Princes Henri de Bearn and Henri de Conde, Admiral Coligny and Count Louis de Nassau were present, and many other great personages took part in its deliberations. The Confession of 1559 was re-adopted, and has been ever since distinguished as the Confession of La Rochelle. A Discipline of fourteen chapters is attached to the Confession. Each Church had its separate council, called a consistory. The colloque, a department of Churches in each province, appointed the pastor with approval of the congregation. Provincial Synods were to assemble annually, and National Synods as occasion required. This synodical organization is pronounced by Pressensé "the most perfect model of representative government." The principle of conservative liberty is recognized. Suffrage is universal within the Church. Power is conceded to the pastors, who are equal among themselves, to instruct, but the voice of the laity can be always heard. Yet the Church, in accordance with the general system of Calvin, failed to assert itself as a spiritual organization distinct from civil society. It appealed to the sword of the magistrate for its defense, and therein recognized a principle which, as interpreted by its adversaries, was turned to its own annoyance and devastation.

The date of the Synod of La Rochelle was the most flourishing point in the history of French Protestantism. The nobil-

ity and the *bourgeoisie* were flocking to its standard; new congregations were every-where formed. Largely for this reason, without doubt, was the massacre of St. Bartholomew planned. The Edict of Nantes, issued 1597, in which the King recognized that "God was worshiped by all his subjects, if not in the same manner, yet with the same intention," put an end to the persecution, furnished a considerable stipend to the pastors, allowed the frequent convocation of National Synods, and cherished the academies at Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, and Sedan. At this date there are said to have been 2,159 Protestant Churches, some of them with a membership of no less than 10,000. An era of peaceable theological controversy followed—the age of Arnauld, Nicole, Bossuet and Pascal. Port Royal, though manifestly swayed in a measure by Reformed principles, yet opposed Protestantism. The ruling power ere long became tired of opposition. The schools of Saumur and Sedan were closed. "Open battle was feared," says Bersier, "but the hidden and perfidious work of the miners, carried on in darkness, could not be stayed, and while yet the majestic edifice of the Church resounded with the accents of Bourdaloue, Fénelon, Massillon and Bossuet, it was about to fall suddenly before the derisive laughter of an irreligious and frivolous populace."

The Synod of 1659, held at Loudun, was the last legally recognized National Synod until that of 1872, which is, therefore, reckoned as the thirtieth. The two dates, 1559 and 1659, received special centennial recognition at Paris in 1859. Louis XIV. announced to the above mentioned body that no National Synod might henceforth be held till he should judge expedient to call it. Provincial Synods were still allowed in form, though no longer in reality. The great expense and trouble which attended the assembling of the general Synods was alleged as the chief ground for their suspension. M. Daillé, the Moderator, in his reply, while acknowledging the expense and trouble involved, said: "The holding of our Synods is a matter of such absolute necessity for the welfare of the Church that we gladly endure all the expense and fatigue required in attendance upon them." From this date oppressive edicts and violent persecutions again arose, till the King at last arrived at the idea of revoking the Edict of Nantes, which he did October 18,

1685. The political consequences of this act were, as is well known, disastrous to France. St. Simon says that by the consequent emigration commerce was ruined in all its branches, and a quarter part of the kingdom was to a great extent depopulated. The best citizens among the Protestants departed. For the most part, only the poorer peasants were left. The number of Churches at the date of the Revocation has been given at 840, and of pastors at 640. The persecution which followed and extended through a good portion of the eighteenth century was of the most bitter and harrowing as well as violent kind, penetrating into the inmost privacy of life. No marriage, baptism, or interment could take place without the priest and recantation.

Fifteen days before the death of the Grand Monarque at Versailles in 1715, Antoine Court, who became illustrious by his labors in the Gospel at this period, and was, also, founder of the seminary at Lausanne, gathered in a deserted quarry in the neighborhood of Nismes the first Provincial Synod since the Revocation. It consisted of nine persons, and recalled the Confession and Discipline of 1559. In 1726 a General Synod was held in a cavern at Vivarais, called the first Synod of the Desert. No gathering took place except at the peril of a life in the galleys for the men, imprisonment for the women, and the horrors of the wheel for the pastors; yet at each of these assemblies after the Confession of Faith was read, which each pledged himself to observe, prayer was offered for the persecuting King. The last Synod of the Desert was held in Languedoc in 1763. It declared the solemn promise to maintain, by every means, the union of the Churches, which had hitherto proved so advantageous to them, "by continuing to profess the same faith, to celebrate the same form of worship, to practice the same morals, and to exercise the same discipline." This is the last general utterance of the Church till 1848. The spirit of persecution continued to abate till the Edict of Tolerance under Louis XV. in 1787. This edict granted to such as were not Roman Catholics "the right of living in France, and of exercising a profession or trade in the kingdom, without being disturbed on account of religion; the permission to marry legally before the officers of justice, the authority to record the births of their children be-

fore the local judge." In short, the Protestants were thus, in form, made citizens instead of outcasts. The Revolution was naturally welcomed by the Protestants, and, through the varied and terrific events of that period, they were generally regarded with favor by the populace, though certain pastors suffered martyrdom for fidelity to their faith. The Assembly of 1789 established equality of civil rights, and, as to liberty of worship, the Constitution of 1791 guaranteed to every man "the right to exercise the form of religious worship to which he might be attached." The Constitution of 1795, on the restoration of religion, uses similar terms as to the individual right, while it withdraws the Government stipend. The Concordat of Napoleon of July 15, 1801, did not admit what the Pope demanded, that the Catholic religion should be declared either the religion of the State or the dominant religion, but the following language is used: "The Government of the Republic recognizes that the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the majority of Frenchmen." The Catholic worship was sustained by salary from the State, but the Protestants were left free to manage their own internal affairs without state support. At this point, on the part of the Protestants at least, a separation of Church and State might have been realized had not Napoleon soon chosen to take control also of the Protestant Church in the nomination of pastors and endowing them with a salary.

A new or modified form of government for both the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches was established by the celebrated Law of 18 Germinal an X. (April 7, 1802.) It is otherwise entitled *Articles organiques des cultes Protestantes*, and has constituted the fundamental civil law of the Church through the present century. It consists of three chapters, and forty-two articles in all. The first chapter makes general provision for the two Churches; the second concerns the Reformed Church, and the third the Lutheran. This constitution was generally welcomed by the Protestants as giving them a permanent recognition and support under the Government, yet it introduced important changes into the administration of the Reformed Church. First: in place of the separate parish council was established the consistory for every 6,000 souls of the Protestant communion. In practice, however, the con-

sistories often embrace a far greater number, that of Paris including 30,000. Five consistories formed an arrondissement Synod. Secondly, The consistory, charged with the administration of discipline, appointed and removed pastors under the sanction of the Government, which furnished a salary. Thirdly, The members of the consistory were elected not by universal suffrage, according to the principle which had before obtained, but by the class paying a certain large amount of taxes, *les plus imposés* or *les notables*. Moreover, one half the members of the consistory were renewed every second year by the body itself with the assistance of twelve *notables*. Instead of a rotation of presidents for the consistory, the senior pastor was constituted the permanent president, and became a sort of bishop, the sole channel of communication with the Government, generally through the prefect of the department. The organization of the Church was thus greatly modified in point of its democratic character, and became decidedly aristocratic and rigidly conservative. Mr. Waddington remarks concerning this system that "it is totally unsuited to a Protestant Church, whose very essence and life consists in complete freedom. . . . The Reformed Church cannot be thrown into a given mold and compelled to retain a given shape forever; its principle is reform and progress, and with its present legal organization it must needs be only an inanimate body." * M. Bersier says, "What proves the religious apathy of the epoch was the fact that no one protested." The Church is entirely subjected to the State. No doctrinal nor disciplinary change can take place without consent of the Government. It is true that during the seventy years of the operation of this system the Protestant Church has made considerable progress, but it has been manifestly withheld by its externally imposed constitution from doing more than a small portion of the work which its natural force would have achieved. The pastors supported by the State seemed generally content rather to serve the Government and the spirit of the times than to be zealous in promoting the expansion of the Church. They seemed mindful of the injunction of Talleyrand to the ecclesiastical leaders: *Surtout pas de zèle.*

A fourth and most important point to be remembered in ref-

* Cambridge Essays. 1856.

erence to the Law of Germinal is that it makes no provision for National Synods. The arrondissement Synods, though they would consist of only ten persons, two from each of the five consistories, were in fact never allowed to meet, either under the First Empire or since, until those of the Drôme in 1850. Napoleon had no relish for assemblies that came with any kind of spontaneity from the people. Had such provincial Synods been allowed the Catholics would have demanded similar privileges. The Emperor was on the whole well disposed toward the Protestants, and gave them perhaps more proofs of good will than they enjoyed under any other *régime*. He said on one occasion, in 1810, with how much sincerity we cannot determine, "Had I not found in the religion of Bossuet the means of assuring the independence of the civil power, I should have freed France from the dominion of Rome, and 40,000,000 men would have followed me." The omission to make provision for a National Synod in the new constitution has been the occasion of prolonged controversy between the different parties in the Reformed Church concerning the scope of this omission and the attitude in which it leaves the Church in reference to the old organization. Some have said, speaking in a general view, that the Law of Germinal "profoundly modified" the constitution of the Church. M. Pressensé used similar language. Others have asserted that the modifications are but secondary and temporary, and that the omission above referred to in no way invalidates the legal right of the Reformed Church to the enjoyment of its National Synod. To this matter we shall refer at another point in our review.

We will now notice briefly the external relations of the Church down to the epoch of the last Synod. Under the First Empire there was no persecution; and, on the other hand, but little spiritual life. There were no Church publications, no free Conferences and Synods. By the favor of Napoleon, however, the theological faculty of Montauban was established in 1809, and this seminary, with that of Geneva, has supplied the Reformed Church with pastors to the present day. Upon the fall of the Empire a violent persecution instigated by the Catholic inhabitants broke out in the department of Gard, where the Protestants were especially numerous, which the royal authorities only with difficulty quelled after two years.

The Government of the Restoration was in hearty alliance with the Romish Church, and declared Catholicism to be the "religion of the State;" but the Protestants, though suffering at times from local disturbances and the fanaticism of individual priests, were in general free from serious molestation on the part of the authorities, except the impediments thrown in the way of advanced evangelization. Under Charles X., the Jesuits being all-powerful, the Catholic "congregation," embracing in its membership most of the Ministers of State, was the real government of the country, and many petty annoyances were visited upon all unaffiliated bodies and individuals. The Protestants were roused to earnest opposition through controversies in the press and before the courts. Many persons of wealth and rank, such as Boissy d'Anglas, the Marquis de Jancourt, Baron de Staël, and Admiral Ver Huel, took an active part in the affairs of the Church. The period between 1820 and 1830 was one of religious revival, and several useful societies were formed: the Bible Society Dec. 6, 1819, the Tract and Missionary Societies, and in 1829 the Society for the Encouragement of Primary Instruction, a work worthy of special attention. A Church independent of the State was formed in Paris in 1830, arising from an earnest desire among many of the Protestant laity for a more spiritual Church life, and other Free Churches subsequently sprang up. The humanitarian efforts of Baron de Staël, the labors of Felix Neff in Dauphiné and of Oberlin in Alsace, distinguished this period. In Paris the May meetings were established, whose encouraging influences supplied in some respect the absence of the old Synods. The charter of 1830, gratifying to the Protestants, returned to the terms of Napoleon's Concordat, and the Catholic religion was declared simply "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen." "Every one professes his religion," it was declared, "with equal liberty, and obtains for his form of worship the same protection." Louis Philippe seemed disposed to interfere but little in the internal affairs of the Church, and the first five years of his reign were an era of great prosperity and religious activity. New societies were formed, and religious journals were established. Subsequent to 1836, however, notwithstanding the above-quoted liberal terms of the constitution, many obstacles were thrown in the way of evangelization.

Continual appeals to the law were rendered necessary before the Court of Cassation. In 1834 a law had been passed of similar import with Art. 291 of the Penal Code, but more detailed and stringent, and, both in the Legislative Assembly and before the courts, controversies of great note arose through successive years, conducted by the most eminent lawyers of the nation, upon the question whether the restrictions contained in these statutes properly apply to assemblies for worship. Art. 291, which has been at the basis of all restrictive procedures against the Protestants since its enactment in 1810, reads as follows: "No association of more than twenty individuals whose object is to meet every day, or on certain fixed days, to occupy themselves with religious, literary, political or other matters, shall be formed, except with consent of Government and under such conditions as the authorities choose to determine." The two succeeding articles fix the penalties for the infringement of the law, and Art. 294 extends the liability to any one who shall have lent or let his house or rooms to the association. It was argued in the above-mentioned debate, by the Protestants, that the charters of 1814 and 1830 abrogated Art. 291 so far as applied to religious assemblies; but the crown lawyers maintained that the charters guaranteed liberty of conscience and not liberty of worship, or, if any such liberty were meant, it was designed only for those Churches recognized and salaried by the State; and, furthermore, that the very terms "every one *obtains* for his form of worship the same protection," imply that permission must be sought. The court decisions generally sustained these positions; and, practically, in nine cases out of ten where the privilege of holding new assemblies was sought it was refused. Beyond the Revolution of 1848, and the events of the Second Empire, and under the Third Republic, down to the present day, the same legal question is agitated. Its decision is a matter of prime importance for the interests of Protestantism and of religion in France. M. Pressensé has distinguished himself in the advocacy of the principle of liberty of worship. One of the last acts of the Court of Cassation under Louis Philippe was to condemn, in January, 1848, the pastor of a Baptist Church in Chauney for having held religious meetings without due authority from the Government. Notwithstanding the many vexations of the period it was one of very considerable

progress in the work of evangelization, especially under the direction of the Evangelical Society, operating at first more especially in the interests of the Free Churches, but later with the concurrence and for the welfare of general Protestantism.

We are arrived at the Revolution of 1848. Though great hopes were entertained in these exciting days by the Protestants, the reaction which followed upon the *Coup d'Etat* soon left the Church in a more helpless condition before the State than in the period we have just noticed. The Constitution of 1848 declared: "Every one professes his religion in freedom, and receives from the State equal protection for the exercise of his worship. The ministers of forms of worship either actually established or which may be hereafter established have a right to receive a salary from the State." The substance of the article is the same as that of 1830; but the wording is more careful, and leaves no room for question as to its meaning. No special mention was made of the Catholic religion, so that all religions were put upon an equal footing. In a decree of July, 1848, prohibiting clubs and other political meetings, a clause was inserted stating that "the decree was not applicable to meetings whose sole object was the exercise of any kind of religious worship." In a case arising in November, 1851, the eminent advocate Count Jules Delabord, who had pleaded before the Supreme Court all cases of religious liberty since 1838, obtained a judgment in thorough vindication of entire liberty of worship for France. This decision, however, availed nothing after the *Coup d'Etat*.

During the events of 1848 a Synod was called by the Reformed Churches, of their own motion, which never obtained Government recognition, and its decisions were not actually accepted by the Churches. Its debates served, however, as an index of the requirements and sentiments of the times. There were present eighty-eight delegates, fifty pastors, and thirty-eight elders. The Synod sat from September 10 to October 7. A project of organization to take the place of the Napoleonic constitution was framed, which provided (1) a rehabilitation of the local Church council or presbyterial council; (2) a choice of lay members of the presbyterial council and consistory not by vote of the wealthier but of all members twenty-five years of age who had taken the communion and who recognized the

Bible as the word of God and sole rule of faith; (3) re-establishment of Provincial and National Synods, the latter to meet every three years, and to appoint a committee to execute its decisions. Appointment was made for the next Synod in 1851, at Nismes, but no authorization was received from the Government. This assembly of 1848 is not, therefore, recognized among the regular Synods of the Church. During the changes of 1830 a vain attempt had also been made to abolish or modify the Law of Germinal.

The Synod failed to announce any formula of doctrine. A few persisted in demanding a creed, and two delegates, Frédéric Monod and Count de Gasparin, still protested after the vote was taken, and withdrew to found the "Union of Evangelical Churches," which united the various Free Churches in an active association holding its regular Synods every two years. In 1872 these Churches numbered forty-eight in all, embracing a membership of 3,000. Their position has been one of self-sacrifice on the part of membership and leaders for the voluntary principle in ecclesiastical affairs which, while it has attained so signal a success with the Anglo-Saxon race, seems yet destined to a prolonged if not impotent struggle in France with the predominant idea of religion, which the French people have ever associated so closely with the idea of civil authority and civil order. The leaders of these Churches, the Monods, MM. Pressensé, Fisch and Bersier have greatly distinguished themselves by their labors. Their views have found advocacy in the *Archives du Christianisme* and the *Revue Chrétiene* as well as in the *Eglise Libre*, their special organ. Alexander Vinet was an eminent champion of the voluntary principle, or the separation of Church and State, in the days of the Abbé Lamennais. He published an important essay in defense of this principle in 1829, entitled, "An Essay on the Manifestation of Religious Opinions." He also advocated his views in the *Semeur*, a journal published under Free Church influence in the period from 1831–1850, and through this and other channels was the main instrument in promoting these principles in France. Vinet was successful in winning large numbers to a theoretical adoption of his system in Switzerland, and was gratified in obtaining the organization of the Free Church of Canton Vaud in 1846, the year before

his death. The Church system of Calvin, and that which he put in force at Geneva, was a theocracy. The principle of Church membership on profession of faith alone he did not recognize, though the natural operation of his doctrines developed this view to its realization, especially in the United States. In France the Reformed Church, adopting readily the system of Calvin, has regarded itself as a State establishment embracing by right all of Protestant birth, and any organized separation from it was looked upon until of late years with as much aversion as schism inspires in the Romanist. This conception was, of course, only strengthened by the constant control which the Government has exercised over the Church by the concordat system. The Free Churches take their rise not only on the principle of voluntary support but on that of voluntary association by profession of faith; and they are, therefore, the special advocates of this latter view of Church membership. Their insistence upon this point involves an adhesion to the historically fundamental doctrines of the Reformed faith, and the Free Churches were naturally in sympathy with the party of the Right in the late Synod, and with the effort to secure a definite dogmatic statement, for the want of which, as we have seen, in 1848 the Union was formed.

The decree of March 26, 1852, which supervened upon the *Coup d'Etat*, modifying the organization of both the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, was a surprise to all, and, on the whole, an occasion of grief to the orthodox portion of the Reformed Church. The decree re-affirmed the Law of Germinal as a fundamental basis, but re-established the principle of universal suffrage in the election of the governing councils, without, however, fixing any religious qualification. The institution of presbyterial councils subordinate to the consistory was, indeed, acceptable, as being so far a return to the old parish system; but in the institution of a Central Council as the supreme governing body, appointed by the State and constituted as the medium between the Church and the State, this decree not only took away the National Synod, there being no more mention of it than in the Law of Germinal, but annulled the true significance of the Provincial Synods, with which, according to the ancient free representative constitution of the Church, the power of electing the central body should remain.

The functions of the Central Council were, indeed, but vaguely designated, and it served, says Pressensé, "only as a convenient screen for the civil authority." Immediate protest arose from the consistories of Paris and of Nismes, the latter declaring that "with the virtual disappearance of the Provincial Synods the germ of the General Synods was also lost," and this is denominated "a real revolution" in the Church system. Two supplementary decrees, defining certain points in the general law, were issued September 10, 1852, and May 20, 1853. As to the liberty of religious assemblies every legal restriction was put in force. The decree of July, 1848, was annulled, and Article 291 was declared applicable to public meetings of every description. So the supreme court decided in the case of a pastor accused in 1853. An arbitrary closing of many Protestant places of worship, especially those of the Free Churches, and of Protestant schools, particularly in the Haute Vienne, caused no little alarm for the cause of religious liberty. In the latter department the people assembled again in the desert, in caverns, and remote groves, where they might escape the notice of Government spies. It was not till 1856 that the schools were again opened in the Haute Vienne, and in some places Protestant worship was re-established only after nine years of suspension. An additional decree was issued March 19, 1859, concerning the opening of new places of Protestant worship, by which all applications for the privilege must take the long process of adjudication before the Imperial Council of State. Such in general was the severe attitude of the Government toward the work of Protestant evangelization during the period of the Second Empire. Cases of extreme injustice were, perhaps, rare and local only; but the arbitrary hand was every-where felt. There was some progress, and new houses of worship were erected—one large church, in particular, having been built in Paris by the municipality in 1865—but the reports of evangelization work through this period generally show but a moderate degree of life and hopefulness. There was no marked religious revival. As to the operation of the principle of universal suffrage without the guard of religious qualification, though it did not at first occasion the disorder which some had feared, it yet manifestly entailed evil consequences by the encouragement which it offered

to the growth of extreme Liberalism, and to the use of such violent partisan efforts in the consistorial elections as agitated the Church and community during the five years preceding the fall of the Empire.

The decree of March 26, 1852, though, as we have said, a grief to the more strictly orthodox, was pleasing to the liberal party in the Reformed Church. Indeed, it has been suspected, though the fact, we believe, is not established, that the decree was framed with the counsel and advice of certain of the liberal leaders. It established, on the one hand, a more centralized governmental control in Church affairs, and, on the other, universal suffrage without religious qualification, in both which respects it operated to forbid the dominance of a distinct theological creed, and was favorable to the unquestioned retention of their position by the liberal pastors. It is the so-called liberal party which has seemed especially to favor the subjection of the Church to the State. M. Coquerel, père, indeed, proposed a constitution for the Central Council by which it should be composed of ten pastors appointed by the Government and twenty laymen selected by the Government and appointed by decree out of a list nominated by the consistories, while the president of the Council should be the Government director of the non-Catholic forms of worship. As to the removal of pastors on the ground of opinion by appeal to the Government, it may be safely asserted that nearly all such removals during the present century have been instigated by the party called liberal.

It will be readily understood that the prevalence of skeptical views among the ministers of a State Church like the National Reformed Church of France, deprived, as it has been for so long a time, of its representative Synod, by which its doctrine could be from time to time reaffirmed and its discipline administered, would give rise to complicated and most embarrassing difficulties. These difficulties have to an extent existed for half a century, or ever since the revival of religious life in French Protestantism, and were largely increased in the decade preceding the last Synod. On the one hand were the orthodox laity, protesting against their subjection to the teachings of a pastor who denied the fundamental doctrines of their faith and that of their fathers, and on the other was the lib-

eral pastor maintained in his position by the Government, which did not concern itself about points of doctrine, and claiming his rights, by reason of the virtual abolition of synodical discipline and the long abstention of the general Church from the utterance of a creed, to the untrammeled expression of individual opinion in the exercise of his pastoral office. A celebrated instance of the intolerable annoyance and oppression of this state of things occurred in the case of Pastor Martin Paschoud in Paris, who insisted upon renominating M. A. Coquerel, fils, as his assistant after he had been discontinued in 1854 by the consistory on account of his radical utterances. As the only hope of relief, the consistory early in 1866 passed a vote of deposition upon the pastor himself, on account of his persistent opposition to their wishes in this matter, and for the utterance of increasingly radical opinions on his own part. The Minister Boroche, however, constantly refused to sanction this vote, and Martin Paschoud was continued in his position year after year.

The Council of State, however, seemed to recognize ultimately that the right of having some control over its doctrinal matters or the religious attitude of the electors must lie with the Church; and accordingly it refused to sustain the appeal of the radicals against the Paris consistory in 1866, and sustained the Caen consistory, early in 1870, in the right to impose a religious condition. The same year a very decided requirement of religious condition, though expressed in brief and general terms, was voted by the consistory of Paris. Against this action the Nismes consistory, which was predominantly liberal, sent a protest. It had also protested warmly in 1864 against the non-continuance of M. Coquerel, and in doing so declared that the two theological tendencies existent in the Reformed Church are *equally legitimate* and have an equal right to position. This language expresses succinctly the general ground on which the Liberals take their stand throughout the controversies of the present epoch. In order that this unceasing and most harassing controversy might find a settlement, and the only settlement possible, and that the Reformed Church might assume again general authority over its doctrinal and disciplinary affairs, a meeting of the National Synod was greatly desired; and the appeal to the Government for this

object became more and more urgent with the increase of the ecclesiastical difficulties toward the close of the Empire. Napoleon III., it has been stated, was about to grant the convocation of a Synod just before the disasters of the war of 1871.

Having considered the external relations and attitude of the Church, we must now take a brief review of its internal or doctrinal history, in order that we may better understand the position of the parties. The skeptical philosophy of the eighteenth century exercised no small influence upon the Protestant Church. After the Reign of Terror the forms of worship were slowly recovered, with a moderate degree of life. The aim was rather moral than religious, though the fundamentals of the faith were not formally denied. We have noticed the absence of spiritual activity under the Empire, a necessary product, in part, of external circumstances. The non-allowance of a free Synod, where the traditions of the past could be gathered up and where its doctrines would have found some form of statement; the constitution of the Law of Germinal, which, though noticing or implying in general terms the established foundation and discipline of the Church, gave no precision to the announcement of this fundamental rule—all this laxity and absence of positive assertion early opened the door to every shade of religious opinion. The miraculous facts at the basis of Christianity, constituting its supernatural character, were sincerely believed in the Church in the early part of the century, but the other main points of doctrine in the creed were received in a different sense from that of their first statement. Man was regarded as feeble rather than depraved. The idea of human merit was made quite prominent in the sermons of the time. The liturgies in use were those of Geneva, formed under the eighteenth century philosophy. Worship preserved its forms, but religion seemed to be regarded as something outside of real life. Numerically the Church greatly declined, and at the Restoration, it has been stated there were but one hundred and ninety Churches and as many pastors. Under the restoration the liberal tendency increased. Samuel Vincent, the eminent pastor of Nismes, regarding religion rather as a sentiment than as a dogma, was a disciple of Schleiermacher. He desired a separation of Church and State.

The religious awakening which occurred between 1820 and

1830 naturally occasioned a great revival of faith in the old points of doctrine. This awakening was doubtless occasioned in part by the spread of a more spiritual philosophy, to which, according to Guizot,* the works of Chateaubriand largely contributed. In the life of the Reformed Church, however, the revival began with the work of Frédéric Monod in his Sunday-school, founded in 1822. It was advanced by the influence proceeding from the Wesleyans under the eminently successful labors of Charles Cook, from the zeal of Mark Wilks at Paris, and from the efforts of the Calvinistic missionaries from Scotland and Geneva, such as the Haldanes, Malan, and Gauthier, who urgently pressed the points of doctrine embodied in the old Confession of La Rochelle, but which had been for a long time forgotten. The adherents of the liberal tendency, on the other hand, organized in their consistories an active opposition to this revival of dogma. They began to depose, where the sanction of the Government could be procured, those pastors who warmly favored the return to the former faith. A celebrated case was that of Adolphe Monod in the Church of Lyons. He was a man of profound sentiment and great eloquence—"a preacher unequaled," says Lacordaire, "for the elevation, purity and richness of his language." His new manner of preaching, in urging the moral impotence of man and the supremacy of divine grace appeared like a monstrous absurdity to the people. In the petition addressed to the consistory he was accused of having made assault upon "the most beautiful, the most difficult, the most holy of all religions, the religion of good works, which is the natural dictate of conscience." Martin Paschoud, who so stoutly resisted the determination of the Church for his own retirement, presided over the consistory which pronounced the deposition of Adolphe Monod, and gave his voice for the act. The confirmatory governmental decree was rendered April 15, 1831, the legal point being taken in the pastor's refusal to give the communion in certain cases. From this event divergence between the two tendencies became more decided, and has increased to the present day with more or less active manifestation. The several consistories chose pastors in accordance with their own views. Active controversies were carried on in different jour-

* "Meditations on the Present State of the Christian Religion." 1865.

nals. MM. Coquerel, père, Paschoud, Fontanès, Kéville were the leaders of the liberals. Their organ for a long series of years was *Le Lien*, which has later become *La Renaissance*. The evangelical leaders of this earlier day were Frédéric and Adolphe Monod, MM. Stapfer and Grandpièrre. Their journals were *L'Espérance* and *Les Archives du Christianisme*, now called *Le Christianisme au XIX. Siècle*. The Free Churches were founded, as we have seen, for the maintenance of the old faith. Its doctrines have struggled to regain their supremacy against the religious torpor and skeptical habits of thought which had become generally established, and against the legal privileges by which the liberal pastor has often held his position in opposition to the will of his parish; but they have gradually made progress, gaining ground especially in Paris, up to the time that they counted a majority in the last synod.

The doctrinal position of the liberal party has, in case of the majority of its leaders, undergone an important change by an advance toward a more complete denial of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. The difference is vast between the utterances of the liberal leaders of the past fifteen or twenty years and those which belong to the earlier period. The earlier period, extending from 1830, was that of rationalism; the present is that of radicalism. While the philosophical genesis of the former is found in the French eclecticism of Royer-Collard, Maine de Biran and Cousin, with a considerable influence from Comte, the latter proceeds without doubt directly from the extreme rationalism and negative criticism of Germany. The new school, embracing new names, includes also some of the old liberals, who have departed from their conservative positions. The former liberals were content to deny the distinctive points of Calvinism and the fundamental views of human depravity, admitting a moderate criticism of the Scriptures, while they still held to the supernatural divine authority of the Bible and to faith in miracles, and especially in that of our Lord's resurrection. It was then a question, not whether the Scriptures were an authoritative rule of faith, but whether the Scriptures alone without a formal creed were sufficient. M. Grawitz, who failed in 1828 to obtain consecration in Paris for declining to sign the Confession of Faith, wrote in 1847 that those who deny the inspiration, miracles and divinity

of Jesus Christ are "audacious infidels." He also said at the same time: "In order that reason may not be without a guide, the liberals take refuge under the standard of the historical Christ, and they regard the apostles as inspired teachers, and consequently infallible." In giving a definition of rationalism at the Synod of 1848, M. Sardinoux said: "If by the term rationalism the denial of a supernatural revelation is understood, I hardly know of two, or at most three, rationalists in France." Martin Paschoud in an opinion delivered before the Paris consistory in April, 1853, said: "The doctrine of the Reformed Church is exhibited in the books which it uses in its worship; first the Bible, and then the liturgies . . . The Apostles' Creed is the abridgment of its faith." We give the above quotations on the authority of M. Doumergue. The Liberal Conference of Nismes in 1854 voted almost unanimously a form of consecration to be recommended to the consistories, containing a clear recognition of the Scriptures as "the foundation of the faith," and of the "Son of God," who "lived, died, and rose again" for the Church. This paper was signed by seventy pastors, being all but three of the assembly. The progress, however, toward the negations of radicalism was in many quarters very marked. M. Scherer, who resigned his chair of theology in Geneva on account of his disagreement with the doctrine of plenary inspiration, founded with M. Colani the *Revue de Théologie* at Strasburg. The *Revue*, though at first in sympathy with the evangelicals and disdainful of the old rationalism, ere long advanced, by the application of destructive criticism to the Scriptures, to the most extreme radicalism. The possibility of miracles was denied, and that of the resurrection as well. Even the miracle of Christ's perfection came to be doubted among this school, as by M. Pécaut in *Le Christ et la conscience*. M. Réville denies the absolute and exclusive inspiration of the Bible. In 1861 he said, "I shall not hesitate to affirm that Christianity by its most characteristic principles and tendencies is opposed to the idea of the supernatural." MM. Réville, Theophile Bost and Fontanès, had rendered such ideas familiar to many Protestants when Renan's "Life of Jesus" appeared. It was M. Coquerel's eulogy of Renan which chiefly occasioned his removal. Both the Coquerels and also Martin Paschoud took ground with the more advanced

liberals before the days of the Synod. The extreme utterances of the radicals, and the active propagation of their views subsequent to 1860, naturally gave rise to a more earnest desire on the part of the orthodox to have the ancient faith of the Church authoritatively asserted, which could only be done by a National Synod.

The liberals generally deprecated at this period the assembling of the Synod, for they feared lest they should be found in a minority, and thus be subjected, under the sanction of the Government, to a precise doctrinal law which did not then exist. Martin Paschoud, senior member of the party, protested against the summoning of a Synod in these terms: "If the Churches are prudent they will not demand it, and if they demand it we hope the Government, more wise than they, will not grant it." The rationalists were at the height of their numerical power in 1848, having a majority in the Synod; yet they succeeded in obtaining nothing more favorable from the assembly than silence as to the authority of the ancient confession, while an address to the Churches was issued directing attention to the subject. From this date the power of the rationalists declined, especially in Paris. In 1854 they transferred their efforts to control the pastoral conferences to the South, and were successful in the conference of Nismes, where the liberal element has continued to predominate. In 1864 a division of the conference of the South took place, the orthodox party holding their meeting at Alais. A like division occurred in the Paris conference of 1866, the liberals and orthodox holding thereafter separate meetings, by which the acrimonious debates which had become so grievous were avoided. These free pastoral conferences which have been held since 1832, usually in the spring, at Paris, in connection with the May anniversaries, have been often occasions of great profit. The *general* conferences are open to the pastors of all the churches: the *special* conferences are those of State Churches, the Reformed and the Lutheran separately. In the special Paris conference of 1864 M. Guizot presented a declaration which was carried by vote of 141 to 23, and laid down the necessary points of Christian belief as follows: (1.) Faith in the supernatural action of God in the government of the world, and especially in the establishment of the Christian system;

(2.) Faith in the divine and supernatural inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and their sovereign authority in religious matters; (3.) Faith in the eternal divinity and miraculous birth, as well as in the resurrection, of our Lord Jesus Christ, God-man, Saviour and Redeemer of men.

The general conference of the same year declared by an overwhelming majority that "it is an abuse of power and a spiritual tyranny for a minister of Jesus Christ to take advantage of his position to propagate, directly or indirectly, ideas contrary to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as the authority of the Bible, the divinity and redemptive work of Jesus Christ which are conditioned in the Protestant liturgies." No less than two hundred pastors were present at this conference. It was a period of great excitement, and in the years which followed the most strenuous efforts were made, though in vain, by the liberals to gain a majority in the consistorial elections.

In objecting to the assembling of a Synod the liberals generally denied the power of the Government to summon it without some change in the constitution of the Church by legislative enactment. It was affirmed that the Law of Germinal, the acknowledged basis of the subsequent decrees, had virtually abrogated the National Synod by failing to make mention of it. To this point and to the interest of the discussion we have already alluded. To maintain this position was now a matter of very practical moment for the liberals. They generally denied that the Confession of La Rochelle and the body of discipline connected with it had any remaining force; they asserted that it had fallen into desuetude, and so into invalidity, from the beginning of the century. On the other hand, it has been shown that the authority of the ancient discipline was recognized from time to time by consistories, pastoral conferences, and the few provincial synods which met. M. Doumergue, editor of *Le Christianisme au XIX Siècle*, the organ of the orthodox party, makes this evident in his *L'unité de l'Eglise réformée de France*, (1875.) As to the Law of Germinal in the terms introductory to the statutory provisions, *vu la discipline des Eglises réformées de France*, the previous existence of such discipline, dependent as it was upon synodal authority, is plainly recognized. The

reply made by the Council of State in November, 1873, to the petition of the liberals affirms that by requiring in Art. 5 the submission of all *changes* in the discipline to its approval the Government recognizes the legal existence of said discipline, "which is no other than the synodal constitution of the Reformed Church." The report of Portalis to the Council of State at the epoch of the institution of the law constitutes a kind of commentary on it. Portalis says that the object of the law was "to preserve to both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches their own discipline and form of government." Similar language was used by the Government commissioner, Count de Belboeuf, before the Council of State in the case of the Caen consistory before referred to. He said: "The constitution of the Reformed Church, determined by its first Synod held in Paris, 1859, is still, except the special modifications known to the council, that under which the Church lives and acts." This need seems to have been recognized by the Council, for the appeal was sustained. To recur to a much earlier date, the *Annuaire* of Paul Rabaud in 1807 insists that the Discipline had continued in vigor up to that time without an appeal to legal force. The *Annuaire Protestant* of 1821, a publication which took the place of that of Rabaud, and is continued to the present day, presented the Law of Germinal, and immediately after it, without special observation, the discipline of the Reformed Church. From these facts it appears that a Church journal of an early day was justified in asserting that "the Protestants had still a *right* to their Synod, and only needed boldness to insist upon the enjoyment of it."

The frequently expressed desire for a national Synod on the part of consistories and pastoral conferences and various Church organs ever since 1802 also manifests the general sentiment of the Church as to the existence of such a constitutional privilege. "The right of the Church," says M. Laurens, "to seek to realize this complement in its organization has never been denied by the Government, nor has the hope of obtaining its Synod ever been taken away." On the ground of this right, and under pressure of circumstances, increased appeals were made to President Thiers in 1871 for an authorized assembling of the Synod. It was the voice, said M. Thiers, of "an immense majority." Sixty consistories out of one hundred and

five desired it; twenty only protested against it. The presidential decree summoning the Synod was issued Nov. 29, 1871. Jules Simon, the Minister of Public Worship, gave assurances to Martin Paschoud that the Government did not intend to be used in any case as an instrument of oppression. M. Thiers said to the Paris consistory, "I am filled with the profoundest reverence for the human conscience, and my constant aim will be to maintain religious liberty in all its integrity." By a table annexed to the decree the one hundred and three consistories of the Church in France and Algiers were divided into twenty-one synodal "*circonscriptions*." Delegates from the consistories to these *circonscription* Synods were to choose the members of the General Synod in elections held between the 1st and 15th of March. One half the number were to be laymen. The whole number was one hundred and nine. A ministerial circular signed by Jules Simon and Guillaume Guizot (son of the historian, and director of the non-Catholic forms of worship) fixed the date and place of the Synod for June 6, at Paris.

The Synod met in the Eglise du Saint Esprit. The Government had caused the nave to be hung with scarlet cloth fringed with gold to prevent the echo. The Bible had the place of honor under the dais, below which was the president's seat and the platform for the speakers. There was a notable absence of any representative from the Government, and the tradition of the "commissaire royal" was evidently regarded as a thing of the past. The venerable Emilien Frossard, the eldest member of the assembly, read first a Confession of Sins and a Liturgy attributed to Beza, who pronounced it before Charles IX. in the Colloque de Poissy. Pastor Bastie, of Bergerac, was chosen Moderator over the Liberal candidate, M. Viguié of Nismes. The members of the Synod were classified as of the Right or Orthodox and of the Left and Left Center, the latter embracing the more moderate Liberals. The orthodox majority in the decisive votes on the authority of the Synod and on the adoption of the confession of faith was sixteen, the vote being sixty-one to forty-five.

Among the most noted liberal members was Martin Paschoud, the senior of the party, to whom M. Pressensé * gives

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15, 1872.

a high character, while still declaring him to be "the most resolute opponent that orthodoxy has had for sixty years." "MM. Pécaut and Gaufrès," says the same authority, "were two of the most eminent men one could meet." M. Fontanès, radical in his views, was yet grave and able in debate. MM. Viguié and Jalabert, more moderate, were effective speakers. M. Clamageran, a lawyer, an ecomonist and politician of fiery address, took a characteristic part. M. Ath. Coquerel, fils, displayed his usual vivacity of intellect and brilliant wit. But the readiest and most learned of all the liberal advocates was evidently M. Colani. His style in dealing with the most abstract subjects is remarkably easy and attractive. "Every thing which could be invoked," says M. Pressensé, "against the Christian idea of belief in order to Church membership, in the name of modern criticism, was said by Colani on the floor of the Synod, with a precision which rent every veil and disclosed theological radicalism to its very depths." On the side of the Right, M. Laurens took a prominent part, as also MM. Mettetal and Pernessin, laymen. The distinguished De Chaband Latour was present. Pastor De l'Hombres replied effectively to M. Colani. M. Bois, Professor at Montauban, who introduced the Confession of Faith, was the most able debater on this side. At every important crisis he seemed to utter the decisive word. The most distinguished personage, however, in the whole assembly, was the revered statesman and Christian historian M. Guizot. To his interest and efforts the Synod largely owed the fact of its convocation, and his presence imparted to it a certain historic dignity which recalled the imposing character of the Synod of La Rochelle. "It was an impressive spectacle," says Pressensé, "to behold mounting the tribune of the Synod that veteran of our Parliaments, that ancient governmental leader, one of the acknowledged masters of French eloquence. He preserved that mien of authority, that magisterial gesture and that precise and picturesque language which are so characteristic of his genius. His tone was simple and natural, even to the moment when he developed with amplitude his personal convictions on the nature of religion, inseparable, in his view, from the idea of revelation." The determinations of the Synod on the main points at issue will be presented in the next article.

Art. V.—THE ELECTION OF PRESIDING ELDERS.

The three great questions which have most agitated the Methodist Episcopal Church are, Slavery, Lay Representation in the higher councils of the Church, and the Election of Presiding Elders. The first, after a long and terrible controversy that caused a disruption of the Church, was effectually and finally settled. The principle involved in the second has been admitted by the introduction of Lay Representation into the General Conference, and we are confident that in response to an earnest and increasing demand it will soon be admitted into the Annual Conferences. Long ere this a measure so important and necessary to secure the highest efficiency of the Church should have been adopted. The effort to secure the election of Presiding Elders was early made, and at different times has been earnestly renewed. In 1820 the rule securing it was adopted, but was afterward suspended, and so continued till 1828, when it was abrogated. Other questions of more pressing importance demanded attention.

The interest in this subject has been greatly revived, and many of the most loyal members of the Church believe that her best interests demand the change proposed, and are confident they will soon win the same success that has crowned the efforts for other reforms with which this has been more or less directly connected.

In times past the discussion of these questions was characterized by great bitterness and marred by rude personalities. It is a marked sign of improvement that in modern controversies, especially in those relating to Church questions and general literature, there is an absence of personalities and a manifestation of courtesy and of an elevation of tone and temper such as were too often wanting in former times.

But the way of the reformer is ever difficult, and requires much patience. Against him are arrayed all the conservative power of society, the influence of custom and habit, and the pride and sense of personal injury which lead many prominent men to regard an assault on established institutions as a reflection on their judgment and intellectual power. To most of this class the objections to new measures will appear more

formidable and dreadful than evils with which they are familiar. However pure may be the motives and characters of reformers, they ever have been, and perhaps will be, subject to annoyance from those who, for a pretense and for personal advancement making loud professions of loyalty, offensively treat and stigmatize them as disturbers and revolutionists. Many of these champions of order, having at their command the free use of the resources and means of communication which are on the side of power, and deceived as to their real personal power, can readily make themselves merry over the seemingly limited influence and the unpopularity of those who, advocating new measures, have not the means to bring them to general notice. There are ever some who pervert good gifts; who, proud of youthful vigor, of fancied stores of learning, of their wit, eloquence, grace of manner, and of those winning qualities that ever secure public favor, will speak sneeringly, or in a lofty patronizing manner, of those they deem in all respects their inferiors, although it might reasonably be expected that a moderate degree of Christian culture would prevent such manifestations. The true reformer will allow none of these things to move him, or to turn him from the steadfastness of his purpose.

Those who advocate the limitation of the power of the high officials of the Church claim that the governed should have a voice in the election of those placed in authority over them. There evidently is an increasing demand for the practical recognition of these principles. Even those seeking reform in the Catholic Church "demand that the Bishops be elected by the clergy and believers." They claim that in the first centuries of the Church Bishops were thus selected, and that great evils resulted from a departure from the primitive rule. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the Bishops are thus selected, but to them is given the appointment of the officers next below them in rank. It is not claimed that any specific divine precepts or teachings require this arrangement, but that expediency thus demands. In our civil affairs it is an admitted principle that the people should select their rulers; but it is claimed that the Methodist ministry and Church members have not the qualities and qualifications that would render it best to commit to them the election of their Presiding Elders.

In the discussion of the Presiding Elder question we are led to notice particularly the article in the April number of this Review, which we regret to pronounce a decided exception to our general statement as to the improved tone and courtesy of controversial writings. The author speaks contemptuously of the pamphlets of which he gives so labored an examination, as having a "natural attraction for a kindly oblivion"—"their proper doom." He speaks disparagingly of their authors, charging them with negligence, and alleging, on what authority we know not, that they had not read an important historical document from which they quote, and had not given careful attention to the parts presented in confirmation of their positions. There is a general arrogance manifest, unsuited to the occasion, and not calculated to aid in ascertaining the truth.

It is of the first importance in the discussions of all proposed changes in the economy of our Church to determine where the power of control over Church interests first existed, and what changes in the distribution of powers were afterward made. The advocates of the election of Presiding Elders claim that all the power to make rules and regulations, to establish offices, etc., was, after the organization of the Church, in the General Conference, and continues in that body, as now constituted, except so far as limited by the six Restrictive Rules.

In his able pamphlet Dr. Wise has conclusively shown that the appointing power was at first in the General Conference, and, as it was not removed by the Restrictive Rules, continues there still.

In 1784 the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, in the full sense of the term, as an independent Church, in all Church matters subject to no dictation or control. Abundant proof from the statements of eminent men, personally and well acquainted with the facts, could be brought to show that the Methodists of that day approved in fact, if not in form, of that measure, and cordially received the preachers set apart at that Conference in their respective characters as Deacons, Elders and Superintendents, and gladly accepted the sacraments at their hands. We briefly notice the only fact that seems opposed to this view. As a token of respect and high regard for Mr. Wesley the Conference promised to obey him in all mat-

ters of Church government; but in 1787 it declined to obey his direction to constitute Richard Whatcoat a Bishop, and omitted Mr. Wesley's name and the pledge from the Minutes. It is evident the Conference did not regard the pledge as a contract, or otherwise than as in their own power. Having fully asserted its independence, it directed Mr. Wesley's name, but without the pledge, to be inserted in the Minutes of the following year.

The Conference of 1784, termed by Mr. Asbury, Dr. Stevens and others, the first General Conference, as the supreme judicatory of the Church proceeded to adopt the Articles of Religion, and to make rules and regulations for the government of the Church, the greater part of which remain to this day. Whatever it did was done solely by its own authority, and no concurrence of the Annual Conferences was asked, or deemed necessary.

All the General Conferences down to that of 1812 had the same power. They were constituted in the same manner, being a collected assembly of the Annual Conferences. Dr. Prentice says that the General Conference of 1808 had not control of the appointing power; but if it had not as full powers as any preceding Conference, all its action, in providing for a delegated General Conference adopting the Restrictive Rules, and making other changes in the polity of the Church, was null and void. It acted on all these matters authoritatively, making no provision for a consultation with the Annual Conferences, or to secure their concurrence. Dr. Prentice himself, inadvertently of course, admits that this Conference had control of the appointing power. On page 330 he says of the third Restrictive Rule, as stated in Ezekiel Cooper's draft of the constitution, it was "a formula that would certainly have *left* the mode of appointing Presiding Elders, as well as other preachers, entirely in the hands of the General Conference."

So far as we know, there is no Conference action, no statement from a Church historian, or opinion of any eminent authority, that can be produced as questioning the unlimited powers of the first General Conferences. Were it not for Dr. Prentice's strong denials of their authority we should not deem proof of our view necessary. We present a few

quotations from authorities which those opposed to us must respect.

Speaking of the General Conferences before 1812, Bishop M'Kendree says: "Hitherto the Conferences possessed unlimited powers. The system of government was, therefore, subject to be changed and modified as the Conference pleased." Speaking of the duties of the Superintendents, he also says: "The traveling preachers collectively [the General Conference] have delegated to them their powers to fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; in the intervals of the Conferences, to change, receive, and suspend preachers; to form districts; to choose, station, and change Presiding Elders," etc.* The appointing power is mentioned as derived from the General Conference, and of course is under its control; as much so as the continuance of a class-leader's power is under the control of a preacher in charge. In a speech in the General Conference of 1824 Joshua Soule said, "The General Conferences held and exercised unlimited power until 1812 because they met *en masse*, and not by virtue of their election or delegation."† Bishop Emory says, "As our General Conferences were originally constituted they possessed the power of our whole body of ministers."‡

Of the Conference of 1792, which revised the Discipline, Dr. Bangs says, "As there were no restrictions on the powers of this Conference, the entire Discipline of the Church came up for review and revision."§ Bishop Simpson says: "Prior to that time [1808] the General Conference was supreme in all departments." And he also on a following page says: "Prior to this time [1812] the office itself [of Bishop] could have been abolished by a single vote of the General Conference, or they could have taken from the episcopacy any one of the functions which they had assigned it."‖ It is important to observe that there is nothing inherent in the episcopacy as constituted in our Church that limits the powers of the General Conference. The theory of the Church is that the episcopacy is not an order in the ministry established by divine

* Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," vol. ii, pp. 360, 361, 363. † Ibid., p. 37.
‡ "Defense of Our Fathers," p. 115, note.
§ Bangs' "History of the M. E. Church," vol. i, p. 343.
‖ "A Hundred Years of Methodism," pp. 95–97.

authority, as is the order of Elders, but that it is an office, a high and responsible office, created by the Church and subject to its control. Bishop Hedding says: "The Superintendents have no power in the Church above that of elders except what is connected with presiding in the Conferences, fixing the appointments of the preachers, and ordaining. They have no voice in any question to be decided by vote in any Conference, no vote even in making the rules by which they themselves are to be governed. They are the servants of the Elders, to go out and execute their commands." *

Bishops Coke and Asbury, in their Notes on the Discipline, say of the Bishops: "They are *perfectly subject* to the General Conference. . . . They are *perfectly dependent;* their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy of the General Conference." †

We admit, of course, that this language refers to the General Conference as then constituted; the power of the delegated General Conference will be hereafter considered. Bishop Emory quotes these sentiments with approval in the twelfth section of the "Defense of our Fathers," and calls attention to the fact that the phrases "perfectly subject" and "perfectly dependent" were italicized by the Bishops, thus inviting particular attention to the acknowledged fact.

Rev. John Dickins affirms that the Bishops derive their power from the election of the General Conference and not from their ordination. He says: "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, and therefore his office is at their disposal;" and again he says: "Mr. Asbury was chosen by the Conference, both before and after he was ordained a Bishop, and he is still considered as the person of their choice by being responsible to the Conference, who have power to remove him and fill his place with another if they see it necessary. And as he is liable every year to be removed, he may be considered as their annual choice." Rev. John Dickins held a very high standing in the Church, and was also the particular and most intimate friend of Bishop Asbury. The pamphlet containing the above sentiments was published by the unaminous request of the Conference held in Philadel-

* Hedding on the Discipline, p. 10.

† Sherman's "History of the Discipline," pp. 350, 351.

phia in September, 1792, and may be considered as expressing the views of that Conference, and of Bishop Asbury's relation to the true original character of the Methodist episcopacy.*

The Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1844 clearly sets forth the nature and duties of the office of Bishop. Among the duties it enumerates:—

> Confirming orders by ordaining Deacons and Elders. We say *confirming*, because the orders are *conferred* by another body, which is independent of the episcopal office both in its organization and action. This confirmation of orders, or ordination, is not by virtue of a distinct and higher *order*, for, with our great founder, we are convinced that Bishops and Presbyters are the same order in the Christian ministry, and this has been the sentiment of the Wesleyan Methodists from the beginning. But it is by virtue of an *office* constituted by the body of Presbyters for the better order of discipline, for the preservation of the unity of the Church, and for carrying on the work of God in the most effectual manner.†

The power of the Bishops was formerly much greater than they now have. Formerly a Bishop had power to negative any election of a Bishop, Elder, or Deacon, and to prevent any preacher from printing any thing which he did not approve. He could decide all the cases of *all*, preachers and people, who should appeal to him, and he was judge whether they should be expelled from, or retained in, the Church.‡

The General Conference from time to time has transferred a part of the Bishop's power to the Elders or to the laity.

At a Conference held in Kent County, Delaware, April 28, 1779, after determining the point that Mr. Asbury "ought to act as General Assistant in America," the question was asked, "How far shall his power extend?" Answer: On hearing every preacher for and against what is in debate, the right of determination shall rest with him, according to the Minutes.§

Debatable questions were not at that time determined by a majority of votes, but after discussion the President decided the point.

* See Emory's "Defense of our Fathers," p. 110. General Conference Journal for 1844, p. 209.

† General Conference Journal for 1844, p. 155.

‡ Hedding on the Discipline, p. 9.

§ Sherman's "History of the Discipline," p. 10.

Dr. Prentice says: "The superintendents of our Church derived their being and authority from Wesley's appointment and the concurrent voice of the assembled ministry, and they would naturally retain all the powers that had previously belonged to Mr. Wesley's assistants in America, *plus* the powers involved in episcopal ordination." He states there was "no serious change in episcopal powers and duties down to 1808." In this he is obviously mistaken, for no Bishop in 1808 could exercise several important powers connected with his office previous to 1784, and in several years following that date. The General Conference which instituted Methodist episcopacy as an office, having no inherent powers in itself, at different times modified it in several respects.

The appointing power belonged to the General Conference and by it was vested in the Bishops. This is evident from the nature of the case, inasmuch as in all that related to Church matters there was no limit to its powers. The Conference of 1784 organized, in the full sense of the term, an independent Church. It designated its officers, and prescribed the duties of ministers and members. With the same authority with which it declares the duties of Elders, Deacons, Class-leaders and Stewards, it speaks thus of the manner of constituting a Bishop, and of his duties and responsibilities:—

Ques. 2. How is a Bishop to be constituted in future?

Ans. By the election of a majority of the Conference, and the laying on of the hands of a Bishop.

Ques. 3. What is his duty?

Ans. To preside in our Conferences, to fix the appointments of the preachers for the several circuits; and in the intervals of the Conference to change, receive, or suspend preachers, as necessity may require; to travel through as many circuits as he can, and to direct in the spiritual business of the societies; as also to ordain Bishops, Elders, and Deacons.

N. B. The Bishop has obtained liberty, by the suffrages of the Conference, to ordain local preachers to the office of Deacons, provided, etc.

There is no recognition of a dependence on the authority or concurrence of Mr. Wesley. Indeed, there could be no more dependence on him in making and enforcing rules relative to Bishops than in those that pertain to private members of the Church. This Conference also asserted its authority over the

Bishops by declaring, "If he (a Bishop) ceases from traveling without the consent of the Conference, he shall not thereafter exercise any ministerial functions whatsoever in our Church." The doctrine here stated is in accordance with the views of eminent men and the authorities of the Church.

Dr. Bangs says: "With a view to keep up the itinerancy through the medium of our efficient general superintendency it had been established at the Christmas Conference, and incorporated as a rule of Discipline, that the power of appointing the preachers to their several stations should be invested in the Bishops." *

Bishop Emory quotes with approval from a letter of Rev. William Watters, in which he says of a Bishop: "He has also the stationing of all the traveling preachers, under certain limitations; which power, as it is given him by the General Conference, so it can be lessened or taken from him at any time the Conference sees fit." † Of the appointing power Bishop Emory says: "The power of stationing these preachers is certainly a great and weighty power, for the due and faithful exercise of which the Bishops should be carefully and watchfully held to a strict responsibility. But it is a power vested in them by the preachers themselves, and is liable to be modified, or to be wholly taken from them, whenever the body of preachers shall judge such a measure expedient or necessary. The weight of this power rests upon the itinerant preachers. But surely they, of all men, have the least right to complain of it, since the vesting of it and the continuing of it in the Bishops is their own voluntary act and choice." ‡

We present, as conclusive proof of our doctrine, and of its sanction by the fathers of our Church, the following extract from the Notes of Bishops Asbury and Coke on the Discipline. These Notes were prepared at the request of the General Conference, and were by it sanctioned and approved. "Mr. Wesley was the patron of all the Methodist pulpits in Great Britain and Ireland *for life*, the sole right of nomination being invested in him by all the deeds of settlement, which gave him exceeding great power. But the Bishops in America possess no such power. The property of the preaching houses is invested in

* Bangs' "History of the M. E. Church," vol. i, p. 344.

† "Emory's Defense of Our Fathers," p. 115. ‡ Ibid., p. 107.

the trustees, and the right of nomination to the pulpits in the General Conference, and in such as the General Conference shall from time to time appoint. . . . Here, then, lies the grand difference between Mr. Wesley's authority in the present instance, and that of our American Bishops. The former as, under God, the father of the Connection, was allowed to have the *sole legal independent* nomination of preachers to all the chapels; the latter are *entirely dependent* on the General Conference. But why, it may be asked, does the General Conference lodge this power of stationing preachers in the episcopacy? We answer, on account of their confidence in it. If ever, through improper conduct, it loses that confidence in any considerable degree, the General Conference will, upon evidence given, in a proportionable degree *take from it this branch of its authority.* But if ever it evidently betrays a spirit of tyranny or partiality, and this can be proved before the General Conference, the whole will be taken from it; and we pray God that in such case *the power may be invested in other hands.*" * This is certainly conclusive as a clear statement of the opinion of these Bishops, who entirely understood the economy of the Church, and also of the doctrine of the General Conference, that the appointing power was *solely* in the General Conference. It does not appear that its power was in any way limited by a necessity for the concurrent action of the Annual Conferences or of any other authority.

Dr. Prentice gives us positive assertions, which we cannot consider as authority; but will he, or any one who adopts his views, quote a single line from the Journals of the General Conference, or any opinion from any early leading member of our Church, contrary to the doctrine here advocated, or affirming that any General Conference previous to that of 1812 had any less power than that of 1784?

It should be observed that when it has been proposed to limit the power vested in the Bishops relative to the appointments, as in the controversy introduced by Mr. O'Kelley in 1792, the General Conference did not decide it had no control over this power, but voted, as having full control, that the Bishops should still appoint the preachers.

We now come to the consideration of the Deed of Settlement.

* Sherman's "History of the Discipline," pp. 347, 348.

It is well known that Dr. Prentice attaches much importance to this part of his article, and considers that he has proved beyond controversy that the General Conference never possessed the appointing power. This opinion he repeats in different parts of the article: "Having learned by incontrovertible evidence that the General Conference never was the sole legal possessor of all the pulpit patronage of our Churches, etc."—P. 324. "By showing that the rights of the Annual Conferences to pulpit patronage never were surrendered to the General Conference, we have inferentially shown that this latter body has not power of itself to change the mode of appointing Presiding Elders."—P. 313. "We have already shown that the General Conference never was the sole legal patron of our pulpits, and hence could not make its successor their exclusive patron."—P. 311.

He regards the Deed of Settlement as "the *Magna Charta* of the traveling preachers." He says the yearly Conferences were in it associated with the General Conference to protect the rights of the ministers who under its rules might not be members of the General Conference, and who, were it not for this provision in the Deed of Settlement, might be exposed "to the flagrant injustice" of being found "naked of all lawful claims to pulpit patronage."

With singular inconsistency he admits that without the concurrence of the Annual Conferences the General Conference could deprive ministers in full connection of membership therein; and, moreover, that, having decided that an Annual Conference had renounced its connectional ties and duties, it had power to declare it an unauthorized body, and deprived of the rights it, in common with others, had exercised. The point he denies seems insignificant compared with vastly greater power he freely concedes.

In his confidence in the correctness of his positions he assumes an arrogant tone of rebuke to the authors of the pamphlets reviewed, and states that they had not read the Deed of Settlement, and did not give due attention to the passages they bring forward. He "cannot help a gentle wonder" at the course of one of them, whom he pronounces as "quite too guileless." Notwithstanding all this, we assure Dr. Prentice that, having again read the Deed of Settlement, and again

given careful attention to the passages brought forward, we are prepared to affirm with emphasis the correctness of the statement in our pamphlet, that "the Deed of Settlement adopted in 1796 shows that the General Conference intended to retain this power of appointing preachers." The important clause in this instrument, and the one in controversy, is the requirement that the trustees of Methodist Churches shall forever permit "such ministers and preachers belonging to the said Church as shall from time to time be duly authorized by the General Conference of the ministers and preachers of the said Methodist Episcopal Church, or [authorized] by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference, and none others, to preach and expound God's holy Word therein."

The meaning would plainly seem to be that the use of the pulpits was secured to ministers directly authorized by the General Conference, or indirectly, through bodies to which it should give the power thus to do. The Annual Conferences derived all their power from the General Conference, and to them were committed the application of its rules and the carrying out of its plans. The General Conference determined the conditions of membership in the Conferences and of ordination, and committed to the Annual Conferences to decide who met these conditions. There is not a word in the Deed that asserts or implies independent power or concurrent action with the General Conference on the part of the Annual Conferences.

The relation of the General to the Annual Conferences is well stated in the Address to the Church of the General Conference of 1796, the one that formed the Deed of Settlement: "We think we have been as cautious as the nature of our case will admit to prevent hasty innovations. We have, therefore, on a former occasion, confined solely to the General Conference the work of revising our form of Discipline, reserving for the yearly Conferences the common business of the Connection, as directed by the form." It was the General Conference that established the "form," and gave to the Annual Conferences all their power. Of this Deed of Settlement Bishop Baker says in his work on the Discipline: "The fee of the land is vested in trustees, who hold the property in behalf of each respective society. The General Conference claims merely the right to supply the pulpit, by such means as it shall elect,

with duly accredited ministers and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 'who shall preach and expound God's holy Word therein.'" Still further: "As the Deed of Settlement secures the use of the pulpits, to 'preach and expound God's holy word therein,' to such ministers and preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church as the General Conference shall duly authorize, if the trustees should," etc.* Dr. Prentice, in his criticism on the pamphlets, says: "Now the men who adopted the Deed themselves say that to protect the property was the *sole* purpose of their action. 'Sole' means unaccompanied; hence a sole purpose must be unaccompanied by any covert act or open design to effect something else." But in thus saying he seems forgetful of his own declaration, that this Deed was purposely constituted, and in it were associated the Annual Conferences with the General Conference, to protect the rights of ministers who might not be members of the General Conference. He speaks of "the watchful care which so drew our deeds of trust as to protect the rights of every traveling preacher," and still further states that as there might be a large class of ministers "with unprotected rights of pulpit patronage," "our Deed of Settlement was jealously framed so as to render this flagrant injustice to any of our ministers forever impossible." He evidently gives to the "sole purpose" of the Deed of Settlement as wide a meaning as the authors he criticises. In interpreting the Deed the question arises, For whom or to whom was the property to be secured? and the evident answer as found in the Deed is, To the ministers and preachers either directly or indirectly authorized by the General Conference. Thus in this Deed the General Conference plainly expressed its power to make the appointments and its purpose to retain it. In the explanatory notes appended to the Deed, after giving the reason why the Deed was not incumbered with a recognition of the duties of Local Preachers, Stewards, and Leaders, the General Conference adds: "But we do hereby publicly declare that we have no design of limiting in the least degree the privileges of any of the public officers of our Society, but by this Deed solely intend to preserve the property of our Church by such a clear, simple specification as shall be fully and easily cognizable by the laws."

* Baker on the Discipline, ed. of 1874, pp. 178, 180.

This declaration was evidently designed to allay any fear that the General Conference intended to lessen the powers and privileges of any officers not named in the Deed. It will be observed that the General Conference simply declares it had no intention to make certain changes, but does not give the least intimation, nor does it otherwise appear, that it had not full power to make the changes feared, or any others deemed best. The Deed itself, in an important and controlling clause, requires the Trustees to act "according to the Rules and Discipline which from time to time may be agreed upon and adopted by the ministers and preachers of the said Church at their General Conferences in the United States of America." The General Conference is here recognized as having full power to change rules and regulations and this Deed. The General Conference of 1796 had no power to bind succeeding General Conferences relative to the continuance of any rule, or principle, or doctrine.

Dr. Prentice's argument can have no force unless it can be shown that the Deed of Settlement, or the important clause in question, was made by a power independent of the General Conference, or by the General Conference and some power whose concurrence was necessary, or that the Deed is of the nature of a contract with the Annual Conferences. No evidence has been brought forward, and we are confident none can be produced, in favor of either supposition.

The reference to the action of the General Conference of 1820 adds no force, but rather weakens his claim; as it only presents a delegated General Conference as simply affirming its authority with reference to the deeds by which property should be secured to the Church.

The full power of the first General Conferences over the Deed of Settlement will clearly appear when it is remembered that the delegated General Conferences of 1812 modified it,* and that of 1864 directed another Deed to be substituted for it.† Of what force is Dr. Prentice's statement that the Annual Conferences had a right of patronage to our pulpits based on the Deed of Settlement, when this Deed was originated and could be abrogated by the General Conference without consultation with the Annual Conferences, and when, as plainly appears, all

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, pp. 113, 114. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 264.

the rights and powers of the Annual Conferences were dependent on the will of the General Conference as first constituted? It is a singular attempt to show that there is a perpetual limitation to the powers of a deliberative body based on its own rules, which are subject to revision or repeal at any regular session.

When Dr. Prentice states: "It is important to insist upon the fact that down to the year 1808 the General and Annual Conferences had ever been the joint possessors of the patronage of our pulpits since these Conferences had grown up together," we do not understand his meaning. He gives no evidence that what he calls a joint possession of the patronage of our pulpits existed before 1796. The tenure by which Churches were held previous to that date was evidently defective, and varied in different cases and sections.

But what is meant by the right of patronage to our pulpits as possessed by an Annual Conference? The Annual Conferences never had the right, at least after 1784, to appoint ministers to the pulpits of the Churches. They cannot make a single appointment. All they ever could do, since the organization of the Church, is to decide who, under the rules of the General Conference, are proper persons to preach, and place them in the hands of the Bishop, who, by virtue of the authority vested in him, appoints them to the Churches. This is patronage in a very limited sense.

Of course, when property has actually been conveyed by deeds to trustees for the use of the Church, no one of the parties concerned can change privileges or conditions contained in the deeds; but without consulting the Annual Conferences, the General Conference may authorize a new form of deeds to be used hereafter, and the General Conference, the trustees, and the former owners of the property, or their representatives, may cause new deeds to be substituted for those first given. The Annual Conference is not one of the contracting parties. Its powers are wholly derived and its privileges conferred. It had formerly a modified veto on the sale of Church property, but this was removed by the General Conference of 1876.

The original Deed of Settlement used in England, from which the Deed of 1796 was formed, secured the full control over the pulpits to Mr. Wesley, who also had full control of the appoint-

ments of the preachers. Bishops Asbury and Coke in their "Notes on the Discipline," which were approved by successive General Conferences, unequivocally affirm that in our Church the power over the appointments which Mr. Wesley held belongs to the General Conference. It would naturally follow that the corresponding power over the pulpits would be transferred to the same body, and this the Deed of 1796 thus secures. And this Deed, formed after the model of the English Deed, gave no more power to the Annual Conferences than that gave to "such other persons as he [John Wesley] shall from time to time appoint." This phrase has a corresponding meaning to the phrase, "or by the yearly Conferences authorized by the said General Conference," in the Deed of 1796.

Dr. Prentice professes a jealous care for the rights of ministers not eligible to the General Conference. Our doctrine relating to the election of Presiding Elders will not lessen, but will increase the power and privileges of this, as well as other classes of ministers. They surely have no personal ground of complaint. If they claim that the ministers have a right in the control of the pulpits the General Conference cannot take away, we do them no wrong when we propose that they shall have the right to elect those who are the advisers of those making the appointments. Complaints are not usually made of the non-fulfillment of a contract when more is given than it requires.

Dr. Prentice's whole argument based on the Deed of Settlement is without foundation or force. His statements are positive, but hardly authoritative. He will confer a favor if, in addition to these, he will present a single sentence from the Journals of the General Conference, or from any reputable historian, or any other evidence, showing that the General Conference of 1808, and all preceding General Conferences, did not have all the power possessed by the Christmas Conference of 1784, or showing that the General Conferences from 1792 down to 1812 either submitted or recognized the necessity of submitting their action in any case to the approval of the Annual Conferences in order to make it valid. Between 1784 and 1792 changes in Church polity, rules and regulations, could be made by the concurrence of the Annual Conferences.

We think we have shown that previous to 1812 the powers

of the General Conference, so far as related to Church matters, were unlimited. It constituted the Annual Conferences, defined their powers, and prescribed their limits. It gave to the various Church officers their powers, and prescribed their duties. It made from time to time such modifications of their powers and duties as the interests of the Church seemed to require. It vested the appointing power in the Bishops, but still over it held control. In the conveyance of property to the Church it required a certain form of deed should be used, in which it plainly signified it retained control over the appointing power, and required that in the churches thus secured those whom it should directly or indirectly authorize should be permitted to preach and expound God's holy word. It was necessary to dwell at length on this point, as the main position of Dr. Prentice, on which his whole article depends, is that the General Conference did not possess the appointing power. We have also shown that there was in the episcopacy no power inherent, or in any way independent of the full control of the General Conference.

We next proceed to consider the powers of the General Conference as now constituted. In 1808 provision was made for a delegated General Conference with restricted powers, which first met in 1812. It possesses all the powers of former General Conferences, except so far as they were modified by six Restrictive Rules, which have been termed the "Constitution of the Church." It is important to notice that the Constitution of the Church differs essentially from that of the United States and others of a similar character. The various departments of the United States Government have only powers expressly conferred; all others are reserved to the States or the people. In the Constitution of the Church all the powers formerly exercised by the General Conference, which are not *expressly taken away*, belong to the delegated General Conference. It may do every thing not prohibited. The language is: "The General Conference shall have full power to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following limitations and restrictions." It is, therefore, plainly an error to say that the General Conference has simply delegated powers, that "it has simply delegated attributes," or that "it possesses not a particle of original administrative power." It is true, the high author-

ity of Bishop M'Kendree can be quoted in support of these views, who says, "Their [the General Conference] powers were expressed; what is not expressed is consequently withheld."* Bishop M'Kendree had higher ideas of the prerogatives of his office than would now be tolerated, and entertained opinions relative to the government of the Church that would now meet with no favor. He claimed that the Bishops are members of the General Conference, and that they have power to declare its action unconstitutional, and to suspend it in any given case till an appeal can be taken to the Annual Conferences. His language is:—

> The representatives and the General Superintendents who *compose* the General Conference do not act as separate and distinct bodies; yet such are their respective relations to their constituents that they form a check on each other in order to preserve the constitutional rights and privileges of the preachers and the people.... The Superintendents have no negative on the General Conference; but if that body should attempt to exceed the bounds of their delegated power the Superintendents may declare the procedure unconstitutional; and if it should remain a subject of dispute between the Conference and the Superintendents it must be referred to the Annual Conferences as a constitutional question. In this way the General Superintendency is a safe and easy check on the delegated Conference.†

His authority is greatly lessened by his misconceptions of the powers of the episcopacy and his extreme views of our Church government, which are plainly contrary to the Constitution, were never sanctioned by the usages of the Church, and are not supported by authority to-day. His disparaging views of the powers of the General Conference are a part of his erroneous system.

On this question our appeal is to the facts of the case, as set forth in the action of the Conference in 1808, and as they appear in the Constitution of the Church. We look to the Restrictive Rules not to ask what power is conferred, but what is *taken away*. The only part of the Constitution involved in this discussion is the third Restrictive Rule, which reads as follows: "They [the General Conference] shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general super-

* Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," vol. i, p. 416. † Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 364, 365.

intendency." The simple question is, Does this Rule deprive the General Conference of the power of controlling the appointments of Presiding Elders, and all other ministers, which it possessed when it was enacted, or forbid it to give to the Annual Conferences the power to elect the Presiding Elders? Only by a forced and unnatural construction can such an interpretation be given. Had it been the purpose of the authors to express this meaning it would have been given in far more direct and simple language.

It is admitted that the Rule limits the former powers of the General Conference; but to what does that limit apply? Judging from the language of the Rule and the well-known opinions of its authors, we are well persuaded only two things are guarded by this Rule; first, the preservation of the episcopacy and the form of government it implies. The General Conference may change, may extend or limit its powers, but they shall not do it away. The other point to be preserved is the itinerancy of the episcopacy. Its superintendence must be general, not local. Itinerancy is a peculiarity of our episcopacy. In all other episcopal Churches Bishops are local, and have a limited jurisdiction; but it is required of our Bishops that they shall not be diocesan, but that their superintendence shall be general, and that they shall oversee all the interests of the Church. The language of the Rule is strong, and allows great latitude of meaning. The General Conference shall not *do away* or *destroy* the episcopacy and its itinerancy, but may do all that does not fully amount to what these strong terms express.

In the debates of the General Conference of 1844, and in the papers prepared in relation to the great controversy of that time, there is a careful examination of the principles of the government and the usages of the Church.

In a very able report on the whole subject of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, adopted by that Church in its General Conference of 1845, there is a statement of doctrines relative to the government and usages of the Church, to which objection is made. It is correctly stated as the doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but deemed in the report very objectionable, that the six Restrictive Rules, adopted in 1808, and becoming obligatory in 1812, "are, in

fact, the true and only Constitution of the Church." Under this doctrine it is alleged, with the full force of the third Restrictive Rule in view, that "*the whole itinerant system, except general superintendency, is without protection in the Restrictive Rules.*" The italics are ours, but we see the interpretation that is given to the third Restrictive Rule. The report further states, "So far as the Restrictive Rules are concerned, the Annual Conferences are without protection, and might be destroyed by the General Conference at any time." "Very few indeed of the more fundamental and distinguishing elements of Methodism, deeply and imperishably imbedded in the affection and veneration of the Church, and vital to its very existence, are even alluded to in the Restrictive Rules." *

The statement as to the powers of the General Conference is clear and explicit, and it should be remembered that the question under consideration relates simply to the *fact*, and not to the wisdom, of giving it such power. There was a disposition, which we regard as wise, in the General Conference of 1808, to give to the delegated General Conference great power, and to trust to its wisdom and piety to promote the best interests of the Church and provide for the various exigencies that might arise. The Southern Church, while desiring additional restrictions to those named, does not quote any rule or historical fact sanctioning their claim; and it is an important fact that their lawyers, in the suits brought to recover their alleged share of the property, with all the opinions and advice of the ablest men in the Church, and the documents and full report of the debate of 1844 before them, adopted and urged the strongest theory of the widely extended powers of the General Conference, as limited only by the Restrictive Rules.

Much importance is attached to the fact that the General Conference of 1808 adopted as one of the rules for its government that "No old rule shall be abolished except by a majority of two thirds of the members present." A similar rule was adopted by preceding General Conferences. In all cases the rule had force only with the Conference adopting it, and was subject to repeal at any time.

It is a singular argument, that because the General Conference of 1808 chose to adopt a rule, which could at any time

* "Methodist Church Property Case," New York, p. 131.

during its session be repealed by a majority vote, that it would not change any old rule of the Church without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present, therefore it would not permit succeeding General Conferences to make any similar change under a less stringent rule. Dr. Prentice says, "We are to believe, then, that such a General Conference said to its successors of the delegated type, You shall have larger liberty than we ever exercised." We see nothing fearful or wonderful in this. It shows a commendable confidence in the piety and goodness of those to whom the future control of the Church should be given. We again call attention to the point that the question is simply what powers exist, not whether they should have been given. It is not an argument of much force that a historical fact never could have occurred or a law been enacted because conjectural evil would have resulted, and its use indicates a want of more positive arguments.

In his article in *Zion's Herald*, after quoting the general grant of power, "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church under the following restrictions," Dr. Prentice says, "Then follow the ponderous six 'they shall nots,' which are the sole earthly limitations of the power of our present General Conferences." Notwithstanding, then, his previous statements, he here unqualifiedly admits that so far as Church rules are concerned the General Conference has full power to do every thing not prohibited by the Restrictive Rules.

The denial of the power of the General Conference to modify the episcopacy would require that it should be left with all the powers, and in all respects as it existed in 1808. But the plain language of the Rule authorizes changes in the episcopal powers, and such changes the General Conference has repeatedly made with the sanction of the Church. It is vain to say that these changes are of a comparatively trifling character, since every change is, on this interpretation, a violation of the Constitution, and if changes are allowable the only limit is that named in the Rule: that the changes shall not amount to a destruction. The point those opposed to us must prove is that the election of Presiding Elders by the Annual Conferences would "do away episcopacy," or "destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Will any one

of them affirm that this destruction would take place should the General Conference authorize such an election? It is not enough to show that the episcopacy would be seriously crippled, which we by no means admit; but it must be proved, if their theory is correct, that it would be *destroyed.*

The interpretations of the third Restrictive Rule, and the arguments advanced by those who deny the constitutionality of the election of Presiding Elders, are various and diverse. Some maintain that the appointing power was so vested in the episcopacy, as one of its essential prerogatives, that over it the General Conference of 1808 had no control. This, as appears on examination, is a mere assumption, not supported by a single quotation from the records of the Church, or from Church historians, or by any opinions of the early leaders of the Church. Others claim that the Rule forbids the exercise of the power, which it is admited existed before its enactment. We have already considered this opinion, and will give it further attention. We would here, however, call particular attention to the fact that the General Conference, as now constituted, exercises the appointing power irrespective of the will of the Bishops. By virtue of its original power of appointing, not in any way affected by the Restrictive Rules, it takes men who have been made subject to the appointing power vested in the Bishops from their control, and makes them their equals in office, dignity, and power. It establishes Church offices, and appoints by its authority a number of men to fill them, who in early times would have constituted a large Conference. At the Annual Conferences the Bishops simply recognize these appointments, and assign those who hold them to their Quarterly Conferences. Should a Bishop appoint, without his consent, a General Conference officer as a preacher in charge of some Church at a distance from the place of his regular work, no one supposes that his authority would be respected, or that a preacher who under these circumstances should refuse to attend to the work assigned him by the Bishop could legally be brought to trial and made to suffer according to the provisions of Article 209 of the Discipline.

The power of the General Conference over the appointments is seen in the provision made for the presidency of an Annual Conference in case for any cause a Bishop shall fail to be

present. It gives the Bishop authority to appoint a president, but in case such an appointment shall not be made, or the person appointed shall not be present, it declares the Conference shall elect the president. Of course, he will have power to make the appointments as well as attend to other duties of the presiding officer. The power over the appointments is here fully claimed. It is evident that without the authority given in Article 76 of the Discipline a Bishop could not appoint a president to serve in his absence, whereas were the power over the appointments inherent in the office of Bishop only the episcopacy could provide for the exigency named.

The decisions and opinions of Bishop Hedding have ever been considered as high authority in all matters relating to Church law and discipline. In his discussion of the nature and rights of the Annual Conferences he affirms that the General Conference constitutes them, and authorizes them to act as Conferences, and governs them. It exercises over them a watchful oversight, and administers censure and reproof as circumstances may require. He then adds: "But should the majority of an Annual Conference become heretical, or countenance immorality, what can the General Conference do? Other remedies may answer in some cases, yet I know of only *one* that can be constitutionally administered in all cases. That is, Let the General Conference command the Bishops to remove the corrupted majority of an Annual Conference to other parts of the work, and scatter them among other Annual Conferences where they can be governed, and supply their places with better men from other Conferences."*

Of course, this language implies that the General Conference, having the original power to secure the object claimed, *commands* the Bishops, as its agents, to execute its directions. As a Bishop is amenable to the General Conference for his conduct, a disobedience of its positive commands would render him liable to censure or expulsion. In this language of Bishop Hedding the full control of the General Conference over the appointing power is forcibly and unequivocally asserted.

The view of the Bishops as to the control of the appointments is indicated in the Episcopal Address of 1840, signed by R. R. Roberts, Joshua Soule, E. Hedding, James O. Andrew,

* Hedding on the Discipline, p. 26.

B. Waugh and Thomas A. Morris, in which they submit to the General Conference for decision the question: "Is an appointment under this provision [for the appointment of preachers to seminaries of learning, etc.] discretionary with the Superintendent, or does the request of an Annual Conference create an obligation as a matter of duty, as in the case of appointments in the districts and circuits?"* If they thought the request of an Annual Conference to appoint a designated preacher to a particular place might be binding, how manifest is it that they would regard the action of the General Conference as imperative?

The decision of the General Conference was that the request of an Annual Conference relative to the appointment was not binding. The Committee on Education stated in their report, which was adopted, that "they did not believe that the Conference should make any regulation controlling or limiting the episcopal power of stationing the preachers." But the Conference does not declare, as it would have been natural to do had it so believed, that it had no power to limit and control the stationing power.

In 1820 and since, especially in 1876, much stress was laid on the word *plan*, in the Restrictive Rule, and it is claimed that in it is embraced the power of appointing Presiding Elders and other preachers, and every thing else connected with the itinerancy. All this rests on a misapprehension of the Rule, for it has not been shown that it refers to the appointing power, and no one will deny that episcopacy and itinerant general superintendency would exist if the appointing power were given to other hands. The word superintendency adds nothing to episcopacy; both express the same idea, as the words "bishop" and "superintendent" with us have the same meaning; and the word "plan" does not extend the meaning of the other two words, and can refer to nothing they do not comprehend. The plan of a treaty or the plan of a constitution can comprehend no more than is included in the words treaty and constitution. The simple and only ideas contained in the Rule are that the episcopacy shall be retained, and the Bishops shall not be local or diocesan, but shall itinerate, and each shall have a general superintendence of the Church.

* General Conference Journal for 1840, p. 145.

The word "plan" seems to be a convenient and popular word in discussions relative to Methodist usages, rules, and regulations. In the General Conference of 1844 an important committee made a report consisting of ten resolutions, which were almost immediately termed the "Plan of Separation." In the subsequent discussions in the United States courts more than a hundred times this report was termed the "Plan of Separation," which did not include as essential all the items, but the report as a whole. All the modifications made by the Conference did not render the term inappropriate. Relative to this word Dr. Wise says: "In studying the real import of the term 'plan,' in this rule, the reader should remember three things: 1. That superintendence is an essential feature or form of every form or plan of episcopacy. 2. That in all other episcopal Churches the plan of a diocesan and limited supervision obtains. 3. Our fathers had determined that the plan of the superintendency in our Church should be itinerant and general in its character. Hence they said in this rule, The General Conference shall not destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency."

In the earlier discussions of the Presiding Elder question it does not appear that the argument founded on the word plan was used. As we cannot follow the example set us, and substitute imaginings for history, we can state but little of the arguments used by Bishop Soule. It is known that Bishops M'Kendree and Soule held similar views relative to the high prerogatives of the episcopal office, and there is reason to believe there was a substantial agreement in their views on the Presiding Elder question. Bishop M'Kendree has stated his views at length. He used no refinement of argument relative to the difference between destroying the *plan* of the itinerant general superintendency and the general superintendency itself, but made the sturdy claim that the itinerant general superintendency was vested in the Bishops, and meant the same thing as the "Duties of a Bishop," as stated in the Discipline, and that the powers and duties of the Bishop's office, including the selection of the Presiding Elders, were prescribed before the delegated General Conference had existence, and by the same authority that created it; and that the delegated General Conference not only had not power to abolish the office, but had not authority to

take away or modify its powers. He attached great force to the duty of a Bishop "to travel through the connection at large;" "to *oversee* the spiritual and temporal business of the Church," was a favorite phrase, and he claimed that it included the power of appointing and controlling the preachers, and especially the Presiding Elders, because they are authorized to exercise the powers of general superintendents, except that of ordination.

Bishop M'Kendree refers to the third Restrictive Rule as guarding the general superintendency and the continuance of the episcopacy, but, as already said, bases his main argument on the alleged fact that the powers of the General Conference are delegated, and that no authority was given it over the powers and prerogatives of the Bishops, which were established by the same authority that formed the General Conference. Another expression of his opinion is in the following language:—

> The case is fairly thus: The office of Presiding Elder was created, the duties of that office appointed, and power to discharge those duties conferred by the preachers collectively, which the Bishops have no authority to abolish. They may choose and change the officer, but cannot abrogate the office, nor its powers and rights. In like manner, the office of a Bishop was constituted, the duties of that office appointed, and power to discharge those duties conferred by preachers collectively, over which the delegated General Conference has no control. The General Conference is authorized to elect and consecrate a Bishop, and the man so consecrated is invested with the powers of a general Superintendent, and is amenable to the body for the administration; consequently *he* is under their control, but they have no power to do away the *office*, or divest the Bishop of power to perform the duties of his office. Therefore it is not within the limits of the delegated Conference's power to effect such a change in the system of government."*

Such was the open line of argument formerly adopted, which would be conclusive were it not plainly the fact that the premises are incorrect. It proceeds, as we have already shown, on a strange misinterpretation of the third Restrictive Rule. But if M'Kendree and others contend that the Constitution does not give to the General Conference power to provide for the election of Presiding Elders, we, on the other hand, affirm, referring to its plain language, that it does not take away this power, and that, of course, it continues.

* Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," vol. ii. p. 369.

In the discussion of this part of the subject Dr. Prentice gives a good illustration of his peculiar style of reasoning, based chiefly on assumptions and his own unsupported opinions. He makes, without reason or evidence, a charge of forgetfulness against Dr. Durbin, who, he alleges, based his whole argument on a gravely erroneous assumption, and he then refers to a quotation made by Dr. Wise from the speech of Bishop Hamline in 1844, wherein, speaking of the full power of the delegated General Conference, he says:—

> Full powers for what? For two things: First, to make rules, that is, legislation, sir, as it stands related to other powers of the Conference. But is this all it can do? No. It has full power also to make regulations for the government of the Church. What is a regulation? To appoint a preacher to a field of labor is a regulation. To elect and empower a Bishop to do this for us is a regulation. To remove him to another field of labor is a regulation. To elect and empower a Bishop *to do this for us* is a regulation. Now, "What a man does by another he does himself," is a maxim in law. The General Conference may make these regulations without a Bishop, and leave him a less onerous superintendence; or the Conference may make these regulations by a Bishop, and multiply the toils of his superintendency." *

In the reply we are told that Bishop Hamline made the same mistake as Dr. Durbin, and that his speech "was written and polished and committed to memory under circumstances which left no time for a historical study of the complicated questions involved. The speech itself shows that its author had not studied the question in the light of our denominational history." Is this a satisfactory answer to such important statements from such high authority?

Dr. Durbin was the chairman of the committee that presented the reply, of which he was the author, to the protest of the members of the Southern Conferences, and must have carefully studied the points involved. The charge that he and Bishop Hamline, both of whom recognize the full force of the Restrictive Rules, confounded the powers of the delegated General Conference with those of the preceding Conferences, seems to us somewhat arrogant. We will not follow the example given, and intimate a want of "candor" or an "evasion" on his part, nor will we undertake to proclaim that he was clearly

* See Dr. Wise's Tract on "The Appointing Power," etc., p. 10, and "Debates in General Conference of 1844," p. 131.

troubled by a "secret consciousness" of difficulty in attempting to maintain his positions. Of what really passed in his secret consciousness we pretend to know nothing. His regular course in this part of the discussion is to state what he regards as the argument, and then, having given his own unsupported denial, to pronounce it a "*non sequitur*," with full confidence he has as effectually silenced his opponents, as Sydney Smith silenced the woman in the fish-market by calling her a parallelopipedon. He thus proceeds to enumerate eleven "*non sequiturs*." This may be a seemingly learned mode of reasoning, but is not very conclusive to those who have no fear of "words of learned length and thundering sound." Perhaps it may be found that the most manifest *non sequitur* is his application of the term to the propositions criticised. It is, of course, an accident, somewhat singular in this case—although it would not have been thus had it happened to the object of his harsh criticism, who makes no claim to accuracy in the graces of composition—that he should use the phrase *non sequitur* twelve times, and each time write it "*non sequiter*." The convenient printer can hardly be held accountable for this error. Our limits will not permit us to notice the misconceptions and consequent perversions of our statements, relative to which we make no charge of intentional wrong; but we take the liberty to call attention to his criticism of the third point in our pamphlet, termed by him *non sequitur* "number three." We affirmed that the Bishops and others had repeatedly used the phrase in the third Restrictive Rule "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency" as synonymous with "itinerant general superintendency," and we referred to them in confirmation of our view that the sole design of the rule was to guard against diocesan episcopacy, and secure a general superintendency of the Bishops. Our meaning is plain, as we also affirmed that "the two forms of expression have the same meaning." We are treated to a captious criticism and an apparently learned discussion of the difference between synonyms and pseudo-synonyms. We are informed that our "logical blunder," which makes our argument a "sophism," a "paralogism," lies in confounding these two terms, or "in assuming things which are more or less different from each other, but are precisely alike." It is affirmed "that the shade of difference,

which is ignored in the argument, covers the whole point in debate." Is this simple assertion conclusive? It may be it would have been better not to use in its connection the term synonymous; but we are quite content to share in the error with respectable writers who have made of it a similar use.

We are rebuked for our want of candor in giving our interpretation to a document signed by Bishop Soule. Will he produce a single line from the writings of Bishop Soule before 1820, or even at that time, or any authority, that he used the argument based on the word "plan," or sanctioned the interpretation of the third Restrictive Rule given by our opponents? We are aware that Bishop Soule believed that the election of Presiding Elders was unconstitutional, but after considerable search we have not found his line of argument, which we have conjectured was similar to that of Bishop M'Kendree, as it is apparent there was a substantial agreement in their views relative to the powers of the episcopacy. Having proved that the appointing power down to 1812 was under the control of the General Conference, we then gave reasons for the opinion that this power, not being removed by the Constitution, still remains in the General Conference. For various reasons that we regard as strong and conclusive, prominent among which we placed the history of the adoption of the Constitution, we gave as the interpretation of the third Restrictive Rule that it was designed simply to perpetuate the episcopacy, and a general, in opposition to a diocesan, episcopacy. In the propositions disposed of by Dr. Prentice in so summary a manner we gave quotations from Bishops, eminent lawyers, and others, confirmatory of our view, and confirming also our statement that "the plan of our itinerant general superintendency" means no more than our itinerant general superintendency, there being in the use of these phrases not a single intimation that one contained more than the other.

Being aware that some would concede the partial correctness of our interpretation, but would also claim that much more is signified in the Rule, we presented the opinions of so many eminent men, given under circumstances so diverse, as showing how the Rule was regarded and understood. Will those opposed to us present, from the history of the Church or its authorities, any such incidental or other quotations confirm-

atory of their views? It is singular, if their views are plainly correct, that the eminent authorities quoted did not, in their references to the Rule, give a single intimation that they so understood it. Without further discussion we are ready to leave the pretentious criticism on pages 323 and 324 of Dr. Prentice's article to the judgment of candid readers.

We now come to the consideration of the history of the Restrictive Rules with confidence that its candid examination will strongly confirm the views of the friends of an elective Presiding Eldership. Dr. Prentice gives the history as he understands it, but in nearly all important points it is made up of his unsupported assertions, and is fanciful and imaginary. When his article was read to the New England Conference, at the session of 1878, the correctness of his historical statements was very emphatically denied. However indifferent he might be to this denial, he cannot be thus to the opinions of his readers, who will want the proof hitherto vainly asked for. It seems incredible that he should suppose the Church will receive such unsupported statements as historic truth. They are well calculated to mislead those not well acquainted with the controversies of times past. As a part of the imaginary history he gives an account of the reasons that led to the selection of the committee of fourteen and the sub-committee of three, and also states the prominent subjects of discussion in the committee, but gives no proof that the subject was even so much as named in the committee. He makes disparaging remarks relative to men eminent for integrity and piety, and imputes motives to them not higher than those which control a political ring, whose members seek only their own advancement. He charges that Ezekiel Cooper purposely made his report vague, and doubts whether Jesse Lee's argument for the selection of the members of the General Conference by seniority presents his real objections to the Constitution, but suggests that he used it as a plausible argument, and the only one policy would permit him to present. He represents the members of the Conference as inclined to shape the Constitution so as to favor their own interests, and Ezekiel Cooper and Jesse Lee as restraining their convictions and ceasing to defend their opinions lest they should ruin their influence with the Conference. Such is not the character given these men in the history of our Church or

by their contemporaries. Surely it is not a sign of confidence in the goodness of a cause when a resort must be had to such arguments to sustain it. The friends of an elective Presiding Eldership present, in confirmation of their theory, the facts so well known in our history relative to the provisions for the delegated General Conference. The General Conference of 1808, which in accordance with the general wish of the Church made these provisions, referred the subject to a committee of fourteen, consisting of two from each Conference, chosen by the delegates thereof. This action was taken on the morning of May 10. In the afternoon the subject of the general superintendency, which evidently needed strengthening, was considered. There was a marked diversity of opinion as to what should be done. There were strong advocates for a modified diocesan episcopacy. They advocated the discontinuance or serious modification of the office of Presiding Elder, and the election of seven Bishops, one for each Conference, with Bishop Asbury at their head as a kind of presiding Archbishop. Prominent among these was Ezekiel Cooper, and prominent among the opponents of the measure was Joshua Soule. Others proposed that two additional Bishops should be appointed, and strongly urged the superiority of an itinerant general superintendency over all other systems for the unity and prosperity of the Church. Another party, agreeing with the general views just mentioned, nevertheless thought that only one additional Bishop was required. The following motions were made and entertained:— Moved by Stephen G. Roszel, and seconded by John Pitts, that one person be elected and ordained as joint Superintendent or Bishop with Bishop Asbury. Moved by Daniel Ostrander, and seconded by *Joshua Soule*, that two persons be elected and ordained instead of one, as stated in Brother Roszel's motion. Moved by John M'Cluskey, and seconded by *Ezekiel Cooper*, that seven be added to the Superintendency.* Their different views were "largely and ably discussed by some of the leading members of the Conference on each side. A vote having been taken on each proposition, it was decided with great unanimity to elect one Bishop, and William M'Kendree was declared duly elected to the office." This occurred in the afternoon of May 12.

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, pp. 79, 80.

It will be remembered that at this very time the subject of a delegated General Conference was under consideration by the committee of fourteen. At the first meeting of the committee, after some discussion it was resolved to appoint a sub-committee of three to prepare the plan and report the next morning. The sub-committee consisted of Messrs. Soule, Cooper, and Bruce. After consultation they agreed that at a meeting to be held the next morning each should present a draft of a plan, and that they should then agree on a report to the general committee. When they met, Mr. Cooper and Mr. Soule each produced a paper, but Mr. Bruce had no written report; he favored Mr. Soule's plan, which was reported to the full committee. The chief difference between these two plans was in the third Restrictive Rule, while in other respects there was a general agreement. In Mr. Cooper's plan the third Restrictive Rule read thus: "They shall not do away episcopacy, nor reduce our ministry to a presbyterial parity." In Mr. Soule's plan it was thus stated: "They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy, or to destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Both agree in preserving the episcopacy, and we shall understand the cause of their difference when we remember that Mr. Cooper desired to have a diocesan episcopacy, and that seven Bishops should be appointed; hence he made no provision to secure an itinerant general superintendency. Mr. Soule, who advocated the election of two Bishops, was strongly opposed to a diocesan episcopacy, and with great earnestness insisted on the importance of a general superintendency. These facts show us where lay the great difference in the two plans, and also that the rule was designed to perpetuate a general, in opposition to a diocesan episcopacy. There was opposition to the report in the committee, but it was more general and decided in the Conference. Mr. Lee was the most prominent opponent in both. He strongly urged that the General Conference should be constituted by seniority rather than by election. By his arguments and efforts the report was rejected by a vote of 64 to 57. This defeat was a cause of great sorrow and anxiety, and there was danger that a large number of delegates would retire from the Conference, and that very serious consequences would result. Kind and prudent counsels

of able men prevailed, and a reconsideration of the measure was secured. An amendment, proposed by Mr. Soule and adopted, removed the chief cause of Mr. Lee's opposition, and after some other modification the report was adopted and became what is called the Constitution of the Church.

Much importance is attached by our opponents to a matter which they incorrectly state. They affirm that while the adoption of the Constitution was pending "Ezekiel Cooper moved to suspend the discussion for the introduction of a proposition to make the office of Presiding Elder elective." The motion first introduced by Mr. Cooper was "To postpone this present question, to make room for the consideration of a new resolution, as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject." He did not name the subject, and it does not appear that the majority of the General Conference knew the nature of the subject he intended to introduce. This motion having been adopted, he then moved that "each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own Presiding Elders."

Motions such as Mr. Cooper's, for the postponement of the subject under consideration, are not unusual in deliberative bodies. Why he made his motion we do not know, and mere conjectures are of little value. Had he been able to secure the adoption of his favorite measure, it may be, as Dr. Wise suggests, "it is not unlikely he would have tried to intrench it within the Constitution by a positive provision." That he did not consider the election of Presiding Elders as precluded by the Constitution is evident from the support he gave it and his advocacy of his measure in successive General Conferences. Had he so regarded the Constitution his proper motion would have been for an amendment thereto. There is not a particle of evidence that the Presiding Elder question was so much as named in the discussions on the Constitution, either in the committee or Conference, nor is there an intimation that it in any way affected the appointing power. The friends of an elective Presiding Eldership voted for the Constitution, not understanding, of course, that it prohibited a measure to which they were so ardently attached. The assertion that nearly all of the General Conference of 1808, and more than two thirds of the General Conference of 1820, and also the large minori-

ties in 1812 and 1816, believed that after the adoption of the Constitution the General Conference could not constitutionally provide for the election of Presiding Elders, is preposterous, and implies an impeachment of their intelligence or integrity.

It has been repeatedly but erroneously stated that while the *third Restrictive Rule* was under discussion the question was postponed on motion of Mr. Cooper till the Conference could determine its action on the proposition to allow the Annual Conferences to choose by ballot their Presiding Elders. Now let it be observed that the third Restrictive Rule was only one of several regulations presented for consideration, and that the *whole report* was before the Conference, and, as a report, was postponed. There is not the least evidence either that the third Restrictive Rule was opposed, or that it was considered as in any way affecting the question of electing Presiding Elders. The opposition to the report had reference to other provisions which were named in the discussion.

The argument that Mr. Cooper's motion for postponement of the discussion on the Constitution, showed that in his opinion his proposed measure could not be adopted after the Constitution should be passed, is an old one, being used by Bishop M'Kendree, by the author of an article in the April number of this Review for 1876, and being prominent in the debates of the General Conference of 1876. It is strange that the fallacy of this argument did not occur to those who have used it. As Dr. Wise states, the Constitution was wholly *prospective* in its bearings. The Conference of 1808 possessed unrestricted powers up to the hour of its adjournment. It could pass or overthrow any measure as it might deem advisable. Dr. T. E. Bond says of it, "It was invested with powers of government limited only by the laws of the Supreme Lawgiver."

But it is said that Bishop Soule, who was the chief author of the Constitution, believed that this third Restrictive Rule rendered the election of Presiding Elders unconstitutional. Is there a shadow of proof that, either in 1808 or afterward, Bishop Soule entertained this opinion? If so, let it be produced. That Bishop Soule believed the elective principle we advocate unconstitutional, we grant; but, so far as we know, he has not left to us the nature of his argument. We have already given reasons for supposing his opinions agreed substantially with

those of Bishop M'Kendree. It is, moreover, a well-known fact that every deliberative body interprets its own rules, and while the opinion of the author of a rule will have great weight it has no binding force. We would not seem dogmatic, but having diligently and vainly searched for the evidence on which the important assertions made by the other side rest, we respectfully call for their production. In his attempts to sustain the argument based on the word plan, Dr. Prentice praises highly the severe taste and the simplicity of the style of Bishop Soule as a writer. We make no objection, but would simply remark that a part of the modifications of his report were changes to render its style more simple, and the pruning it of redundant words.

As the election of Presiding Elders had been brought so prominently before the General Conference, had there been an intention to deprive the General Conference of the power to authorize the measure, would not the prohibition have been expressed in language too plain to be misunderstood? Is it not utterly preposterous to suppose that it would have been expressed in language so cumbrous and vague that a large part of the body that adopted it, including many of its ablest men, did not understand it?

We consider it a very strong point in favor of our interpretation of the Constitution that Jesse Lee, one of the ablest members of the General Conference of 1808, and one of the strongest and most persistent advocates of the election of Presiding Elders, moved the adoption of this very third Restrictive Rule. Of course, he did not understand that it prohibited a measure unto which he had given so much time and earnest attention. Dr. Prentice is so hard pressed by this fact that he alleges Mr. Lee made the motion from motives of policy, and intimates that he did it insincerely.

In reply to the assertion that if Messrs. Lee and Cooper had understood this rule as prohibiting the election of Presiding Elders, having voted for the Rule, they could not afterward, in the General Conferences and elsewhere, have advocated their favorite measure, he says: "We answer that men are pretty apt to find ways of doing what they wish to do." We protest that this is monstrous and shameful. Jesse Lee and Ezekiel Cooper were honest Christian men, who would have

held the conduct ascribed to them in contempt. They sincerely supported the third Restrictive Rule, and honestly advocated the election of Presiding Elders, believing that these measures are not inconsistent with each other. They would neither lie nor act under false pretenses.

Dr. Prentice must have higher ideas of the motives that govern good men than he shows in his article. Having to his own satisfaction accounted for the conduct of Lee and Cooper, he affirms that we can give no reasonable account of the conduct of Bishops M'Kendree and Soule. He asks triumphantly, as though he were making a conclusive point:—

> Why did Soule object to the constitutionality of the action of the General Conference of 1820 in making the Presiding Elders elective? His brethren had just elected him Bishop, and his friends were anxious to put such a man as himself into the episcopacy as a protection against radicalism; the Bishops were ready to ordain him. Why does Joshua Soule take the decision to protest against the unconstitutionality of an elective Presiding Eldership at the very moment when his protest may arrest his ordination, or lead to the resignation of his new honors? Do men who desire a good work commonly throw away such a position when it has honorably come to them? Do they act thus upon a whim, upon uncertainty? Why does Bishop Soule wait four years longer before accepting consecration after a first election? Why does M'Kendree pursue his remarkable course on the question unless he knew beyond a shadow of doubt that the legislation he denounced as unconstitutional really was so? Such conduct upon the part of these men cannot be explained upon the theory of our good friends without extreme violence to all reasonable probabilities of the case.

We see no difficulty in the case. We have not impeached the sincerity or questioned the motives of these good men. Their conduct was such as good men ought ever to manifest. They did not weigh personal considerations of advantage against the convictions of duty. We believe, however, that Bishop M'Kendree was a man of too good sense to avow that his opinion on the constitutional question, opposed as he was to so many men of pure character and high intelligence, was true beyond a *shadow of doubt.* And we regard him as a man of too great piety to refuse to suffer for conscience' sake unless he had so strong an assurance of the correctness of his convictions.

We think the opponents of an elective Presiding Eldership

do not consider the meaning of the strong terms "*destroy*" and "*do away*" in the Restrictive Rule. Such terms allow great changes in the institutions to which they are applied; but, in forgetfulness of this, it is urged that all changes are forbidden. In the General Conference of 1876 Dr. Reynolds, having affirmed that in the *plan* of our itinerant General Superintendency there were secured to the Bishops, beyond the interference of the General Conference, "the appointment of the Presiding Elders, the appointment of the preachers, and *every thing else connected with the itinerancy*," urged that the right to take away or destroy any part of this plan would involve the right to destroy the whole. His words are: "To say you may take away a part and not the whole is an absurdity in reason, as it is absurd in fact. It is a maxim that you cannot do by piecemeal what you cannot do at once and as a whole."

According to this view it would appear, using substantially Bishop George's illustration, that if permission was given to any one to take a twig or a graft from a tree, or a direction given to remove useless limbs, he would have authority to cut down the tree and take the stock, branches, and roots away, as the power to prune implies the right to destroy. Or we may ask, with more direct application to the case in view, does the prohibition to a gardener to destroy a tree prohibit him from so pruning it as to give it better shape and increased fruitfulness, or from removing superfluous branches or limbs that endanger its safety? A modification of an instrument often, so far from destroying it, renders its meaning clearer and its force more effective. A modification of a house, in a new arrangement of rooms and halls, may better secure the design for which it was built. A chartered road between two cities may have needless and dangerous windings and steep ascents, which a modification may remove, and render it, as a means of communication, more direct and less difficult. A machine may be needlessly complicated, and require much power to secure its action; a modification may remove useless parts and make the action more simple and direct; as a consequence of the change it may be stronger, more rapid in movement, and every way more effective, and at the same time less expensive in construction, and requiring less power in operation. It is evident in many cases, when the design of any document or institution is considered,

a change is neither an utter nor a partial destruction. It is an act of injustice and a willful wrong to allege that the friends of an elective Presiding Eldership are striving to destroy the institutions of the Church, or to revolutionize its government. They do not seek to destroy the episcopacy or do away with the plan of our itinerant general superintendency. They believe that by their plan the highest efficiency would be given to the itinerancy of the ministry, and the best interests of the Church would be preserved. We have endeavored to show that the election of Presiding Elders by the General Conference is constitutional, but we must regret that we have not now space to discuss the expediency and desirableness of the measure.

Art. VI.—THE NEGRO EXODUS.

The migration of Negroes from the Southern States of America has been going on for many years. As slavery came to be permanently established in these States, it was only natural that the victims of that institution should desire to live somewhere else. That desire was intensified, and the efforts to gratify it became more persistent, as the slaves multiplied in numbers and became more intelligent; and, also, in proportion as they were aided directly, as far as could be, by the enemies of slavery, and indirectly by the humane and Christian efforts of slave-holders whose interest made them such in spite of their conscientious scruples. Every thing that was done to better the moral and intellectual condition of those in bondage only the more fully revealed to them their deplorable condition, and intensified their desire and determination to be free; and freedom was impossible, except in rare cases, only as they could escape from the South. Slave-holders always said it was the agitations of Northern abolitionists which made their bondmen discontented. Not so. The North had been party with the South to the sin of slavery, until, in part because that institution was found to be unsuited to Northern industries, but chiefly because it was wrong, its total abolition in the Northern States was decided upon. But, unfortunately, what the North considered wrong for itself, and would not have, it was willing the South should

have, and was ready, for reasons of political and financial gain, to help protect and extend in the Southern States, until 1852, when the whole nation bowed down to the slave power, and passed the Fugitive Slave Law. The South demanded and received the help of the North to prevent its slaves from migrating. The antislavery agitators could never have aroused the antislavery sentiment of the North as they did, had they not had the horrors of slavery personified in fugitives who escaped across the border. The number of these increased year by year, and the stories of their lives were published broadcast, and discussed at Northern firesides, and repeated first from a few, and then from many, pulpits and rostrums. One fugitive slave in the neighborhood for twenty-four hours settled the sentiment of that group of people. From that time the conscience of that neighborhood was right, and its best men were ready to listen to the harangues and plans of the abolitionists. There were thirty thousand Negroes in Canada when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, most of whom had escaped from slavery. The migration of this vast number to Canada, having in each case to pass through one or more Northern States, did more to settle the convictions of thoughtful men in the North against slavery, and to rouse the indignation of the masses of the same section against that institution, than all other influences combined. It was not until Christ, the incarnate God, was in the midst of men, hungering and fainting and dying, that the fullness of time for the world's redemption came. Men need the presence of suffering to awaken their deepest sympathies and faith. So it was that, as the hell of American slavery stood illustrated in the hungry, fainting, and dying fugitive, the time for the destruction of that institution drew nigh. The fugitive slave exodus was the *first voluntary Negro exodus* in this country, and it was God's chief method of awakening the American conscience toward slavery, which in the end demanded its destruction. The present Exodus may prove to have an equally providential purpose, in completing the salvation of the Africo-American in our midst from the thralldom of a bondage to race prejudices and persecutions, scarcely less endurable in many parts of the land than was slavery itself.

The growth of the Exodus sentiment among the freedmen

has been constant, in one or more of the Southern States, ever since emancipation. Not, however, till in the early spring of the present year, 1879, did it develop into a stampede from several parishes of Louisiana and counties of Mississippi. Since then the movement has reached other States, and threatens to become general.*

Every freedman knew from the first that emancipation was accepted by the South as a necessity, and feared that in proportion as its old leaders should return to power the effort would be made to re-establish permanently by law, in some form, the old relative positions between the whites and blacks. The next census will show a much larger Negro population in all the Northern States than those who have not studied this subject suspect. Kansas had fifteen thousand before the present Exodus began. Keokuk, Iowa, and Cairo, Illinois, had several hundred Negro voters. Chicago and every large Northern city had several hundred colored children in their public schools, most of whose parents have come from the South since the war. As a rule, these emigrants have done well. The parents have work, the children are in school, the men vote as they please, and homes of their own can be secured with reasonable effort.

These people have year after year communicated with their friends, and their improved condition as compared with the vast majority left behind has afforded a constant argument among those friends to leave the South.

As early as 1869 an organized movement began in Tennessee, among the freedmen, to colonize in Northern and Western States, and several colonies, numbering from one to three hundred each, were, up to last year, settled in the West. A similar movement has been operating in Kentucky. In 1874–75 portions of Louisiana were cursed with political mobs and persecutions, which spent their fury chiefly upon colored voters. During those eventful years the plantation laborers organized a secret colonization council. It began in Caddo Parish, and

* It is the opinion of both those who favor and those who oppose the Exodus, that when the present crops are gathered, and the colored people have more money, and the sickly season is past, and all quarantines removed, there will be a much more general movement. This will be during the coming fall and winter. Mr. Haralson, a prominent ex-Congressman, (colored,) who opposes the Exodus, thinks that fifteen thousand will start in the fall from one Congressional District alone, in Alabama.

spread rapidly through the cotton belt of Louisiana, and into Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas. The number enrolled in May, 1879, was 92,800 men, women, and children over twelve years. Politicians knew nothing of this organization, and it is a remarkable fact that the prominent politicians of the South have been almost every-where ignored in this movement.

Up to this time in nearly every Southern State a convention of colored people has been held, and a more or less perfect State organization effected, to direct and promote migration northward. The almost universal sentiment among the Negroes is that unless the existing evils in the South affecting them are mitigated, their only hope for the future is to migrate.

Local associations and organizations are springing up everywhere. The benevolent societies, of which there are legions among the colored people, as well as Churches, are sending out agents to find locations for colonies. The late Baptist Association for the colored Churches in Louisiana, representing two hundred Churches, organized itself into a colonization association, and made the pastor and an elder of each Church an advisory committee. In New Orleans there are three well-organized associations to promote and assist the movement, and during last July two hundred families left that city and vicinity. In the central and eastern South the movement is daily gaining in strength and importance. The secresy of many Exodus organizations often prevents the facts from being known to the Southern press until there is some decided movement, which is then usually explained as the work of "land agents" or "emissaries" from the North. Many facts are known of the movement which are never published. Up to September seven thousand Negroes had gone to Kansas, and perhaps as many more to other States during the six months previous.*

The absurd attempt has been made to place the responsibility of this Negro Exodus upon influences from the North. The fugitive slave exodus was a chief promoter of abolitionism, and so now, if the Negroes of the South were satisfied with their situation and prospects, no sort of outside efforts could induce

* The course of the Southern press toward this Negro Exodus is characteristic of this section. Facts are suppressed. There is no secular "opposition press" to Southern sentiment in the South except a few papers of very limited circulation, so the nation hears but one side from the South.

them to leave the South. A committee of Kentuckians protested against the Emancipation Proclamation to Mr. Lincoln just before he issued it, on the ground that if free the negroes would run away and the South be ruined. The reply was that "they will not run away unless they have something to run for." Mr. Lincoln was right. Negroes are as other people. Contented populations do not migrate.

There is no good reason why the North should desire any general exodus of colored people from the South. Practically, the North is Republican, and so are Negroes, and the South is Democratic. So it is not reasonable that the North should want to do any thing that would reduce the Republican vote of the South; much less, if the movement was being directed by Republican leaders would they send the emigrants to States already overwhelmingly Republican. Another fact is, that there is race prejudice against the colored man in the North as well as in the South, and it is questionable whether any State north of the Ohio would, by a majority vote, welcome a large immigration of colored people. But there are positive reasons why the North should not desire any movement that would disturb the labor of the South. The North has a vast domestic trade with the South, for which the staple crops of that section assure reliable returns. The Western produce shipments last year to the South amounted to $26,812,404. This amount is small compared with the aggregate of manufactured goods of every kind and grade sent South every year from the eastern and central North. The cotton crop for 1878 was 4,811,265 bales, valued "in mixed gold and currency values" at $240,041,977; the sugar crop was worth $13,000,000; the rice crop was worth $3,000,000; making a total of $256,000,000, made almost entirely by negro labor. Drop out of American trade, for only a year or two, the bulk of this result of the present labor in the South, and the disastrous effects would be widespread. Cotton is our chief export, and the loss of a single crop would reverse the tide of our foreign trade, which, happily for us, is now in our favor. It is evident that self-interest would lead the whole country to desire nothing to transpire that would disturb the reliability of labor in the South.

On the other hand, if there is to be a large emigration of the African population from the South, the North will utilize it to

the best advantage. The new-comers will be treated well, and, if in want, will be fed by the hand of charity, and all will be helped as rapidly as possible into conditions of self-support. The North does not fear that the Negroes who may come will add materially to her pauper population. Governor St. John, of Kansas, says, August 9, 1879, of the seven thousand who had then gone to Kansas:—

> These refugees are as a rule very industrious, sober, and well behaved. They are not paupers, but will, if afforded any thing like a reasonable, fair opportunity, not only make their own living, but will, before many years, provide for themselves comfortable homes, and add wealth and prosperity to any State that will give them protection to life and property, coupled with such rights as the law guarantees to every good citizen.

United States Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, says that State will welcome one hundred thousand. General Raum, United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, whose home is in Illinois, says several thousand families would be welcome in his State, and advises the emigrants to scatter through Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin. One railroad company asks for two thousand five hundred men at once, if they can be furnished, in place of Chinese help. General Fremont says that twenty thousand can be located in Arizona, and that they would become almost immediately self-supporting. A prominent ex-Confederate officer, who is building a railroad in the West, wants a large number of Negro laborers. He knows that colored men built every railroad in the South from Norfolk to San Antonio, and are the best laborers in the world for such service. The vast mining regions of the West would give work to multitudes. Besides, farm labor has been attracted to the mines, and farmers are applying for home laborers. Governor St. John's Relief Committee, in Topeka, Kansas, has had several hundred applications for farm laborers which could not be filled. The talk that Negroes cannot live in the North has about as much truth in it as that they will not work unless urged by the overseer's whip. Free labor in the South has made better crops than slave labor did. Negroes can and do live, and are healthy, in every Northern State and in Canada.*

* On the reported return South of many Exodus Negroes, the following, from Governor St. John, of Kansas, August 9, 1879, is in place: "Gentlemen were

In seeking the causes of the Negro Exodus, due consideration must be given to that restlessness and desire for change which is always found among the ignorant and poor. The conditions for this restlessness are specially favorable among the colored people of the South, because the great mass are not only unattached to the soil, but have always been taught that they were never to be land-owners. But if the ignorance and poverty of the mass of the Negroes would tend to make them want to leave the South, then as their condition improved they would not want to go. Now, whatever may be their condition to-day, it is certainly better than when emancipated, and yet the Exodus sentiment has steadily grown, and threatens now to be well nigh universal. Besides, it is not the most ignorant and poor which are migrating. The masses who collect on the river banks, without money or plans, represent the stampede element; but the strength of the movement is not with that element. The stampede period is past, and organization and consultation are now the order of the day, under the lead, in nearly every community, of as intelligent and thrifty colored men as that community affords. Admitting all the influences possible from poverty and ignorance and consequent results, these could all have been counteracted by the Southern white people, had there been proper kindly and humane efforts by them to that end. On the contrary, it is a most significant fact, that, in proportion as the Southern white people came to the control of affairs, the Exodus sentiment grew. The first organizations were in Kentucky and Tennessee, where they at once returned to power after the war; and, now that the whole South is again in the hands of its former rulers, the Exodus threatens to be most serious.

sent to this place in the interest of the planters of the South, who used every effort in their power to induce the refugees to return, and after spending two or three weeks here, being among the refugees almost daily, failed to succeed in inducing any to go South. Some three months ago there was a boat-load of refugees landed at Wyandotte and Kansas City, and I have been informed that a few of the number returned South; but none have returned who have come into the interior of the State. Up to the present time about seven thousand refugees have come to Kansas, and, with the exception of about one hundred now receiving aid through our association, all are self-supporting. This hundred is composed of the cullings of several thousand. Quite a large percentage are sick and disabled, otherwise they would be also self-supporting."

The causes of the Negro Exodus may be grouped under a single head, namely: the conditions of financial, political, and social distress in which the Negroes in the South find themselves, after fifteen years of freedom; and the conviction that their former owners, who, with their allies, now control every Southern State, have in the past opposed their advancement, and do not now give sufficient evidence of good desire toward them to insure their present and future welfare.

To understand the real sentiments of the present Southern leaders toward the Negroes, we must recall what they did when left to themselves under President Johnson, in the first efforts at reconstruction after the war. At that time the effort was made to continue by legal enactment as nearly as possible the old order of things; the whites to remain the land-owners, and the blacks to remain servants, with no right to vote or in any way participate in the management of affairs; they were to be held in a perpetual peonage. In this peonage or serfdom the Negroes could not be bought or sold as in slavery, but laws were so framed that nine tenths of them would be under the control of the owners of the soil as fully as in former times. A full code of these laws were passed in Louisiana, in an extra session of the first Democratic reconstruction Legislature, in December, 1865. As few other laws were passed at this extra session—the regular session meeting a month later—it is probable that the purpose was to have "labor properly regulated," with which to begin the planting year in January. This Louisiana code was a specimen of others passed or determined upon in the other States. One law made it the duty of sheriffs to report on the first Monday in January "all persons under the age of eighteen years if females, and twenty-one if males, who are orphans, or whose parent or parents, or tutor, have not the means or refuse to provide for or maintain said minors." Another law provided for "apprenticing" these minors until they were of age. It was also enacted that any "vagrant"—"a person without visible means of support"—could upon the *oath of any one* be arrested and brought before a judge, and made to give bonds in such amount and with such security as that judge should approve, for good behavior for one year; and upon failure to give such bond, the one arrested was to be hired out for twelve months, or to work on roads or

levees under such regulations as should be made by municipal authorities. Now, let it be remembered that all these "sheriffs" and "judges" and "municipal authorities" believed that the Negroes ought to have remained in slavery; that when first made free comparatively few of the "minors" would have any one to care for them, and that those "without visible means of support" would be many; and also their inability to give "bonds," and it is evident that these minor and vagrant laws would at once have practically re-enslaved fully half the freedmen. Those "apprenticed" would be no better off when of age, and would enter the "vagrant" class, and at the end of each twelve months vagrants would have no "visible means of support," and so must either give bond, which very seldom they could, or return to their unrequited toil.

But this was not all. In addition to the minor and vagrant laws there were others which bore equally heavily upon any freedmen who had intelligence and enterprise enough to "contract" with planters as laborers. One law made it a criminal offense for an *employé* to carry fire-arms without consent of the employer. Another imposed a fine of $100 upon any one who entered upon a plantation without permission of the owner or his agent. Still another imposed a fine of $500 on any person "who shall persuade or entice away, feed, harbor, or secrete any person who leaves his or her employer, with whom he or she has contracted, or is assigned to live, or is living, or any apprentice, without permission of his or her employer." The laborers when unemployed were required to have "certificates" from their last employer that they had fulfilled their contracts, or they were subject to arrest, and it was made an offense for any one else to employ them without such certificate. The planters would probably make the "contract" as to wages, etc., in the same spirit that these laws were passed. With these laws in force the owner of any plantation could as fully control "his labor" as before the war, without the large outlay of money required to own the men and women. All such Yankee innovations as the right to vote, public schools for the children, improved religious and moral instruction, formed no part of these laws, which illustrate the deliberate purpose of the whole South toward the freedmen immediately after emancipation. Fortunately, the enfranchisement of the Negroes by

Constitutional amendment, and the wiping out of the abortive attempts at reconstruction under President Johnson, made the laws of which the Louisiana code was a specimen of no effect.*

Fourteen years have passed, and during that time the same spirit which enacted the above laws has prevailed almost universally in the South against the Negroes. There are exceptions, and the exceptions are increasing, but as yet in all matters of finance and labor and trade these poor people are often victimized. At first men who would have sold land to Negroes were often warned that they would do so at their peril; and even now, outside of the towns, the neighborhoods are exceptional where colored people can buy homes with any expectation of being unmolested. This will change—it is changing—but enough of the old spirit remains, and will probably for years, to seriously hinder these people financially.

Besides the sentiment still largely prevailing in the South against Negroes owning land, and that they ought still to be slaves, we must remember the perversity of human nature to cheat and overreach in trade as opportunity is afforded. The Negroes, as a rule, know but little of legal forms, and the majority of them could not read them if they did. They are easily imposed on, and are often charged enormous prices where land is sold. Sometimes the titles prove imperfect, and very frequently, after making the first payment and raising a crop, which is generally mortgaged for the necessary provisions, stock, and farming implements, they cannot make the next payment and pay the heavy interest on balance of purchase price, and, as a consequence, lose all.† I have personally learned of scores of such cases. One Mississippi land-owner had sold to and driven three sets of colored purchasers from his land.

It must be remembered that the South is almost wholly an agricultural region, and that the labor is chiefly colored, so that under the head of plantation or farm laborers the great bulk of Negroes in the Southern States would be classed. The "contract system" prevails, by which the Negroes have practically

* The full text of these laws is in Ray's "Revised Statutes of Louisiana."

† The habit of mortgaging crops in advance is one of the bad things in the credit system of the South. It was the chief drawback to planters before the war. The fact that, after fifteen years of freedom, with few exceptions the Negroes have to mortgage their labor or crops in advance for what they eat and wear, shows the poverty of the mass.

nothing to say as to their wages, etc. In the sugar regions the wages are fixed annually by a convention of planters, and are usually from fifty to sixty cents a day for men, and four pounds of pork and a peck of meal a week; and for women, where they can work, forty cents a day and they find themselves. The laborers lose all rainy days, and all time between seasons. Often it requires two months to make one. Cabins are furnished in which to live. On the place is usually a store owned by the planter, so that as a rule every planter is his own retail grocer. At these stores the prices are high, sometimes exorbitant, and in nearly every case bad whisky is sold at ten cents a drink. The sentiment prevails in the South largely, even among the ministry, that the climate demands stimulants; so the laborer is encouraged by precept and example to drink. This adds revenue to the "store"—is, in fact, one of its chief revenues. At one of these "stores," on a plantation owned and worked by a Northern millionaire, I learned that the whisky bills of the laborers ran from three to eight dollars a month and sometimes more. On a plantation there are from a few to a hundred families, making from a score to five hundred people. As a rule the laborers either have nothing, or come out in debt to the store at the end of the year, and have to begin another year on the old contract. Only a few laborers in a neighborhood save any thing.

In the cotton regions the picture is the same in its general effect, differing only in details. Cotton lands can be bought for five to ten dollars an acre, and yet from five to ten dollars an acre is charged for rent, to be paid usually in cotton, which is the same as cash. Besides, the renter has to pay from three to five dollars a bale for having his cotton ginned, generally to the man he rents from, and has also to buy his provisions from the inevitable "store" at high rates, which may or may not be owned by the rentor. In addition, the colored renter is poor, and must have seed and mules and implements, which the rentor advances at high prices, charging interest on the money until returned. To secure payment for rent, ginning, provisions, mules, and implements a cut-throat mortgage is inserted in every lease in the following words: "The said lessee hereby gives and grants a lien prior to all liens on all the crops produced on said lands and all the personal property of said lessee; and all rights

under any exemption law of this State are hereby expressly waived." "Any improvements made by the said lessee shall belong to the said lessor." To make the power of the planter absolute the lease says: "Any violation of any of the terms of this agreement on the part of the lessee creates a forfeiture of all the rights and interests vested in him by it, and the lessor may enter and take possession of the said land and the crops growing or grown thereon." The merchants and courts and the lawyers are all in sympathy with the planters, and the "contract" is so drawn that when the planter, for any whim, even if the crop be growing, declares the lease forfeited, the Negro has no alternative but to leave every thing, including such personal property as he may have brought on the place, and go, poorer than ever. As a further effort to "regulate labor" on the Southern plan, to prevent the Negroes from leaving, an article is being inserted in some leases binding the laborers to work the same ground next year, or forfeit this year's crop.*

These contract and credit systems in the sugar and cotton

* At first after freedom in the cotton regions wages were paid; but this "made the niggers too impudent." Then renting on the shares came into vogue, by which the land-owners furnished every thing and took half the crop. This divided the responsibility and risk, but required money or credit by the land-owner. Now the contract system is almost universal. In this all risks are practically by the laborer, the land-owner's only real risk being crop failure. If one renter proves worthless, another can be substituted. (1.) The Negro contracts to pay from eighty to one hundred pounds of lint cotton an acre for the rent of land that will produce from two to four hundred pounds. This is an average of about one third of all he raises. (2.) The laborer needs provisions for himself and family to eat and wear during the year. For these there are two prices, "cash" and "credit." The former is high enough, but the latter is from fifty to one hundred per cent. higher. Of course, with only rare exceptions the Negro must pay "credit" prices, so that he pays two prices for every thing he and his family eat and wear. (3.) Rarely laborers have mules and plows, so these also must be advanced. (4.) These "contract Negroes" often hire others to help them, whose wages form a fourth claim on their expected crops. Whether the landlord furnishes all the first three items, or they are furnished by him and one or two other parties, mortages are taken covering every thing to secure payment. Besides, the laborer must pay for ginning. Thus the Negro begins the year with his personal property, and his labor for a year, and all he expects to make for a year, mortgaged. At the end he must turn over every thing, pay interest, commissions for selling, etc. If not in debt it will be strange, even if he has worked diligently. Even under this system the landlords are not, as a rule, prosperous, because (1) they do nothing themselves; (2) only a portion of their land is worked, and that grows poorer each year; and (3) injustice to one large class of a community always curses the whole.

regions, if not readjusted so as to protect laborers as well as planters, doom the mass of Negroes in those regions of the South to years of, if not to perpetual, poverty. Besides the planters proper, there are since the war in all the rural districts, at every important road crossing and steamboat landing, "country merchants," who, as a class, deserve no such respectable title. Every one of these stores is a whisky shop. These "merchants" are often Jews, and generally are men of the Shylock type. Their customers are the small farmers or renters, mostly Negroes, who cannot go or send to the larger towns to trade with the more respectable merchants, and so must trade with these cross-road cormorants in human shape. They advance "supplies" at ruinous prices, and take liens on every thing their customers have. They curse both whites and blacks, but chiefly the latter, because of their numbers and ignorance. I have personally known and learned of many instances where families had year after year been stripped of every thing, even to their pigs and chickens and household goods.

Among the planters there are noble exceptions in every parish and county, and there are those not planters who speak of, and regret, and sometimes protest against, the treatment of the laborer; but these will, I fear, continue for years to be exceptions to the rule. The sentiment "that these used to be our slaves, and ought never to have been taken from us," prevails; and it is considered that Negroes have "their rights" financially if they get barely enough to live. It is also to be said, that the acquisition of property by the Negroes since emancipation has gone forward more or less in every State. This in the aggregate makes a creditable showing; but still the masses are poor, and after fifteen years of freedom the outlook is gloomy, and multitudes are discouraged.

This is a proper place—for it bears on the financial condition of the Negro—to notice the oft-repeated remark that "the South would not have slavery back if she could." This is true, but it does not mean that the South has undergone any change of sentiment respecting that institution. She still believes that there was nothing morally wrong in enslaving the Negro. Slavery is not wanted back again, provided practically the same relations can by law or custom be maintained between the whites and blacks as were maintained in slave time. If,

however, the Southern white people fully believed that the Negro population in their midst was to be guaranteed the enjoyment of absolute equality of rights and privileges before all laws, *as white men understand and enjoy those rights and privileges*, they would, if they could, go back to 1860 by an overwhelming vote. The sentiments of the South on this point may be stated thus: Slavery, while it existed, was a divine institution, and ought to have remained; but having been destroyed by the fanaticism of the North, it is the duty of the South to take in charge the freedmen, and as nearly as possible keep them in their proper menial relations to the whites. This is what may be termed the present *conscientious view* of the South on slavery and the Negro.

There is also *the selfish view*, based upon the fact which has been demonstrated, that with the present Southern plan of regulating labor more money can be made by the planter and merchant classes than could be made under the old *régime*. Formerly fifty laborers required, in addition to purchase of land, buildings, machinery, and stock, the permanent investment of from thirty to fifty thousand dollars in those laborers themselves, besides the expense of their food, clothing, medical attendance, risk of loss by sickness, death, or escape. Now the only expense for laborers are the cabins in which they live, fifty or sixty cents a day apiece, and the proportion of pork and meal for the days they work. Free labor does as much work as slave labor did. Back of the planter is the "city merchant" who furnishes "supplies," which include every thing necessary for both the planter and his labor, from a mule to a pin, and every thing unnecessary, from whisky to brass finger rings.

These merchants can trust the planters, because the latter retails to his laborers or renters, and either owns or by contract controls every thing on his place until the supplies are paid for. Before the war the merchants' sales were limited to what the planter thought best for his "niggers" to have; but now both classes are interested—for each makes a profit—in having the laborers buy whatever their needs or fancy suggest. Put in the whisky and tobacco bills, and I dare say that the larger share of money due for wages on the sugar and cotton plantations go for things valueless or injurious; and these

are the supplies on which merchants and planters make the best profits. It is estimated that the freedmen spend $80,000,000 more a year for themselves than their masters spent for them. This vast sum goes into the hands of planters through their stores and the merchants, and is largely spent for things on which there is an enormous profit; so that perhaps half of it is so much clear gain over and above what those classes could make before the war. Add to this that the Negro labor of the South made last year nearly all of $256,000,000 in crops, without the investment of the vast capital required to own slaves, and it is evident why, from a selfish stand-point, the South does not want slavery back, while she can "control and regulate" free Negro labor on the present contract and credit systems.

Another class of the causes of the Negro Exodus comes from *political oppressions and persecutions.*

The ballot was given the Negroes by amendments to the Constitution of the United States, against the conviction and bitter protests of the Southern white people. Chiefly because of this for years they refused to participate in State or National politics. This made necessary what are known as "carpet-bag" Governments in the South. The few Union men in the Southern States united with those who remained from the Federal army or came South as citizens from the North; and these, with the newly enfranchised Negroes, formed a party which for a time ruled every Southern State. Of these Governments it is popular now to speak disparagingly, but the future impartial historian will not so speak of them. They were a necessity in that transition period, and lived in the midst of tremendous difficulties, growing largely out of the inexperienced and ignorant vote behind them, but chiefly from the bitter and vindictive spirit shown against them by the hitherto ruling classes in every State. Those Governments gave every Southern State a loyal Constitution, inaugurated universal suffrage, provided in each State Constitution for a common school system, and made possible the planting in every State of educational, ecclesiastical, social and political forces, which remain and are to remain, to represent and propagate the civilization of freedom, and largely aid, if not chiefly to direct, the future new and better South in her growth and

perfection. Those Governments had some bad men, but the per cent. of these was no larger than may be found in some of the Governments which have taken their places.

The present Southern State Governments represent the classes who, because of their wealth and intelligence, ought to rule the South, provided they do so in righteousness. But, unfortunately, with few exceptions those Governments owe their existence to such violence and fraud as this nation has never before known. That fraud and violence spent their force chiefly upon Negro voters and their trusted friends. In every State and almost every county or parish or city or town in the South, where Republican majorities were such as to demand it, fraud or violence was openly resorted to and justified to overcome that majority. The Ku-Klux Klans, Pale Faces, Knights of the White Camellia, and similar organizations in 1866–70; and the Rifle Clubs, White Leaguers, Bulldozers, Tissue Ballot Manipulators, in later years, did the work. During 1868, according to sworn testimony before Congressional Committees in Louisiana alone, 784 Republicans were killed, 85 received gunshot wounds, and 365 were otherwise maltreated. Most of these were Negroes. In 1870 there were in the Southern States 887,348 colored voters, nearly one third of the whole number. In Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana there were 1,464,286 voters, of which 672,651 were Negroes. This vast vote has been almost entirely suppressed. The South elects 34 of the 74 United States Senators, and 109 of the 292 Representatives, and, notwithstanding her immense Republican vote, not one of these represents that vote, except Senators Kellogg, of Louisiana, and Bruce, of Mississippi, and they will soon be displaced. Neither in the State offices of all the South, nor in the controlling element of a single State legislative branch, can there be found any trace of the 887,348 Negro voters of this section. In localities where Negroes and their political allies were in the minority they could vote; but, except in rare cases, where there was any hope of their success in electing candidates, whatever violence was necessary to defeat them was used and justified. In the accounts given to the country of political persecutions and oppressions suffered by Negro voters in the Southern States

during the past years, there have, no doubt, been some exaggerated statements, but half the truth has not been told. Simply for being Republicans, in almost every neighborhood Negroes and their friends have suffered every sort of abuse, from social ostracism to murder. Secular papers opposed to sentiment as at present represented by the Southern State Governments cannot be supported in the South, except by moneyed contributions of friends. Business men who are wealthy and independent will not advertise in them, and such as are anxious for trade dare not, because it would injure their trade.

The same influences used to suppress the Negro vote of the South, and to make any organized political movement against the Democracy in the South impossible, are still used to keep that vote suppressed. Mississippi has a Republican majority of from twenty to thirty thousand, which, by the celebrated "Mississippi plan," was effectually overcome in 1875–1876. At present an "independent" movement is being attempted in that State, by which the conservative Democrats who are opposed to bulldozing in politics propose uniting with native Republicans and form a party. This movement commends itself to good men in the abstract, but is made impossible by the determined and violent opposition of the party in power. An election occurs this fall, and up to August 20 in several counties the independent candidates have been by armed men compelled to withdraw from the canvass. Captain H. M. Dixon, "independent" candidate for Sheriff, in Yazoo County, was, July 25, made to withdraw, and afterward, refusing to abide by this forced pledge, was murdered on the public street of the town by an opposing candidate.*

* Captain Dixon was an ex-Confederate officer, had an estimable family, was a prominent Democratic leader in the party in 1875, and for his services in that campaign received a handsome silver present, inscribed: "To Captain H. M. Dixon, the bravest of the brave." The vilest abuse has been heaped upon him since his murder by his former political admirers. The following, from his wife to her mother, who resides in Washington, D. C., dated July 29, 1879, speaks for itself:

"But my heaviest trouble, to which the burial of all my little ones would be nothing, is about Henry. An armed mob of five hundred men, from all parts of the country, came after him Friday last, and at first ordered him to leave the country never to return. He told them that he was as good a citizen as any one of them, and would not leave. They then started into our house, tramping over me and my little baby, which we supposed was dying, when Drs. Moore, Good-

The present Democratic State Governments in the South promised protection to the Negroes in their political rights, but have failed to fulfill those promises, except where their votes were too few to control offices. Governor Nichols, of Louisiana, in a late message to his Legislature, enumerated several cases of gross outrage upon colored voters, in different parishes of this State, but regretted that there was no legal method to punish the guilty until the public sentiment of those communities demanded such punishment. Governor Stone, of Mississippi, has frequently expressed the same views and regrets. Granting that these men are honest in their views and regrets, and others in places of power in the South who have said the same things, their admissions prove all that is necessary to show that Negroes are the victims of political oppression and persecution. A public sentiment as yet overwhelming in the South forbids to Negroes their political rights, wherever the exercise of those rights endangers the claims of the present white leaders to hold all the offices, and to control absolutely every election—State, county, and municipal.

The last hope of the Negroes in the South, for the present at least, for protection in their political rights, rested in the United States Government but that, too, has failed. It is utterly impossible to enforce a law in any community by any ordinary process, where the laws themselves are considered unconstitutional, and where the class the law seeks to protect is under ban of public sentiment. The political sentiment which now rules every Southern State pronounces United States laws which seek to superintend any election, or to protect any voter in the exercise of his franchise in any State, as an infringement upon the rights of that State, and hence unconstitutional and to be

berry, Meyers, Hudson, and Kelley, proposed to the mob to spare him if he would withdraw from the canvass. Some said, 'No, no! rope him!" Others yelled, 'Run him out of the country!' A great many speeches were made to the mob by the most influential citizens, who were opposed to Henry, and they finally agreed to spare his life if he would withdraw, which he had to do or be murdered. Now you can understand his feelings under the circumstances, to be compelled to knuckle down to a vile mob, headed by men of wealth, position, and influence, who ought to be the best friends to us, just because Henry would run independent of the Convention. No one knows the end of this. Henry's friends are influential, and wish to raise an indignation meeting, and demand his rights, but I am unwilling that he should risk his life in any such way. We would leave the State this minute if we could possibly get away."

resisted. Add to this the vicious sentiment of the South toward the Negro, and it is evident that by no ordinary process of law can the United States protect him in that section in the exercise of his political rights.

The history of the late political trials in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, proves this beyond a doubt. Take the trials in the last-named State. A large number of arrests were made in the worst bulldozed parishes, where during the last election Republicans were whipped and shot and hung. The cases susceptible of the clearest proof were selected and brought to trial before Judge Woods of the United States Circuit Court, a man of sterling character and a just judge. As the trials progressed the prisoners were the recipients of every possible attention from the *elite* of New Orleans. Their bills were paid at the best hotels, and every morning columns of editorials in the city papers would tell of their good characters, and of the outrage being perpetrated upon them in being dragged from their homes to answer trumped-up charges against them by "niggers and carpet-baggers." As could only be expected in the presence of such a public sentiment, no convictions were made in these first cases, and the whole prosecution was abandoned. The acquitted were escorted to the wharf by a multitude, cannons boomed, and for three hundred miles they were greeted at every landing on the river as heroes. On the boat carrying them was what served as a cannon as to noise, and, as its roar at every landing went echoing through villages and over plantations, is it strange that the Negroes, whose friends and representatives these very heroes and their friends had whipped and driven from the polls, should distrust the power or willingness of even the United States to protect them? Once at home, some of these "heroes" are installed in the principal Parish offices, and others are returned to New Orleans as members of the Convention, to make a new Constitution for the State. Look now at the Negroes, who had been the victims of outrage, and their friends, who had been summoned with them to testify for the United States. Not one of them dare return to their homes unless to die. Some of them have valuable property, others are parish officers, and many are small planters and renters whose all has gone to waste by neglect. Two hundred of this class, I am told, are now in New Orleans. Some I know per-

sonally to be men of means and good character. Some are not professional politicians, and came to testify unwillingly. The Teller Senate Committee took a large amount of testimony upon these cases, which were tried in New Orleans; and the two Democratic Senators on that committee admitted to a personal friend of mine that they were astonished and horrified at what they saw and heard, and have not to this day published a word of disclaimer against the scathing report given to the country by Senators Teller, Cameron, and Howe.

Until there is a change in the sentiment and conditions surrounding the Negro voter in the South, he has no alternative but to withdraw from all participation in the management of political affairs and give to his political enemies the benefit of counting him in representation, or to fight, or to migrate. Fortunately, he is now, as before the war, patient and not revengeful, and seeks rather to follow providential indications than to take matters in his own hand. Just now to multitudes the finger of Providence points northward.

I fully appreciate the difficulties in the South surrounding the question of Universal Suffrage. But one thing is sure, the present course of the South toward the Negro voter is such as to drive from it the sympathy of all philanthropists. In one fell swoop, the vote and political influence of nearly a million citizens, representing the interests and welfare of over four millions of American people, are wiped out, in State and national affairs; and that, too, very largely by violence and fraud. When the nation denounces the proceeding, the cry of "bloody shirt" is raised, and in congressional halls that cry is supplemented by the demand that these representatives of that fraud and violence shall be received as national law-makers, and that as a means of "conciliation" Congress shall enthrone the doctrine of "State Sovereignty," by which the nation could give no protection to a voter in any State, even in an election for its own Senators and Representatives.

Other influences contribute to the Negro Exodus besides such as are financial and political. I can do but little more than mention some of these in the remaining space allotted to this article.

For years all over the South there was a persistent and violent opposition to all *educational facilities* for the Negroes;

and while of late there has been improvement in this respect, still there is no such public sentiment now as guarantees such facilities in the near future. In large cities and towns Negroes generally have schools, but beyond this the schools for them are rare, except private ones, and those of an inferior grade. Public schools are not popular in the South. Their establishment was one of the standing arguments against the "carpet-bag" Governments. Having once been established, as a matter of political policy the succeeding Governments have not abolished them; but in nearly every State they have been crippled by failure to provide money, and loading them with impracticable methods.

In the late Constitutional Convention in Louisiana it required a desperate fight to retain in the new Constitution the semblance of a public school system; and now no high schools can be established, and the provisions for money are inadequate.

The real question on this matter in most of the South is not, how efficient public schools can be made, but whether there shall be any efficient ones at all or not. This is so as applied to all classes, much more so as applied to the Negroes. The latter are now, even in the poor facilities given, except in cities and towns and occasional rural neighborhoods, ruled against in the matters of school-houses, funds, and teachers.

If we turn to the Churches in the South, their leaders are behind the politicians in the work of demanding and providing educational facilities for the colored people. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has not one such school to my knowledge. The reply that the colored people of this Church have been put in an organization to themselves will not cover the case until that organization is helped to one such school worthy the name. The Southern Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Baptists altogether have, within two or three years, established three or four small schools. In neither nor all these Churches is there as yet a sentiment worthy the name in favor of educating ministers and teachers for the Negroes. Some grand men are advocating this, and good resolutions have been passed, but as yet practically nothing has been done. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Northern Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches have planted in the various Southern States thirty-nine schools and colleges for the education of col-

ored youth, chiefly as teachers and preachers, and in those schools are every year over 5,000 students. While this grand work has been going forward the religious press of the South has, for fourteen years, opposed, ridiculed, or "damned with faint praise," that work, as various stages of Southern sentiment would seem to suggest.

Another source of uneasiness among thoughtful Negroes all over the South is the *moral and religious condition* of the great mass of their people. In *ante-bellum* times all the Churches did more or less missionary work among the slaves, but since the war, outside of what Northern benevolence has done, and what the colored people have done for themselves, almost nothing has been accomplished to save the masses of the Negroes from the moral degradation into which two hundred years of slavery have brought them. The poor excuse that "others have undertaken this work, and alienated the negroes from us," even if accepted, does not change the fact or relieve it of its sadness. Much less does that poor excuse palliate the tirade of abuse heaped upon the devoted men and women, who, from the North, in every Southern State, have given themselves to the Christlike work of saving the colored people. For purposes of gain or political favor Negroes in the South are associated with, saloons and gambling hells are open for them day and night, and no cry of "social equality" is raised against the men who, to victimize them, sit beside them at the card-table, or drink with them at the public bar; and the keeping of "colored mistresses" goes on among the "oldest and best," as well as the youngest and worst. The Churches which should be first in securing their confidence and respect, that they may save them from their sins, if we are to judge by what they have done during the past fourteen years care the least for that confidence and respect. In Louisiana, for example, in a Negro population of 400,000, half the people in the State, the combined religious efforts among that population of all the Southern Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian Churches have resulted in two or three small Churches, lately established, a Sunday-school or two, and occasional sermons to colored congregations.

The following from a paper adopted at a late Exodus meeting in New Orleans, and at which several thousand were present,

gives a fair expression from the thoughtful and best Negroes respecting the chances of their people's educational and religious facilities in the South :—

We are not unmindful of the improvidence of a large class of our people, nor of the difficulties involved in harmonizing and adjusting the relations of the races since emancipation. We have no harsh words for those in office, neither do we here doubt their sincerity for our people; but it is a deplorable fact that outside of a few cities and towns public schools are almost unknown among our people, and in not a few cases there yet remains some of the spirit which a few years ago burned our school-houses and drove away our teachers. It has required fifteen years for the great Christian Churches of Southern sentiment to *resolve* that our people must be educated and Christianized; but as yet little or nothing has been done by them. The generous North has built colleges and schools for our people in every State, and continues to do largely for our elevation. We do not undervalue the good resolutions of our Southern white educational and Church friends; but if it has required fifteen years to make good resolutions, we fear that our children will grow up in ignorance before any adequate system of education and moral training will be put in practice, and whatever demoralizations are now among them, threatening their greater future depravity, will not be remedied.

In the administration of law, especially in the rural districts —which comprise nearly all the South—the Negroes have but little show of justice. This is sadly true in respect to minor offenses, for which penalties are, as a rule, greater than the merits of the case demand. I saw a white man and a colored man going to the Louisiana Penitentiary together, and the former was going for one year for attempting to kill a man, and the latter was going two years for stealing an armful of corn. The wretched system of hiring out the convicts in the penitentiary to contractors for the benefit of the State prevails to a large extent; and if half the statements made respecting the treatment of convicts in Texas and Georgia, for example, under the present administrations, be true, it is difficult to resist the belief that a great many colored men are sent to the penitentiary in these States, not only to punish them, but to secure public revenue. The treatment of convicts under sub-contractors, as they are worked under overseers, is often cruel indeed. The laws themselves may make no distinction as to race, but in the administration of the laws is

where the vicious public sentiment against the Negro becomes evident.

Laws are now in force in several States which it would seem were intended to place a special grip on the colored people, who make up the mass of the poor and laboring classes. Such a law was passed in Mississippi in March, 1878, under the innocent title of "An Act to reduce the Judiciary Expenses of the State." The act provides that "all persons convicted and committed to the jail of the county except those committed for contempt of court, and except those sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary, shall be delivered to a contractor, to be by him kept and worked under the provisions of this act; and all persons committed to jail except those entitled to bail may also, with their consent, be committed to said contractor." Another section provides how the "consent" may be secured, by enacting that if a prisoner does not consent his daily diet shall be "six ounces of bacon or ten ounces of beef and a pound of bread and water." This section also provides that not consenting to work for a contractor before his conviction without compensation, the prisoner must, if convicted, "work under said contractor a sufficient term to pay all costs of prosecution, including jail fees for keeping and feeding him." Section four provides that in working out his fine the prisoners shall be worked "at the rate of twenty-five cents a day, not including Sundays and days in which said convict shall be unable to labor, or for any cause by his consent shall not labor;" and also "that said convict shall work two days for every one lost by sickness, one of which days shall be for compensation for keeping him during a day on which he was sick." He must not only thus work out the fine, but all costs of prosecution and jail fees. This statute puts the power into the hands of any one who cares to use it upon any trivial offense to have "contracted" to him a laborer; or if his laborers become dissatisfied, to prevent them from leaving him by threats of the "contractors' chain-gang." Under this law a Negro in Noxubee County for some petty offense was fined $250 and costs. This would require several years to work out. A glance at the provisions of this and similar laws makes it evident that their penalties must fall on the poor and friendless offenders, which would generally mean the Negroes.

The last cause of the Exodus I shall mention is *the spirit of murder* which so largely prevails in the Southern States. Among "gentlemen" the barbarous "code of honor" is still in vogue, and it is only occasionally that a man of social standing is brave enough to refuse to be a murderer and suicide, to prove his manhood by refusing to consent when the rules of that "code" would require him to take the "field." Murder has been openly justified to secure political success in every Southern State. There is a large class in the rural districts which regards it as a small offense to shoot or help hang "an impudent nigger." The late tragedy in Yazoo City, Mississippi, is but one of many where political opponents have been gotten rid of by shooting them. The better classes do not approve these violent acts, but politically are willing to accept the benefits of them, and in matters outside of politics they have no power seemingly to prevent them.

A few leading secular papers have admitted and denounced this murderous spirit, but it yet exists, and the Negroes are most often its victims. Speaking of this, the "Meridian (Miss.) Mercury" says:—

> The cause of such frequent and horrible murders must be sought in the diseased state of public sentiment. Juries who acquit murderers in the face of law and fact only obey the public opinion prevalent in the community around them. Juries never fail in enforcing the law against theft, etc., simply because public sentiment backs them up in this case, and a like result would follow in case public opinion rebuked and condemned murder as sternly as it does theft. We suggest that every preacher of every denomination of our State shall set apart two Sundays in the year for sermons on the text, "Thou shalt do no murder," and that they display it plainly and forcibly. We suggest that the Churches try and expel all who take human life, except in actual defense. Society should also set the seal of reprobation and outlawry upon ruffianism and barbarism, by slamming its doors in the faces of murderers and ruffians. Stamp murder as ungentlemanly, and it will be properly punished by the courts; but to attain this point the people must be educated to regard murder with horror.

But even this paper, which preaches so well in the abstract, and unwittingly gives so vivid a picture of how murder is regarded in that State, could not demand that the murderers of the Chisholm family, whose deeds so shocked the nation, should be punished. Of them this paper said, "They will never be

punished, because they simply obeyed the sentiment of the community in doing what they did."

CONCLUSION.

To what this Exodus will grow will depend upon whether the causes which have started it are removed or not. I have mentioned the chief causes operating against the Negroes in the South. Others coming from the defects and weaknesses in the Negro character are operating among the more ignorant and shiftless masses, but these could effect but little if the ones named were removed, or at once and effectually mitigated.

The hand of Providence is to me evident in this Exodus. To the Negroes it is the awakening of a new life and independence. Those who go will be surrounded by the best civilization of the age, and their children will grow up in the schools to be intelligent, independent, and aggressive; and the white people of the South, it is to be hoped, feeling their loss in those who have gone, will care for, protect, and help the better those who remain. The nation will, by the Exodus, have its heart stirred toward those who so lately were in bondage; and the publication of facts as to their present condition will prevent the nation from forgetting its duty to them.

To the Southern States this movement means much more than it does to the Negroes or the nation. It is God's last if not final appeal to the wealth and intelligence of this section to do right by the Negro populations in their midst. If this Exodus becomes general the South is ruined financially, and her political prestige is forever gone. *The white people of the South can alone stop this Exodus.* The land tenure and credit systems must be changed for better ones; bulldozing must stop, and heroic efforts for the religion and educational welfare of all classes must be inaugurated. To talk about immigration to the South while the causes now operating to produce this Exodus remain, is idle. To talk about importing Chinese labor to take the place of the Negroes is equally idle. The South must do right toward the Negro, or perish. The difficulties are great, but the God-appointed appliances of this age are greater.

ART. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, July, 1879. (Gettysburg.)—1. Relation of Children to the Church; by M. Valentine, D.D. 2. The Messianic Idea in Pre-Christian Apocalyptic Literature; by Rev. George H. Schodde, A.M., Ph.D. 3. The Chinese Problem, or, Agnosticism Worked Out; by C. A. Stork, D.D. 4. Regeneration by Baptism; by Rev. Prof. E. F. Giese. 5. The Ritual of the Lord's Supper; from the German. 6. Sketch of Muhlenberg Mission, Africa; by Rev. J. A. Clutz, A. M. 7. General Synod.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1879. (New Haven.)—1. John Tillotson, Doctor in Divinity, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury; by Rev. Edwin Harwood, D.D. 2. The Independent Church in the Bermuda Islands; by Rev. Pres. Edward D. Neill. 3. Mazzini and the Italian Revolution; by John E. Curren. 4. The Fathers of New England, the Apostolic Church Order, the Inheritance of their Sons; by Rev. Daniel P. Noyes, D.D. 5. The Desirableness of Preaching the Gospel rather than the Law in Times of the Failure of Public Integrity; by Prof. J. M. Hoppin. 6. The Theology of Herodotus; by Rev. Rufus B. Richardson. 7. The Nature and Progress of True Socialism; by Prof. J. B. Clark.

September, 1879.—1. Shall the Metric System be made Compulsory? by Henry T. Blake. 2. The Unrest of the Age as Seen in its Literature; by Louis J. Swinburne. 3. Dr. Millingen's Reminiscences of Lord Byron in Greece; by Prof. A. V. Millingen. 4. The Formal and the Vital in the Bible; by Rev. I. E. Dwinell. 5. Final Purpose in Nature; by Rev. George T. Ladd. 6. Concerning a Recent Chapter of Ecclesiastical History; by Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, July, 1879. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Shakspeare's Hamlet: A Study in Intellectual Philosophy; by A. A. Lipscomb, D.D., LL.D. 2. Individuality of Character; by C. G. Andrews, D.D. 3. Modern Teleology; by Prof. J. W. Glenn, A.M. 4. Pauline Christianity; by C. W. Miller, D.D. 5. Recent German Pessimism; by Prof. J. P. Lacroix, A.M. 6. The Duties of Higher Races to Themselves; by Rev. B. W. Bond. 7. Mrs. Cross and Her Writings; by Mrs. M. Martin. 8. The Methodist Church of Canada; by Rev. E. Barrass, A.M. 9. The Baptisms of the Spirit; by J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D. 10. German Socialism, Atheistic and Catholic; by J. C. Hinton, A.M.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1879. (Boston.)—1. The Ethics of Universalism: by Rev. S. S. Hebberd. 2. Comparative Value of the Study of Mind and Nature; by S. L. Powers. 3. The Persian, Jewish, and Christian Resurrections; by Rev. A. G. Laurie. 4. The Realistic Features of the Bible; Professor J. S. Lee. 5. A Personal Devil—Does He Exist? by Rev. George Hill. 6. Evolution and Conscience; by Rev. T. S. Lathrop. 7. Universalism in Halifax; by Rev. Costello Weston.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. Our Success at Paris in 1878; by Richard C. M'Cormick. 2. The Revolution in Russia; by A Russian Nihilist. 3. The Public Schools of England. Part II; by Thomas Hughes. 4. The True Story of the Wallowa Campaign; by Gen. O. O. Howard. 5. The Psychology of Spiritism; by G. M. Beard. 6. The Education of Freedmen. Part II: by Harriet B. Stowe. 7. Recent Essays; by T. W. Higginson.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, August, 1879.

Since its new departure the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has called into its service a goodly number of the best intellects of the day in both England and America. It has filled a new position admirably by opening its pages to the expression

of a variety of opposing opinions. It thus furnishes an arena on which the great questions of the hour are discussed by our master minds. The Editor disavows responsibility for the varied views presented by his contributors, and acts with admirable skill as presiding officer over the scene of debate. In criticising, it may be sharply, the part played by one performer, we are, of course, in no way assailing the Review itself, or depreciating the ability of its manager.

In the number for August, 1879, our exceptions are taken to the indiscriminate eulogy on William Lloyd Garrison by Wendell Phillips. We wish not to detract a hair from Mr. Garrison's real merits. He had the courage of a hero and the faithfulness to his convictions of a martyr. He and his associates were efficient awakeners of the public mind to a topic of vital moral and political importance. But he was not qualified for a leader, and by his unfitness for that post the great body of true antislavery men in Church, in State, in private life, stood apart from him. His rhetoric in his younger days was coarse and blatant. His invectives against some of the best men of his day were purely ugly and malignant. Not to concur and co-operate with him and his little coterie was to be pro-slavery, and to be pro-slavery was to be all sorts of a rascal. In his "Liberator," as a small specimen, he once charged a professor in the Wesleyan University with an intention to procure the assassination of George Thompson, the English lecturer. Mr. Phillips defends his antics and frantics by pronouncing them the necessary faults of a great reformer. Well, Wesley was a great reformer, yet had no such faults. And certainly those faults of Garrison must be taken into account in a true summation of Garrison's character, and they greatly qualify Phillips' overdrawn eulogy. Those faults furnished the reason and the justification for thousands of true antislavery men from accepting such a character for a leader, or consenting to affiliation with his co-operators.

Mr. Phillips ratifies the statement that "Garrison made Lincoln possible." Indeed! We suppose that Mr. Phillips cherishes the ocular illusion that Mr. Garrison and his aids really overthrew slavery. There are many who imagine that he at least inaugurated a successful reform. The real truth is, the Garrisonian spirit maddened the South and hastened the war. When the

war pressed hard emancipation was proclaimed; and the man who abolished slavery was no abolitionist, would have snubbed Mr. Garrison through his whole career, and was to the last an unchanging colonizationist. The possibility or probability of a Lincoln and a war emancipation did not depend upon Mr. Garrison. The elements of a sectional conflict existed without his hastening hand; and whenever that took place, emancipation would have followed. When in earlier days South Carolina verged toward treason there was an Andrew Jackson; and had the South followed lead and risen in rebellion, a war emancipation by the unshrinking hand of Old Hickory would have rendered both Garrison and Lincoln impossible. But nullification backed down; Calhoun went unhung; the war was left to a later day, and emancipation to a feebler hand.

There seems to be a new enthusiasm in the hearts of a certain class of thinkers, on occasion of Mr. Garrison's death, to make him a blacking-swab to spread a deep and general nigritude over the Christian Churches of our country. That class includes as leaders Mr. Phillips, Oliver Johnson, and George William Curtis. We scarce know how to designate this class inoffensively; we may not call them, ambiguous as is their position, semi-infidels, semi-Christians, or rationalists. But as most of them are believers in God, and profess a very super-Christian philanthropy, which they freely show off in disparaging contrast with the short-comings of the Christian Churches, we will style them, euphoniously, *theophilanthropists.*

We esteem Mr. Curtis, of the Weekly Harper, to be a rare model of a secular and political editor. There is, perhaps, not one in the whole profession who more unites an inflexible maintenance of the high standard of *right* with a true unvarying spontaneous courtesy. We think that the most enviable point of his life was the hour when he stood the torrent of obloquy poured upon him from the mouth of the haughty political machinist of New York; an hour in which he bore vicariously the blows which we and every advocate of a purer style of politics bore in his person. But we do not admire his share in using Garrison as a standing obloquy upon the Churches who did not affiliate with him. He discusses the insult offered by Wendell Phillips to an orthodox Church lent to him for the purpose of honoring the departed hero in the following words:

"The passage to which we refer, as illustrating the uncompromising quality of the Garrisonian spirit, is that in which Mr. Phillips speaks of the church in which the services were held. It had been kindly granted by the society, whose courtesy was fitly acknowledged by Mr. May, and that consideration under the circumstances would have restrained an ordinary orator. But Mr. Phillips was there to tell the truth of his friend, who never hesitated to tell the whole truth plainly, and he said, quietly and simply, when speaking of the hostility of the Church to the antislavery movement: 'The very pulpit where I stand saw this apostle of liberty and justice sore beset, always in great need, and often in deadly peril; yet it never gave him one word of approval or sympathy.' It seemed uncourteous; but if the Abolition leaders had stayed to be polite, their work would have been undone."

Now, granting to the courteous Editor, for the moment, that a reform mission discharged Mr. Garrison from the obligations of courtesy during the heat of the battle, it does not give such discharge to Mr. Phillips after the battle is over. And should not the Editor be a little more cautious lest such a discharge by him given may conduce to let loose the rabid tongues of a countless brood of wild-cat reformers,

> Who, fire in each eye, and paper in each hand,
> May rave, denounce, and madden through the land.

Are we to understand that when a theophilanthropic orator or preacher comes into an orthodox church there is an antithesis between truth and politeness in which the latter is to be discarded? The real philanthropy of our theophilanthropic friends is generally, we believe, of a refined and sentimental species. It does not, like common-place Church benevolence, condescend to the vulgarity of mere money and labor. It soars loftily above the pocket. It patronizes cigars far more liberally than it does church building. For missions, costing the Church its millions, they have a philosophic dubitation that saves expense. As to the routine drudgery of Sunday-schools and church-going, with the tedium of listening to prayers and sermons—for all this accumulation of dull details they have a distant left-handed respect. When the impulse seizes them to so far imitate the orthodox as to hold a convention, they can go and borrow a church for the purpose. And if they have a

lofty philanthropist deceased among them, whose extravaganzas had induced the Church to stand aloof from him, what a long-drawn jubilant peal they can evolve, displaying their own heroic philanthropy over a base and time-serving Church. And when they beg and obtain an orthodox church to celebrate the praises of their departed saint, it is just the heroic thing to give said Church a slap in the face for not having duly appreciated his saintship. For said orator is a "reformer;" and your true "reformer" is not bound to be "polite." The moral whereof seems to be that orthodox Churches might as well be chary how they donate their churches to our "liberal" friends, whose liberality liberally borrows the churches of others, but is too economical to build its own.

PRINCETON REVIEW, September, 1879. (New York.)—1. Progress of Christianity in the United States; by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. 2. The Philosophic Movement in Italy; by Professor Luigi Ferri, Ph.D. 3. Painting in its Historic Relations: by Professor Henry Coppée, LL.D. 4. Religion and Mortality; by Rev. Henry N. Day, D.D. 5. The Problem of the Human Will; by Professor Henry Calderwood, LL.D. 6. The Laws of War in their Bearing on Peace; by Sheldon Amos, LL.D. 7. Secularized Education; by President Robert L. Dabney. 8. Virgil as a Precursor of Christianity; by Principal Shairp, D.C.L.

The leading Article in this number of the Princeton Review is Dr. Schaff's view of the progress of Christianity among us. From this we give the following very suggestive statistical Table of the Comparative Growth of Churches from 1776 to 1876:—

STATISTICS OF 1776, (OR 1780-90.)			STATISTICS OF 1876.		
DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.	DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.
Baptists of all descriptions	498	872*	Baptists	28,770	32,994
Congregationalists	575	700	Congregationalists	3,823	3,599
Episcopalians	150 (No bishops.)	200†	Episcopalians	3,916 (61 bishops.)	4,000
Friends (Quakers)	400	500	Friends (Quakers)	825	825
Lutherans (1786)	25	60	Lutherans	2,662	4,028
Methodists of all descriptions	94	....	Methodists	20,458	40,000
Moravians	12(?)	15(?)	Moravians	75	75
Presbyterians (General Assembly, 1789)	177	419	Presbyterians (General Assembly)	4,744	5,077
Reformed, Dutch	40	160	Reformed, Dutch	546	506
Reformed, German	12	60	Reformed, German	644	1,398
Roman Catholics	26(?)	52(?)‡	Roman Catholics	5,141	5,046
Universalists	1	1	Universalists	389	667

* The Regular or Calvinistic Baptists had in 1790 about 200 ministers and 200 congregations.

† Estimated. The Protestant Episcopal Church had no regular statistical tables before 1832.

‡ The first R. C. Bishop, Carroll, of Maryland, was consecrated in 1790. In 1808 there were 80 Roman Cath. churches; in 1830, 230; in 1840, 456; in 1850, 1,073; in 1860, 2,385; in 1870, 3,806.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1879. (London.)—1. The Evangelical Movement; Its Parentage, Progress, and Issue. 2. The Feelings and the Intellect. 3. Reforms in the University of Oxford. 4. Irenæus; His Testimony to Early Conceptions of Christianity. 5. The City Companies. 6. The City of Glasgow Bank Failure and Trial. 7. England and the Greek Question.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1879. (London.)—1. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. 2. Egypt. 3. The Supernatural in Nature. 4. Moral Evil. 5. An Editor's Portfolio. 6. The Hau-haus in New Zealand. 7. The Buddhist Nirvana.

[LONDON] QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. The English Monarchy. 2. Dean Hook and Bishop Selwyn. 3. Music and Musicians. 4. Count Cavour. 5. Herefordshire. 6. Polybius and his Times. 7. Glacial Epochs and Warm Polar Climates. 8. Why is Scotland Radical? 9. The Irish University Bill.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. Free Trade, Reciprocity, and Foreign Competition. 2. The Federation of the English Empire. 3. Aryan Society. 4. State Papers: Charles I. 5. The Life of the Prince Consort. 6. Theophrastus Such. 7. An Unrecognized Element in Our Educational System. 8. Contemporary Literature.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1879. (New York.)—1. Canon Stubbs' Constitutional History of England. 2. The Worthies of Norwich. 3. Brugsch's Egypt under the Pharaohs. 4. The Hatton Papers. 5. Intemperance and the Licensing Laws. 6. The Works of Rembrandt. 7. The Scotts of Buccleuch. 8. The Fallacies of Evolution. 9. Rural England. 10. A Brief Retrospect.

The Eighth Article confirms very decidedly our growing impression that *Darwinism is dead.* The lofty and repeated shrieks of Herr Haeckel are not so much science as atheism struggling to ensconce itself under a scientific structure; and it does this wherever any cracks or chasms in its system are seen to yawn, by assuming the certain truth of the whole structure, and filling them up with huge lumps of hypothetical putty. Concede the putty, and the whole *bildung* is coherent and even impregnable. Puttied atheism may be considered as forever established. It is "a thing of beauty" and "a joy forever"—to Herr Haeckel.

SUDDEN ELEVATION OF SPECIES.

The latest predecessor of Darwin was Robert Chambers, author of the "Vestiges of Creation," a work which somewhere about 1848 created some excitement in the world of thought. His theory was that the animated creation rose by serial jumps, forming the ascending ranks we see in animal life and forms. Parents on some great occasion flung up their offspring to a more elevated specific grade. Upon that our reviewer lays the following quietus:—

Admitting it were possible for animals to produce the infant progeny of the species next above them in the scale of develop-

ment, insurmountable obstacles would yet remain to be encountered in the subsequent treatment of them. Few animals are so constituted as to be able to take charge of any offspring but their own. An ape might be supposed to give birth to a human infant; but without a superior influence to modify its natural constitution, amounting to as great a change in the parent as in the off-pring, it could never rear it to maturity. Granted that its milk were suitable for the lactation of a human progeny, it could never continue the supply long enough to satisfy the requirements of its novel charge. The infant ape is able to take care of itself after a few months in all cases; but it is many years before a child, left to itself, as it would be virtually in a community of apes as at present constituted, could avoid starvation.—P. 116.

Mr. Darwin advanced the theory of uprising gradations by minute advances. Our reviewer proceeds to show that all the phenomena adduced in its support are equally explicable on the theory of a designing Creator, while there are facts decisively contradicting the theory of Darwinian derivation. The first to be interpreted is the existence of

TENTATIVE MEMBERS IN THE BODY

of animals, for which the animal has no use, and which seem to be the germs yet to be developed of a higher species. This our author explains on what we may call the typical view. There are clearly four generic types of life, based upon four distinct ideas; yet with variations each based upon a variation of the idea in anticipation of new spheres of life and uses of existence. "To such an extent is this typical conformity maintained that, in certain classes of animals, organs which are externally deficient are found imperfectly developed in their internal frame-work, as in the case of the ophidian reptiles, serpents, etc., in which the places assignable to the arms and legs in other animals are occupied by rudimental representatives of those organs imbedded in the surrounding tissues."—P. 118.

The same fact of the four great orders explains, as Agassiz whence showed, the existence of

GRADATIONAL RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN SPECIES.

These resemblances are thus treated by our reviewer:—

The same state of things would be predicable in the case of a creation according to the vulgar hypothesis of an exercise of the divine power. Considering this mass of animal life to be dealt with, amounting, as just observed, to one hundred and twenty

thousand different species, it is almost of necessity that they should be formed upon one or more types or models, implying a certain uniformity of character among the members of the same typical construction, which it is not unreasonable to suppose intended to be evidenced in those animals that were apparently the least amenable to it, by the otherwise inexplicable indications of imperfectly developed organs.

That all the objects in each of these sub-kingdoms should be capable of being arranged so as to present the phenomenon of a regular succession of forms is a necessary consequence of the state of things itself as just described. A number of different things constructed upon one model must be susceptible of such a mode of arrangement, while the objects themselves must, as a matter of course, exhibit individually some of the features belonging to each of the adjacent terms of the series above and below them. Furthermore, that the resemblance thus necessitated between the objects standing next one another in the supposed succession should be very strong, is merely a consequence, and that an unavoidable one, of the *number* of the species in the same typical department, and has no relation to the nature or mode of production of the objects of which it is predicated. If a number of chairs, for example, be taken, varying in size and construction from the humble three-legged stool to the carved and gilded throne of state, and arranged according to a scale of progressive improvement, the more the interval between the extremes is filled up by the insertion of new ones, the closer will become the resemblance between the contiguous individuals, until the operation is stopped by the difficulty of inventing new forms sufficiently distinct to entitle them to a separate standing. And thus it is in the case of the animated tribes: nature has supplied them in such lavish profusion in each of the sub-kingdoms, that the whole interval from one extremity to the other is, as it were, filled up, leaving little room for distinction between the several grades into which it is divided.—Pp. 118, 119.

FŒTAL TRANSITIONS THROUGH ASCENDING FORMS.

It is claimed, we may note, that the human embryo passes through the successive form of fish, reptile, bird, and lower mammalia; and at one of the last stages there transiently appears the intermaxillary bone of a perfect ape. Our space allows room for the following extract:—

The resemblance is of that vague and general description which is just sufficient to suggest the comparison, but which disappears when any attempt is made to investigate the details. . . . These resemblances, be they never so close, infer no real connection between the objects thus heterogeneously associated. It is not pretended that the objects compared together are ever entirely alike, that the unborn young of the higher animal is, at any stage of its

development, identical with any of the lower animals; but only that some of the features of the one are like the analogous features of the other. Throughout its whole career it has its own features, in which the object with which it is compared is entirely deficient. It never is at any time other than the distinct and appropriate representative of the creature in whose womb it exists. The man born at the seventh month is not a *digitigrade*, whatever may be the construction of his brain; nor is he an ape, notwithstanding his *intermaxillary bone*, whenever he happens to be born at the eighth.—P. 120.

We pass over most of his positive arguments against Darwinism, and give the one which he (like Mr. Southall, lately quoted in our Quarterly) considers "conclusive."

THE NON-EXISTENCE OF FOSSIL INTERMEDIATES.

It can require but little reflection to perceive that, if the several species of animals at present existing are the outcome of a gradual improvement, each one of another next below it in the scale of organization, not realized at once, but in successive generations, there must have existed in the course of time a multitude of animals corresponding to these successive modifications, constituting in themselves the population of the world for the time being, and as much qualified as those now remaining to take their places among the representatives of the animal kingdom, either of the living or the dead. At the same time, it requires but a very small stretch of thought further to perceive that, so far from such a principle of creation affording reasonable grounds for the inference of a development of the *species*, according to the present intent of the term, the result must have been the absolute exclusion of all *species* whatever—the production of an indiscriminate mass, or rather *mob* of animals, extending in undistinguishable series from one end of the creation to the other.

Perhaps we could make this matter more clear by a reference to analogous circumstances in another department of physical science. We are not sure that all our readers are acquainted with a certain piece of mechanism called a *monochord*. It will be enough, however, here to observe that it consists of a single cord or string like that of a harp, stretched over a frame between two fixed points, one of which, being formed like the peg of a violin, can be made use of for the purpose of tightening the string and so raising the pitch of the note. If this string be set in vibratory motion by the action of a bow when it is at the slackest, and while in motion be gradually tightened, it will give out, not a succession of separate sounds, but one continuous stream of sound, from the lowest to the highest which it is capable of producing. Here we have the development of sound, the highest from the lowest, by insensible degrees; but no evolution of musical notes, which may properly be called the *species of sound*. To this effect it would be necessary to assume certain fixed points

of tension at which to set the cord in motion, to the actual exclusion of the rest of the scale. Precisely similar would it be in the case of a development of animal life by insensible degrees according to the theory before us. We should have an animal population consisting of a number of series of individuals, from the lowest to the highest, with nothing to distinguish between the conponent members for an infinite number of generations in succession; and it could only be by the intervention of a foreign power sweeping away whole multitudes, not by haphazard, but in regular groups of successive generations, leaving some solitary cases with sensible gaps in the series on either side, that any scope could be realized for a distribution into species.

Once admit the possibility of a transmutation of species, and the whole order of animated and vegetable creation would in a given series of ages be thrown into chaos. Every thing would cease to be what it is, and be becoming what it is not. On this point M. de Quatrefages has a striking passage:—

"The infertility, or, if you will, the restricted and rapidly limited fertility between species, and the impossibility of natural forces, when left to themselves, producing series of intermediary beings between two given specific types is one of those general facts which we call *law*. This fact has an importance in the organic world equal to that rightly attributed to attraction in the sidereal world. It is by virtue of the latter that the celestial bodies preserve their respective distances, and complete their orbits in the admirable order revealed by astronomy. The *law of the sterility of species* produces the same result, and maintains between species and between different groups in animals and plants all those relations which, in the palæontological ages as well as in our own, form the marvelous whole of the *Organic Empire*.

"Imagine the suppression of the laws which govern attraction in the heavens, and what chaos would immediately be the result! Suppress upon earth the law of crossing, and the confusion would be immense. It is scarcely possible to say where it would stop. After a few generations the groups which we call genera, families, orders, and classes, would most certainly have disappeared, and the branches, also, would rapidly have become affected. It is clear that only a few centuries would elapse before the animal and vegetable kingdoms fell into the most complete disorder. Now, order has existed in both kingdoms since the epoch when organized beings first peopled the solitudes of our globe, and it could only have been established and preserved by virtue of the impossibility of a fusion of species with each other through indifferently and indefinitely fertile crossings."—(*Quatrefages*, p. 80.) Pp. 128, 129.

Our reviewer thus disposes of Professor Huxley's horse argument:—

A solitary case of approximation to the equine species was once rather vauntingly claimed for the *orohippus*, a peculiar creat-

ure of its kind, about the size of a fox. But it is not one, but millions, of creatures that we are looking for, and have a right to expect to find if ever they existed.—P. 129.

One of the distinctions between animals and vegetables has been held to be the fact that the former fed on organic food, the latter not. How this boundary line was claimed to be obliterated he thus notices:—

We most of us will remember the sensation created by the announcement at the meeting of the British Association at Belfast a few years ago, under the presidency of Professor Tyndall, of the flesh-eating propensity of the Venus's Fly-trap, (*Dionæa muscipula,*) as the case of a plant living upon animal food, confirming, it was solemnly believed, the relation of the animal to the vegetable kingdom as co-members of the one universal scheme of development by evolution. And doubtless it was under the same inspiration that Dr. Darwin himself has favored the world with a whole volume upon "Insectivorous Plants," drawn up with his usual skill; though, with regard to the main point, we fail to perceive in it any thing new. We have always been under the impression that plants did thrive or live upon decayed animal matter, without having been led to infer a botanical origin for our own race.—P. 129.

That means, we suppose, that the flies are manure, not food.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Hilgenfeld. 1879. Third Number.—1. THOMA. The Old Testament in the Gospel of St. John, (Second Article.) 2. HANNE, The Theory of Man's Descent from the Monkey. 3. TOLLIN, The Antichrist of Servetus. 4. DOMBART, The Significance of Commedianus for the Text of the Testimonia of Garran. 5. RONSCH, Miscellaneous Remarks.

Fourth Number.—1. HOLTZMANN, Baptism in the New Testament. 2. HILGENFELD, Paulinism in the Epistle to the Hebrews. 3. HILGENFELD, The Most Recent Work on the Book of Baruch. 4. HOLTZMANN, The Mutual Relation of the Two Epistles to the Corinthians. 5. HILGENFELD, A Modern Orthodox Theologian on Justin. 6. EGLI, The Cock in the Gospels.

As the Journal for Scientific Theology is the organ of the most advanced Liberal or Rationalistic school of the German Protestant Churches, the article by Dr. Hanne, on "Man's Descent from the Monkey," will be taken as a manifesto of the school, defining its position with regard to Darwinism and Haeckelism. Dr. Hanne examines the opinions of Darwin, and more particularly those of Haeckel, which he very properly distinguishes

from those of Darwin, from an esthetical and logical point of view, and emphatically and decidedly rejects them, as revolting to the esthetical feelings of man and to logic. One of the most interesting features of the article are the copious quotations from the recent literature on the subject, which is well known to be immense. As no one who is not a scientist by profession can possibly keep pace with the progress of this branch of literature, articles giving a *resumé* of the opinions of the best writers on both sides are, of course, in demand and very useful. Dr. Hanne gives at length the views of a number of scientists, by whom the assertions of Haeckel are rejected as entirely groundless. Among those who from the study of natural science directly draw inferences in behalf of the belief in a personal God, he quotes especially Hermann Lotze, the author of the *Mikrokosmus*, and Albert Wigand, the author of *Der Darwinismus und die Naturforschung, Newtons und Cuviers*, (two volumes, 1876.) Wigand, who is regarded as a scientist of distinction, says on this subject: "Only he has a right to deny the personal Creator who derides the principle of appositeness and at the same time of lawfulness in nature, and sees in it nothing but the play of an aimless and lawless accident." At the close of his article Dr. Hanne discusses the question, to what extent the Darwinian theory of the descent of man would affect the position of the theological school to which he belongs, or, as he calls it, modern theology. "For the religious faith which does not cling to the letter of Genesis," he says, "the new hypothesis is entirely unimportant. We concur in the words of Heinrich Lang, (*Religiöse Reden*, ii, 312.) The divine creative power remains entirely the same whether it takes a piece of earth or the organism of an animal for the basis of man, and in each case man remains a creature of God's hand, different from animal not only as to degree, but as to his substance."

Among the Church fathers and apologetic writers of the second century, Justin, the philosopher and martyr, holds a prominent place, and his theological views are, therefore, a subject of considerable importance and interest for the church historian. It is doubtful, with regard to several writings ascribed to him, whether they are genuine or spurious; and even if a synopsis of his theological views is exclusively evolved from

the writings which are admitted by all to be genuine, theologians still differ as to whether, in the writings of Justin, the so-called Jewish Christian or the Gentile Christian type of Christianity prevails; furthermore, whether Justin with regard to all the fundamental doctrines held in common by the Evangelical Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Churches was fully orthodox or not. All these questions have recently again become the subject of a very animated controversy in consequence of a work published by a distinguished Lutheran theologian, Professor Moritz von Engelhardt, at the Russian University of Dorpat, and entitled, *Das Christenthum Justins des Märtyrers. Eine Untersuchung über die Anfänge der Katholischen Glaubenslehre.* (1878.) The work is fully reviewed by Professor Hilgenfeld in the fourth number of his "Journal for Scientific Theology." In the beginning of his article he casts a rapid glance over the divergent opinions which succeeding schools of Protestant theologians have held with regard to Justin. Matthias Flaccus, the first Protestant Church historian, whose great work is best known under the title *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, found that the genuine apostolic Christianity was greatly disfigured in Justin. Instead of declaring with Augustin, the virtues of pagans as brilliant vices, Justin had declared pagans like Socrates, and even the philosopher Heraclitus, to have been virtual Christians. The author of the *Centuriæ* ascribed this to the influence of Greek philosophy. On the other hand, the undisguised teaching of Chiliasm appeared to the *Centuriæ* as a gross Jewish error. The Liberal schools of German Protestantism maintained likewise that Justin's Christianity was strongly mixed with pagan philosophy and Jewish errors. Semler represented Justin as a Platonist, and this view has found many adherents. On the other hand, the author of the Dialogue with the Jew Trypho could well appear as a man of entirely Jewish opinions. The identity of the author of the two Apologies for Christianity against paganism, and of the Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon, has, however, been fully established, and thus Credner (in his *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, vol. i, 1832) pronounced Justin not only a representative of a Jewish type of Christianity, but an adherent of Ebionism; and this view has been adopted by nearly all the theologians of the Tübingen school. This

school divided the biblical and apostolical Christianity into the Jewish Christianity of the primitive apostles, and the Gentile Christianity of Paul, which difference, in its view, terminated in the old Catholic Church. Justin, according to the Tübingen theologians, represented the transition from Jewish Christianity to Catholicism. This view of the Tübingen school was chiefly controverted by Albrecht Ritchl, in his celebrated work on the Origin of the Old Catholic Church, (*Entstehung der alt Katholischen Kirche*, 1850, second edition, 1857,) who not only softened very considerably the supposed differences between the Jewish and Gentile types of Christianity, but made Justin a somewhat degenerate representative of the Gentile Christianity of Paul. Justin thus appeared as a chief witness for the incompetency of the Gentile Christianity of the post-apostolic age to obtain control of the Old Testament presuppositions of the fundamental ideas of the apostolic, especially Pauline, theology. Justin's Dialogue, according to Ritchl, substantially opposes Christianity as a new law to the old law, Christ as the new lawgiver to the old lawgiver, viewing Christianity one-sidedly as teaching, and Christ as a teacher. Ritchl's view has met with much approval on the part of the orthodox theologians. The new work by Professor Engelhard accepts the views of Ritschl, and tries to carry it through by showing in which particular points Justin's opinions do not come up to the full standard of biblical orthodoxy. The reviewer of Engelhard's work, Professor Hilgenfeld, contents himself with declaring, for the present, his dissent from the views of Ritschl and Engelhard. They have failed, he thinks, to prove that Justin could not be the representative of some Jewish type of Christianity. We may expect that Justin's orthodoxy will now for some time be thoroughly ventilated from every possible stand-point in the theological journals of Germany. At the close of his articles, Professor Hilgenfeld refers to a new work by a Jewish scholar, Dr. M. Friedländer, in Vienna, entitled *Patristische und Talmudische Schriften*, (1878,) which sheds some light on Justin's dialogue with the Jew Tryphon from Jewish writings. Dr. Friedländer says of Justin: "As long as Justin defends himself against the Jewish charge of not observing the law, as long as he disputes the literal conception of certain petrified, long-abandoned doctrines,

and tries to spiritualize them, so long he speaks sensibly, and even in an elevated and convincing manner." Dr. Friedländer calls Justin one of the best among the Church fathers, though to some extent a sophist. It may be of interest for our readers to compare the foregoing extracts from Professor Hilgenfeld's article with the remarks of Professor Schaff, (Church History, vol. i, p. 484:) "Justin was a man of very extensive reading, enormous memory, inquiring spirit, and many profound ideas, but wanting in critical discernment. His mode of reasoning is often ingenious and convincing, but sometimes loose and rambling, fanciful and puerile. His style is easy and vivacious, but diffuse and careless."

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) Edited by Dr. J. KÖSTLIN and Dr. RIEHM. Fourth Number, 1879.—*Essays:* 1. KÖSTLIN, The Task of Christian Ethics. 2. GRÖBLER, The Views of the Jewish Literature of the Last Two Centuries before Christ on Immortality and Resurrection. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KÖSTLIN, Luther's Last Intercourse with Staupitz. 2. EIBACH, John Milton as a Theologian. 3. Another Greek Translator of the Bible besides Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotius. *Reviews:* 1. SCHRADER'S *Keilinschriften und Geschichtforschung*, reviewed by RÖSCH. 2. WIESELER'S *Zur Geschichte der Kleinasiatischen Galater und des deutschen Volkes in der Urzeit*, reviewed by HERZBERG.

Until a few years ago it was not known how Luther's relation to Staupitz, whom, at the beginning of his career, he esteemed like a spiritual father, and to whom he was attached in intimate friendship, had finally terminated. Three years ago considerable light was shed upon this obscure subject by a letter of Staupitz, published for the first time in C. and W. Krafft's *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation*, and referred to last year in the Methodist Quarterly Review. The revised text of this letter has been reprinted in a very able work by Kolde on the German Augustinians and Staupitz, (*Die deutsche Augustiner-Congregation und J. von Staupitz*, Gotha, 1879.) Luther in a preceding letter had given utterance to his fear that the long continued silence of Staupitz indicated an estrangement from his friends at Wittenberg, and that under the influence of the Archbishop of Salzburg he had become wavering in his evangelical sentiments. It is, therefore, highly interesting to see from Staupitz's last letter that he assures Luther of his unwavering love for him, and, while he reminds Luther of the fact that in former years he (Staupitz) was a forerunner of the holy evangelical doctrine, he now calls himself a disciple of Luther, though, he says, Luther goes further than

he can follow him. We have as yet no information whether Luther ever answered this letter, but Professor Köstlin in this number of the *Studien* publishes for the first time some extracts from the archives of the philosophical faculty of the former University of Wittenberg, which show how Staupitz's letter was received in Wittenberg. Under the year 1524 the archives of the philosophical faculty contain the following words relating to the bearer of Staupitz's letter: "Eodem anno MDXXIV ultima Aprilis (id quod antea numquam factum est Uuittembergae) urgentibus hoc D. Joh. Staupicio, cui haec schola suum debebat principium, and D. Martino Luthero, non tam literarum quam Evangelii, (cujus fulgure Deus Opt. Max. sub hoc tempus Germaniam illustraverat,) adsertore, Georgius Führer Salzburgensis Magisterii *πρόσωπον* adsequutus est." Evidently George Führer was the bearer of Staupitz's letter. The promotions of Masters took place at Wittenberg on certain fixed days, to which the 30th of April did not belong. According to the annals of the university, promotion on that day was rare exception. The next after the promotion of Führer took place in 1528. Another hand has added to the entry under April 30, 1524: "Non bene de collegio meriti quicunque ista induxerunt." Thus Luther, who was not himself a member of the philosophical faculty, had used his influence to fulfill as soon as possible the wish of his old friend. The words of Staupitz, that Luther might make Führer his pupil, do not exclude that Führer was already acquainted with and attached to Luther's views. It even seems that he was in Wittenberg before, for among the *baccalaurei* who in 1521 came to Wittenberg is mentioned Georgius Fyerer, Saltzburgenses Bacc. Whether Führer ever returned to Staupitz is not known; the latter died on December 28.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) June, 1879.—1. LEFÈVRE, Marot, a Poet of the French Reformation. 2. BRÉCOURT, From Paris to Venice.

July.—1. RECOLIN, The Youth and the Gospel. 2. MOURON, A Contemporaneous English Novel Writer, (George Eliot.) 3. MASSEBIEAU, The Bible in the Sixteenth Century.

"The Bible in the Sixteenth Century" (*La Bible au XVI Siècle*) is the title of a new work by Samuel Berger, a young

Professor of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, of which the "Christian Review" in its July number gives a full abstract. The subject is one of the highest interest for every one who appreciates the importance of this great reformatory age of the Christian Church, and the author seems to have fully mastered the subject. The main work is preceded by an introduction, in which the author sets forth what the Bible was to the ruling Church at the end of the Middle Ages. He shows that but few copies of the Bible were found among the lower clergy and monks of the fifteenth century. Indeed, before the invention of the art of printing but few priests were rich enough to buy a copy of the Bible, for even toward the close of the Middle Age, when the price began to be reduced, it still amounted to 1,000 francs. Still, all the students of universities in the convents were required to read or hear the reading of the Bible. It was easy to borrow a copy and to make extracts. Therefore, if the majority of the secular clergy and monks showed but little acquaintance with the Bible, the chief reason was not the scarcity of books in general, but want of interest. This proceeded partly from the shocking condition of medieval exegesis. The Church had gradually developed the theory of the quadruple interpretation, literal, allegorical, topological, and anagogical. According to this exegesis, Jerusalem was historically the suffering capital of Palestine; topologically, the type of the faithful soul, the conscience of which is in peace; allegorically, the figure of the Church militant when peace reigns through charity and benevolence; anagogically, the triumphant Church, which is above all assaults. So general was that theory of construing the Bible that the University of Paris imposed it upon the *bibliarii* to the exclusion of any other. A few distinguished theologians raised their voice against these fanciful interpresentations, which read in the Bible many things that were not there, and did not read what was there. Among those who opposed the quadruple interpretation was Nicholas de Lyra, of whom a proverb said, "Si Lyra non lyrasset, totus mundus delirasset;" and later the Lutherans said, "Si Lyra non lyrasset, Martinus non saltasset." The success of men like Lyra was, however, of short duration, and the quadruple interpretation remained in the ascendency until the sixteenth century, until the Reformation.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The Old Catholic Church of Germany held its sixth annual Synod at Bonn, on June 4. It has, of course, attracted attention that the statistics which in former years accompanied the annual report of the Bishop were this year not given. Bishop Reinkens, in his opening address, alluded to the present condition of the Church as follows: "In numbers the movement has not increased, but neither has it decreased, and our reformed ideas have penetrated into even wider circles. Though our work is not so apparent outwardly, it is not, therefore, insufficient. The manifold hinderances that opposed us have inwardly strengthened us, and tended more to consolidate us. The eager demand to see great results has ceased to be apparent with us, but our hopes are not weakened, but increased, thereby. I open the present Synod with the exhortation to hope with patience for the assured fruits of our labor." Thus it appears from the words of the Bishop that the movement during the past year has made no progress. The number of priests who have pastoral charges is about fifty. The Synod was attended by only sixteen priests and forty-two laymen. With the consent of the synodal representation the Bishop appointed his Vicar-general, Professor Knoodt, as Deputy President of the Synod. It was resolved to establish a pension fund for invalided priests. No Synod is to be held next year, but, instead of it, a congress either at Mannheim or Heidelberg. The Synod also adopted a course of religious instruction for common and higher schools, which had been prepared by a special committee for the schools of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and was recommended by the synodal representation. In consequence of the election of several new members, the synodal representation for this time until the next Synod will be composed as follows: Bishop Reinkens, President; Professor Schulte, Vice-President; Professor Knoodt, Rev. Mr. Weidinger, Privy Councilor Meurer, and Councilor Wrede, as ordinary members; and Professor Michelis, Professor Weber, of Breslau, Ex-Mayor Malsch, of Carlsruhe, and Councilor Reuthner, as extraordinary members. It was stated that many offers from excellent priests were received during the past year, but had to be declined on account of lack of means. Two students were reported as preparing at Bonn for the Old Catholic ministry, while another was preparing for orders in the Russo-Greek Church.

The Old Catholics of Austria held this year their first Synod at Vienna. The great legal difficulties against which they have had to contend have been referred to in a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review. (See Jan., 1879, p. 153.) Having been frowned upon for seven years by the State, and then, when legally permitted to organize themselves, having been hindered for another year by the persecution of minor officials, it was only in 1878 that they were able to close their ranks and present

a good front to the foe. There are at present only three registered Austrian Old Catholic parishes—in Vienna, Ried, and Warnsdorf. As they possess as yet no Bishop, the Old Catholics of Austria seem to have been exercised in mind respecting their right to call a synod, but their legal adviser, Professor Von Schulte, of Bonn, accorded to them the power of constituting themselves "an extraordinary synod." This met at Vienna, on June 5, and, after service in the Salvator Church, elected Dr. Linder, a member of the Vienna Town Council, President, and Prof. Löger, of Vienna-Neustadt, Secretary. A provisional Synodal Council was elected, consisting of three ordinary members, Dr. Linder, Director Wessely, and Pastor Schwetter, of Vienna, and four extraordinary members, the two priests of Warnsdorf and Ried, and two laymen. Subject to the ratification of a future synod, the council has accepted the reforms in doctrine and practice hitherto introduced by the German or Swiss Old Catholics. These are classified under eight heads: 1. The participation of the laity in the outer government of the Church, popular election of the clergy, etc.; 2. Confession to be voluntary, not compulsory; 3. Freedom of the clergy to marry; 4. Use of the national tongue in the liturgy and all ecclesiastical offices; 5. Fasting and abstinence to be no longer a matter of obligation; 6. Reduction of superfluous festivals; 7. Reforms in the matter of indulgences, the veneration of pictures and relics, religious processions, etc.; 8. Abolition of mass stipends, and all payments for spiritual functions. The Synodal Council was instructed to make application to the Austrian House of Deputies for a grant in the next budget toward the support of the Old Catholic congregations, and, further, to take steps toward the appointment of a Bishop.

In Switzerland the Christian Catholics are passing through a severe ordeal. Under the terms of a new Church law in the Canton of Berne, issued after the removal of Bishop Lachat, of Basle, to whose diocese Berne belonged, the Catholic priests of the canton were in future to be elected by popular suffrage, were to be subject to re-election every six years, and were bound to subscribe to the State law. As the Roman priests refused to submit to the law, and the Ultramontane laity declined to vote, Christian Catholic priests were elected by the Liberal minority in about thirty out of forty-two parishes of the canton. The Christian Catholic priests have worked hard to make good their footing, and they have succeeded in some places, but in the majority of the parishes they have only been able to attain a strong minority. Recently the Ultramontane party have resolved to take part in the elections, and as an amnesty granted by the cantonal government allows the Roman priests to take cures without further submission, the Old Catholics have already lost some parishes, and stand fair to lose a great many more in the course of the next years. It is a falling off, not in numbers, but in position. The election by the people carries with it the State endowment, and the loss of that election will be a pecuniary one, while the necessity for the maintenance of the parish priest will remain. In the above description only the Canton of Berne is concerned; but as this Canton contained

almost one half of all the congregations of the Church, (thirty out of sixty-two,) the entire Christian Catholic Church suffers from the change.

The Fifth Synod of the Christian Catholic Church held its session at Solothurn, on June 5. Bishop Herzog was necessarily unable to report much advance, but there had been no considerable retrogression either. He could still tell of fifty-six parishes (against sixty-one in 1878) and seventy-two priests, (against seventy-five in 1878,) of a large number of children under religious instruction, and admitted last year to the first communion, and of eleven students at Berne preparing for ordination. Since the last Synod five priests had left and two had been ordained. Communion in both kinds is introduced in the Canton of Geneva and at Chaux-de-Fonds, but in the northern parishes the old custom continues to prevail. A lively discussion took place on a revised French missal. It was approved by M. Michaud, but the Bishop condemned the attempt, and only granted that the manual was not un-Catholic, and recommended the Synod to refer it back to the Genevese for better consideration. Meanwhile a temporary use of the book was permitted. A series of resolutions was passed, by the terms of which the Synod declares that it stands in essential matters "on the same Christian and Catholic ground" as the Anglican Church, defines the idea of the approximation of Churches, and thanks the Anglo-American Church for its marks of substantial sympathy. The Synod charged Bishop Herzog officially to communicate these resolutions to "those Bishops of the Anglo-American Church who have been the means of intercourse between the Churches."

In France Father Hyacinthe has at last succeeded in organizing an Old Catholic congregation at Paris. As long as the French Old Catholics have no Bishop of their own the Primus of the Scotch Episcopal Church will exercise episcopal jurisdiction. In July, 1879, Bishop Herzog, of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland, acting as delegate for the Primus of Scotland, who was detained by sickness, confirmed seven persons in Father Hyacinthe's Church.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

In a former number of the Methodist Quarterly Review (April, 1878, pp. 347–351) we published a brief account of the present condition of Mohammedanism in the Russian and British Empires, taken from an article of the distinguished German traveler and ethnological writer, E. von Schlagintweit. In the following lines we supplement that account by some extracts from an address delivered by Dr. von Döllinger on March 29, 1879, before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Döllinger is well known as one of the most learned Church historians of the present age, and has given special attention to the history of Mohammedanism, on which he published, forty-one years ago, an elaborate essay, entitled, *Mohammed's Religion*, (Ratisbon, 1838.)

The Queen of England and Empress of India, says Dr. Döllinger, rules over the largest number of Mohammedans. No Moslem prince has an approximately large number of Mohammedan subjects, not even the Sul-

tan of Turkey, for his dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa contain only twenty-one millions of Mohammedans, while British India embraces about fifty millions.* Russia has at present five and a half millions † Mohammedans, and even after it shall have annexed Persia and the Khanates of Central Asia, which is only a question of time, the number of its Mohammedan subjects will remain far behind the millions of Moslems in India. Mohammedanism at present presents a remarkable phenomenon. On the one hand, it spreads in parts of Asia and Africa with a rapidity which excels the progress of Christian missions; on the other hand, all Mohammedan States of the world are in danger of utter decay in consequence of their inability to govern themselves. The Sultanate is at present approaching extinction, as the Khalifate in former times. The hierarchical state system of Arabia is dead; the half-hierarchical, half-military organization of Turkey is in the course of dissolution; a third form of government for Mohammedan States is hardly possible, because the primitive form of tribe associations which is found among the Bedouins is hardly fitted for larger States. On the other hand, the power of expansion exhibited by modern Mohammedanism is marvelous. It grows with the rapidity of a current. Entire nations which but yesterday were pagans or worshipers of fetiches are to-day believers in the Koran. Sierra Leone, on the northern coast of Guinea, has a Mohammedan high school with a thousand pupils. In China the Moslems have already become so numerous that they could recently risk an insurrection. In Tongkin they already number fifty thousand. Among the Malays of the islands of the Indian Archipelago they have made even in our days crowds of proselytes. From Sumatra the Islam has spread to Java, and since the establishment of the Dutch administration the whole population, amounting to about eighteen millions, has become Mohammedan. The larger portion of Sumatra, and at least one half of Borneo and Celebes, have been gained for Islam. Throughout the islands which are under Dutch rule Mohammedanism is making rapid progress, much more rapid than the Christian missions. It is believed that this remarkable advance is chiefly caused by the more frequent pilgrimages to Mecca, which have been greatly facilitated by the introduction of the steamboats. The numerous pilgrims, or *hadjis*, generally return from Mecca as fanatical missionaries of their faith. In British India conversions to Mohammedanism continue to be frequent in the North-western Provinces, and the attitude of the Indian Mohammedans with regard to British rule will therefore be for the English an element either of great strength or of great danger. In case of a war between Russia and England, the Mohammedan population of British India would undoubtedly side with England, for Russia is regarded throughout the East as the great hereditary foe of

* According to the last census, the British dominions in India contained 40,750,000 Mohammedans, and about 7,000,000 were living under tributary princes.

† Here Döllinger's estimate is too low. According to the latest official statements the Russian Empire has in Europe 2,400,000 Mohammedans, and in Asia, 5,000,000; total, 7,400,000.

Islam. On the other hand, the Koran leaves to the faithful Mohammedan in non-Mohammedan countries only the alternative to emigrate or to establish by rebellion a Mohammedan government. The most fanatical among the Mohammedan sects, the Wahabees, are openly calling for the execution of this doctrine. An assembly of Mohammedan doctors of Lucknow and Delhi, which some years ago was held at Rampoor, declared for the same view. The Mohammedan Society of Calcutta felt greatly embarrassed by this declaration, and, in opposition to them, declared through her doctors of law that India was still a land of the faithful, and a rebellion therefore unlawful. Moreover, an opinion has been obtained from the doctors at Mecca which likewise declares India, in spite of English rule, to be a land of the faithful, but significantly intimates that all Mohammedans must do what is in their power to re-establish in India the validity of orthodox laws and regulations, and that all that is introduced by the foreign Government contrary to Mohammedan law is invalid. British statesmen, therefore, cannot but look upon the growing power of Mohammedanism as a serious danger. Recently a Mohammedan scholar, Saiyid Ahmad Khan, chief justice at Khazipoor, on the Ganges, has made a translation of the Old and New Testament, since both, he says, are still binding for the faith and life of Mohammedans. The Mohammedans do, however, not show the same aversion to Protestants as to the Roman and Greek Churches, the members of which they abhor as idolaters on account of their veneration of images. The celebrated traveler, Vambéry, reports that a Mollah (Mohammedan priest) told him, "From the Greeks and Armenians we are separated by a broad and deep ocean; from the English only by a ditch."

Döllinger's article, from which the above statements have been condensed, confirms the general opinion of geographers, that the real number of Mohammedans considerably exceeds the former estimate. We estimate the present number of Mohammedans in the several countries of the world about as follows:—

I. In Europe:—		Persia	5,900,000
Turkey proper	2,600,000	Arabia	3,700,000
Bulgaria	590,000	India	50,000,000
Eastern Roumelia	350,000	China	3,000,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	500,000	Afghanistan and Beloochistan	4,630,000
Roumania	120,000	States of Central Asia	3,000,000
Servia	75,000	Indian Archipelago	23,000,000
Montenegro	20,000	Farther India	50,000
Russia	2,364,000		111,344,000
	6,624,000	III. In Africa	100,000,000
II. In Asia:—			
Russia	5,064,000	Total	227,968,000
Turkey	13,000,000		

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

An Armenian scholar of the congregation of Mekhitarists at Venice has published fragments of an old Armenian translation of some of the earliest works of Christian literature. The editor entitles his work *S. Aristidis, Philosophi Atheniensis, Sermones Duo*, (Venice, 1878.) Both fragments are published in Armenian and in a Latin translation. The one is headed, "Aristides, the Athenian Philosopher, to the Imperator Cæsar Hadrianus," and would fill about two and one half closely printed octavo pages. The other fragment is a treatise, "*De latronis clamore et Crucifixi responsione*, and is ascribed to the Athenian philosopher Aristæus, whom the editor, without assigning any reason for his opinion, identifies with Aristides. The editor believes that this Armenian translation dates from the fifth century, the golden era of the Armenian literature. If these fragments are authentic, they are an addition of the highest value to the extant writings of the earliest Christian Church. Aristides, a Christian philosopher of Athens, flourished about 123 A.D. He presented to the Emperor Hadrian, at the same time with Quadratus, an "Apology for the Christian Faith," which existed in the time of Eusebius and Jerome, and even as late as that of Usuardus and Addo of Vienne, if the account given of the passion of St. Dionysius the Areopagite may be relied upon. Since then they have been regarded as lost. The apologies by Quadratus and Aristides preceded in time that by Justin, and they were, in fact, the first among the Greek apologies of the second century. The alleged discovery of a considerable fragment of one of these apologies at the present time has for theologians a special interest, as the researches on the theological belief of the apologists, especially of Justin, have been resumed with new vigor. (See our account of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftlichen Theologie* in the present number of the Methodist Quarterly Review.)

Among the works on the history of the Apostolic Creed and other early creeds of Christendom, that published in three volumes by Prof. Caspari, of the University of Christiana, Norway, (*Quellen fur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 1866–1875,) is regarded as one of high value. A continuation of this work by the same distinguished theologian has recently been published under the title *Alte und Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, (1879,) and is warmly welcomed by the theological world. Professor Caspari is esteemed as one of the most learned living theologians of the Lutheran Church. His present work is published at the expense of the Norwegian Society of Science.

Dr. R. Reuss, of Strassburg, has published a biography of a prominent Reformer of Alsace, Pierre Brully, (*Pierre Brully, ancien dominicain de Metz*, etc., 1879,) which will do much toward restoring the reputation of a Protestant martyr who was personally known and highly esteemed by the first historians of the Reformation, Sleidanus and Crespin, but who has

since fallen into undue oblivion. Hagenbach, in his extensive work on the Reformation, does not even mention his name. Neither the German Theological Cyclopædia by Herzog, nor, what is still more surprising, the new French Theological Cyclopædia by Lichtenberger, have an article on him. He is, however, fully noticed (s. v. Brulius) in the Theological Cyclopædia by M'Clintock and Strong, (vol. i, 1867,) the biographical department of which is incomparably superior in point of completeness to any European work. Recent researches on the history of the French Reformation have brought to light much new material relating to Brully, who at the beginning of the Reformation was a greatly esteemed monk, and, as appears from recent discoveries, a lector in the Dominican convent of Metz. The work enriches, therefore, our knowledge of the history of the Reformation, and, as we have shown, supplements all our theological cyclopædias.

Professor Herzog, the learned editor of the German Theological Cyclopædia, began in 1876 the publication of a Compendium of Church History, which is to be completed in three volumes, and the second volume of which has recently appeared. The name of the editor is the surest guarantee that all the results of the researches in the department of theological science have been made use of and been embodied in this work, which, like few other works, will be found a reliable book of reference for all information relating to Church history. The first volume extends to the eighth century, the second to Luther, and the third to the present time.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Beyond the Grave. Being Three Lectures before Chautauqua Assembly in 1878, with Papers on Recognition in the Future State, and other Addenda. By Randolph S. Foster, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 269. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

When Dr. Foster said that we do not *know* that our life survives the grave, that is, as the connection shows, with "absolute knowledge," excluding debate or doubt, the shallow newspaper paragraphists took it, isolated the phrase from its connections, and bruited it about that Bishop Foster said that "we do not *know* that we are immortal." And this unwisdom, we are ashamed to say, has been repeated in some of our own religious papers. Now, why is not the same fuss made because Professor Bowne tells us, both in his last able article in our Quarterly, and his late volume, that we cannot know, with absolute knowledge, that a personal God exists? His fundamental maxim is, that our proof of God is not the demonstration of a theorem, but the solution of a prob-

lem; to which problem other solutions are "possible." And this same criticism involves our Quarterly, for we took nearly the same grounds two or three years ago in our notice of an able atheistic article in the Westminster Review. The fact is, our word *know* and the psychological states it designates involve an immense number of gradations of certitude. Reduced to its ultimate, I only *know* my own present conscious thought. I know that I think. Every thing else is *inference* of more or less certitude. And it is to very various degrees of this certitude that, with more or less absoluteness, we apply the word *know*. For, in fact, we apply the word know *whenever the evidence is so far clear that we feel content to repose the mind on the assumption of its certainty, and base our conduct in life upon it.* Absolutely we do not *know* the sun will rise to-morrow; and yet practically we assume to know it, rest our whole system of life upon it, and with verbal truth always say we *know* it. Do we *know* our own immortality with the same absoluteness as we know the sun will rise to-morrow? Do we know with an equal certitude that the Bible is true? Do we *know* absolutely that our faculties do not deceive us? Yet we do again say *we know* a thing merely because we were told so by our neighbor. We *know* a thing because Bancroft's history narrates it. John Stuart Mill says we *know* that women are capable of military exploits because the examples of Deborah and Joan d'Arc prove it. And so a physican may *know* a disease by its symptoms, and a geologist knows the whole structure of an animal by a single bone. All natural science is based upon such a *know*. And all geometry is based upon an assumption—the assumption that our faculties do not deceive us. And so, passing through our Christian experience, and basing ourselves on the great probability of the divine truth of the Scriptures, we do justly say with calm reliance, "We know that we have passed from death unto life;" "We know God;" "We know that when he shall appear we shall be like him." All of which is no contradiction to Bishop Foster's *dictum*, speaking from the stand-point by him occupied, that we do not *know* our own immortality with an absolute knowledge, so but that discussion, reply to objections, clearing of difficulties, and massing of arguments, are necessary. Why need we discuss and try to prove what every body absolutely *knows?* The very fact that people listened to his proofs, and read his book, is proof that they do not pretend to know it beyond all debate. And the Bishop very sensibly assigns the fact that we do not absolutely know, as the reason why he is about to furnish the proofs of its reliable certainty. What fol-

lows is a very successful attempt, quite in accordance with the admirable Chautauqua enterprise, to popularize Christian metaphysics and theology. The Bishop has ever possessed the talent of arguing in pictures; of clothing logic in living forms and colorings; and so not only impressing the mind's eye of the average audience, but of leaving pictorial truth on the memory. His picturings are so full, so plenary with added and ever-added touches, that the mind has time for a complete acceptance and retention. The book is, therefore, well calculated for popular circulation, and for winning a way for the truths it so beautifully unfolds, and we wish it a place in the hands and hearts of the millions.

Our immortal life, its present undeveloped state yet glorious assurance, its advancing stages, its dread alternatives, its transcendent consummation, are the main theme of the book. Its leading point is that *the spirit is the man.* We are truly spirits enshrined in semi-transparent vehicles. The details of the wonderful developments of our eternal existence are given with a free play of thought, but profound submission to the limitations of Scripture. Readers will especially enjoy the rich discussion of recognition in heaven. On every page of that glowing picture the heart will respond, "It is good for us to be here."

Of the Bishop's rejection of the resurrection of the body, taught by Scripture, the Apostles' Creed, and the Church, and his substitution of something else which is not a resurrection, we cannot speak so favorably. And when we see such views followed up in the editorials of our General Conference periodicals with a denial of a literal judgment day, and an affirmation that there is only a resurrection of the soul from Hades, we seem to have old Gnostic *doketism* coming back again. What harm in adding that the living body of Christ was only a *dokesis?* The Bishop's words about "intolerance" seem to us an omen. What other "intolerance" has there been against this denial of a resurrection of the body than the thorough and logical re-affirmation by the periodicals of the Church, our Quarterly especially, of our established doctrine? Will not our beloved Bishop's plea of "intolerance" be quoted with effective *à fortiori* emphasis by those who are ecclesiastically arraigned for other variations, to them seemingly harmless, as the Bishop's seem to him. We have no taste for heresy hunting. We would allow, indeed, some play for individualisms of private opinion, where the holder feels no mission to inculcate them upon the Church. We should be chary of arraigning a man who published his individualism outside the Church. We would even allow possibility for the mind of the

Church deliberately and slowly to reconsider her doctrines. But we submit some doubt of the effect of one of our chief pastors using his position to disseminate in the popular mind variances from our established doctrines. And, therefore, we suggest to our esteemed Bishop that in the next edition he substitute a more profitable chapter in the place of the dissertation to which we allude. And such a substitution we would not hold to be a *resurrection.*

There are other individualisms, not colliding with our accepted theology, in the volume with which we should personally venture, perhaps mistakenly, to differ. We believe that the threefold heavens are not merely Jewish, but *scriptural;* and that a strict exegesis of the passages given from M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia in our comment upon 2 Cor. xii, 2, compels overwhelmingly a literal and local interpretation.

We cannot consider his removal of the objection to man's immortality derived from brute soul satisfactory. It is, indeed, embarrassing for us, that after having builded a magnificent argument for man's immortality derived from the indestructibility of the thinking principle, we are suddenly brought to a stand with "But do not brutes think? And are they not then immortal?" The Bishop's answer seems to be, that God himself is the thinking soul within the brute, and the brute perishes forever by God's withdrawal. Are then the perceptions, the lively emotions, the energetic volitions of your dog, all the perceptions, the emotions, the volitions of God himself in the dog? That is a very expensive solution. It is very nearly the solution of Descartes, who held animals to be automata; but centuries have failed to render it acceptable to the public mind. We will venture another solution or two.

Our first is suggested in our comment on 1 Cor. xv, 14: "Man is not immortal because he is a thinking substance, for brutes think; but because he is by God *placed in the conditions for immortality.* A lamp will burn forever if the conditions of carbon and oxygen are properly supplied. An animal would be immortal if placed by God in the conditions for its immortality." Now how easy the thought that paradise is rich with the atmosphere of life, the water of life, the tree of life! What better solution do we want? The tree of life in the original Eden was the preserver of immortality, and man was removed from it to prevent his living forever; but in the new Eden of Rev. xxii the immortalizing tree of life is restored. In other words man, unlike brutes, is immortal by being placed in the conditions of immortality.

Next, how beautifully coincides with this view St. Paul's trinality of man as *body*, *soul*, and *spirit*. Man shares the animal body and animal soul with the lower animals. That much he is an animal. Had he nothing more, there would be nothing to indicate but that he would, like the animals, perish forever. But we all know that over and above the set of mere animal faculties man has an overlay of *spirit*, in which reside his conceptions of infinity, eternity, immortality, with sublime premonitions that he is candidate for the high region to which these belong. He is as clearly destined for the region and atmosphere of immortality as the live chick in the shell is destined for the light of the sun. His going to a future perpetuity of woe in "everlasting fire" is a sad mistake; for that "fire" was "prepared for the devil and his angels."

Studies in Theism. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, and Author of "The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer." 12mo., pp. 444. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Professor Bowne's volume is a hard nut for the book-noticers to crack. Those penetrative gentlemen generally expect by scanning title-page, analytic table of contents, running titles, and a little fumble over of the pages, to obtain a notion of the general structure and drift of the book, and thereby to play off a cheap omniscience upon their readers in a masterly critique. But to such prying processes his book is very tight and opaque. If they intend to know what are his subjects, and what he says about them, they must honestly read the solid contents. A somewhat generic title, and eleven concise and sometimes enigmatical chapter-headings, are all he vouchsafes. Perhaps most of his readers, even those of a metaphysical turn, would have preferred some introductory summarizing and some marginal guidances along the pages to enable them to shape their minds, preparatorily, to its drift of thought.

The general title reserves to the writer the privilege of giving a series of disquisitions on the theistic discussion without obligating him to a systematic proving of theism. Under the vague heading of "Knowledge and Skepticism" the first chapter discusses the nature of our certitude of a reality. What is the nature of our knowledge of objects, what its certainty, and what the true existence of the theory claimed to be known? This seems to common sense an unnecessary inquiry, until we realize how keenly and plausibly skepticism has shown that there is no reality in objects,

and no validity in our knowledge of them. Mr. Bowne is a sound realist. Externals are reals; our perception is true knowledge. Existence is not a mere seeming. A true reality is real for all minds, whether human, angelic, or divine. Angelic minds may know more of an object than our minds, but their *more* does not contradict or nullify our *less*. Hence, through all the stages of our eternal existence we are real persons in a real system.

The second chapter has two halves so distinct that they might well be two separate chapters with different titles. The former we would entitle *The rights of our emotional nature to a share in forming our faiths.* This topic is strikingly unfolded by our author. Skeptical criticism severely eliminates all *feeling* in discussing the questions of God and immortality. Their existence is to be decided by the bleakest logic. But our Professor ably shows that there are large departments of life and thought where what we may call *the logic of feeling* rules the decision. In esthetics and morals the taste and the conscience are the basis. And we may add that it is by the logic of feeling that all grand and elevating conclusions are attained both by the individual and the nation. What are honor, courage, integrity, chastity, patriotism, but feelings, the acceptance of whose dictates brings us to true and blessed results? Indeed, we may lay it down as a basal principle that *whatever faith is suited to work out the highest results for our nature is presumably true until demonstration proves it false.* And surely the faith in God, immortality, and retribution, is, beyond all question, conducive to the perfecting of our character and the elevation of our nature. The glaring fact that as Atheism spreads her gloomy shades over our age the most haggard Pessimism shows its awful face, is full proof that God and immortality are the true light of our life.

The contracted and meager spirit of the antitheists appears in its *monism.* Spinoza, Haeckel, with pantheists and theists generally, boast of reducing all things to a single primal substance. Is it not a poor, tame, groveling boast? Does not nature herself boast of her infinite variety, both of form and substance? The metal we hammer seems indestructible. But, beginning from that, what a series we can trace from the solidity of metal in the direction of the fluid, the subtle, and the spiritual! Metal, water, vapor, gas, electricity, luminiferous ether, force, "nervous current;" and, continuing in the same direction, we arrive at soul, spirit, God. Who can tell here at what point matter ceases and a new order of being commences? And when we get beyond ether, who need imagine that all the existences beyond can be classified un-

der the two categories of matter and spirit? Of the immaterial natures beyond, the probabilities are that there are an infinite variety of orders and species not limited to a dualism. Between us and God there is a vast vacant space which it is nothing but narrow-mindedness to deny to be filled with innumerable varieties of being. Scientists, *as such*, may rightly ignore them; but *as men* it ought to be relieving to their spirits to rise from mere materialities, and realize that the domain of our senses is but a small part of the boundless universe.

An extended and very able chapter upon "Mechanism and Teleology" replies to the atheistic argument derived from the apparently mechanical character of causes and effects in the system of nature. The writer maintains, with great beauty, a Deity *immanent* in the physical system. Perhaps there is here chance for a duello between Professor Bowne and Professor Hillman, who contributes an article in our present Quarterly on that topic. We have but one dissent to make from the positions of this chapter. The Professor thinks it a valid evasion for the atheist to say: "These apparently intellective forms and movements are from eternity. If they had a beginning, or a first organization out of chaos, then I admit that a designing mind would have been necessary. But as the order, mechanism, systemization is eternal, no anterior mind is necessary." Now we imagine it would be just as necessary in an eternal system as in a commenced one; in an infinite as a finite. An eternal intellectively-formed system needs an eternal intellect to account for its intellective quality. The intellectivity of the forms is a phenomenon, and every phenomenon must have its own cognate causative substratum. We judge every thing by its properties; and if we find intellection to be the property of a system of forms and events, then we must attribute an intellection to it adequate to the property; and if the property has always existed, then the intellection has always existed. An eternal effect (and here the effect is an eternal property) must have its eternal cause. Granting the actual eternity of matter, and the eternal organic character of its arrangements and operations, and God still seems a necessary eternal postulate.

On page 147 the Professor makes a defense of Edwardian necessitarianism against Professor Huxley, at which we were slightly amazed—amazed not because he defends Edwards, but because he defends him on grounds that appear so clearly untenable. In his address, "Are Animals Automata?" Professor Huxley claimed, very justly, that Edwards and Calvinism sustained his position that living beings were automata. To this our Pro-

fessor makes two replies: 1. That Huxley confounds "philosophic determinism with physical fatalism." To that Huxley would fairly reply, and we with him, that such distinction has no validity upon the point in question, namely, *the responsibility of man.* If the actions of an organism be necessitated to a given result, it makes no difference in the matter of responsibility whether the organism be a material or a psychological one. A mental machine fixed to a given result is just as fatalistic as a physical one. The fatalism consists in the *connection* of the items; that is, of the premises and results; not in the substance of which the items are made. 2. The Professor says that "Calvinists do not deny freedom." But they do. *Edwards denies any freedom of the will;* and so did Locke, and so did Hobbes. All our freedom, Edwards declares, is "a freedom to *do* as we please;" that is, as we will, which is not a freedom of will or volition at all, but a freedom of our body (or rather necessity of our body, making it "automatic") to obey the will and perform its behests. Their patching up a "rag baby," and calling it "freedom," is simply a chaff by which the Professor should not be caught. If our atheist decked the blind laws of nature with the name of God, would Professor Bowne admit that he believed in God? Or if a theologian denies that the *same body* rises again, and labels *the rising of the soul from hades*, or the *substitution of a new body*, with the title of *resurrection of the body*, would that make him a maintainer of the *resurrection of the body?* Having had the fortune, or misfortune, to write a book proving (to our own satisfaction) that there is no distinction, pertinent to responsibility, between volitional and mechanical necessity, and that Edwards denies freedom, and reduces man to automatism, we are graveled at the Professor's positions on this point, and are compelled to think that there is an important branch of psychology to be reconsidered.

Unitarian Affirmations. Seven Discourses given in Washington, D. C., by Unitarian Ministers. 12mo., pp. 175. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1879.

This minimum volume of Affirmations comes to us as a reminder that the Unitarianism of the earlier type—the type of Kirkland, Buckminster, and Dewey—has not gone up, or down, into Transcendentalism or Pantheism, but still stands, with the same cultured Christian-gentlemanly character. Its reliance on the sacred Canon is indeed more qualified; it generally seems to adopt not only science, but the doubtful inferences of some scientists from science;

but its identity is in a good state of preservation. We prefer the old to the new. Channing and Everett were less rackety, but every way preferable to Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson. It was with a cheerful repose, as if we were in good company, that our mind's eye ran over the pages of these Affirmations, generally more willing to affirm what they affirmed than to deny with their denials.

These *Affirmations* are made in seven sermons delivered on successive Sabbaths in a church at Washington, by seven eminent Unitarian ministers, on the leading topics of Unitarian thought. It is carefully premised that each affirmer of the seven is solely responsible for his own Affirmations.

Dr. F. H. Hedge unfolds *The Universal and the Special in Christianity*. His text is Acts x, 34, 35; upon which he tells us that the new developments of comparative theology have produced a new belief in the existing good points of ethnic religions and the salvability of virtuous Pagans. We do not know whether Dr. Hedge would be pleased or not to know that such belief is not new in Methodism. We did not wait for comparative theology to tell us that great consoling truth. Wesley quotes the very text of Dr. Hedge's sermon in proof of Dr. Hedge's view. Nay, going back to the old Arminianism of Holland, the same view was elaborately maintained by Curcellæus against the Calvinism of his day. Dr. Hedge goes on to state that the great special doctrine of Christianity is, not the Trinity, but the divine threefoldness as Father, God; as Son, Christ, as representing our human sonship of a divine Father; and as Holy Spirit, the blessed tempers inspired by the divine into the human.

James Freeman Clarke upon *The Bible*, pronounces it the chief of all books on the highest of all subjects, far above Vedas, Platonic Dialogues, and Wordsworthian Odes on Immortality. But though inspired, it is not infallible. The great value of the Bible seems to be that its highest excellence awakens in us a *sympathy* with highest excellence, and so inspires, purifies, and regenerates our moral feelings. He declares from Tholuck, that the high doctrine of Scripture was first invented by the early Protestants to counterbalance the Romanistic boast of an infallible man by setting up an infallible book—a statement of very doubtful accuracy. He draws a strong picture of the skepticism of a claim of infallibility which is contradicted by the internal Bible facts. He gives from Stanley an extremely wise reason why one biblical book, Esther, should not have the name of God in it. We suspect that the writer of Esther, if told that he had not mentioned the divine

name, would have been found as unaware of the fact as most of his ordinary readers. We suspect that there was no intention about it and no lesson to it.

Dr. Andrew Peabody discusses *God;* and holds the design-argument valid and satisfactory. Physical evil in the world he solves on the ground of moral discipline. Overcoming evils is a training, a manifestation, and a creation of moral strength of character. Hence a world of physical evils is a gymnasium for "muscular Christianity." The doctrine of "possibilities," with which Atheists attempt to invalidate the certainty of theism, is thus finely termed by Dr. Peabody, "Eternity is the adequate interpreter of the mysteries of time, not because it enables us to solve them all, but because it contains infinite possibilities of solution."

Rev. Brooke Herford discusses *Jesus Christ.* His view seems about identical with that stated by Renan, that Jesus was the greatest of religious geniuses. His maxims are the axioms of moral and religious truth. Of this view Mr. Herford gives the following admirable illustration:—

"In every branch there has been thus some strong, massive foundation laid. What is the practical foundation on which political economy has been built? Adam Smith's great work, 'The Wealth of Nations.' Who laid the foundations of all this infinitely varied science, that with microscope and note-book goes up and down the earth, observing facts, and from them generalizing laws? Every one acquainted with the history of thought at once answers, 'Lord Bacon.' See, I can give you an instance closer still. What is the 'foundation that has been laid' in geometry? That little work, over which I suppose most of us puzzled when at school—puzzled until the beauty of its great principles dawned on us like a revelation—that little work, 'Euclid.' What is it? That is the book which from before the time of Christ has been the practical foundation of geometrical study. It is simply the work of a man named Euclid, who, some three hundred years before Christ, was one of the professors in the great schools of Alexandria. So close is the parallel, you could imagine some admiring student of that old mathematician writing in Paul's very phrase, 'Other foundation of mathematics can no man lay than that is laid, which is this work of Euclid.' It would have seemed very presumptuous, no doubt; but see, it has turned out to be the fact! That work has stood as the one sure foundation of geometrical study for nearly three centuries longer than Christianity; and it is standing yet! It is men's practical

starting point in that matter. When they can see their feet on a 'Q. E. D.' of Euclid, they look no further; they feel they are then on the rock. And all students feel that the world owes a marvelous debt of gratitude to that old Egyptian teacher, who, though it was no new truth he was laying down, but simply some of the everlasting relations of things, yet so unveiled those everlasting relations, so put them in a simple way evident to all, that ever since they have been one of the steady lights of man. . . . The great truths of the Sermon on the Mount are as universally accepted as Euclid's axioms! The meaning of the good Samaritan is as certain as that of the forty-seventh proposition—and a great deal plainer!"

This must be candidly confessed to be a better putting of the authority of "the great religious genius" than Renan furnishes.

Passing the discourse of Dr. Briggs, on *Man*, and of Dr. Ellis, on the *Church*, we close with Rev. Mr. Calthrop, on *Heaven and Hell*. Here *hell* is *retribution;* and as the law of retribution is eternal so *hell is eternal*. Retribution is the justly evil consequence of evil doing. It is as sure, as irremovable, as God himself. As long as a man is in evil he is in an eternal hell. And every man in it had better get out of it by the shortest route. "Hell for man will last just as long as man chooses it to last. How long will the hell in Washington or New York last? Just as long as men and women of Washington or New York please. Let us then cease to ask, 'Is hell eternal?' Thank God it is, in the sense that eternally evil causes produce evil effects."

We have given our review of this *bookling*—a *βιβλίον* rather than a *βίβλος*—to inform our readers what is the present position of our Unitarian friends according to their most authentic self-exposition.

Anti-Theistic Theories: Being the Baird Lectures for 1877. By Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, in the University of Edinburgh. 12mo., pp. 555. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1879. [New York: Specially imported edition by Scribner & Welford. Price, $4 20.]

Professor Flint is author of a previous volume giving the positive evidences for Theism, and a first volume of "The Philosophy of History in Europe," containing the history of that philosophy in France and Europe. The present volume is counterpart to his "Theism," being an aggressive analysis and proximate refutation of the various theories opposed to Theism. The present Lectures are written in a free, fresh, lucid style; are intelligible to any well-informed reader, show considerable original power, a great mastery of the sub-

ject, and, mingling history and criticism with keen metaphysical logic, contrive to be very readable. Dr. Flint does not doff his gown as Divinity Professor. He writes with the earnestness of a Christian as well as the acuteness of a theologian. The bearings of each theory upon religion are fully and ably given. The Christian minister who desires a somewhat introductory work to the high discussion of the questions debated at the present day will find this a suitable work. We wish that Scribner & Welford could put the book in a cheaper form for the benefit of scanty pockets. The topics are Materialism, Ancient, Modern, and Contemporary or Scientific; Positivism, as founded by Comte and his school; Secularism, or popular English Atheism; Pessimism; and Pantheism. Under the head of Atheism is a very interesting analysis and history of Buddhism; and a discussion as to the existence of any atheistic tribes of the human race, with a sweeping refutation of Sir John Lubbock, who maintains the affirmative of that question. Professor Flint maintains that a thorough analysis shows that man is, in a proper sense, a religious being. The consciousness of his own supernatural relation is done up in the constitution of his being.

Are the Buddhists atheists? A startling fact, if a fact. For the Buddhists are the most numerous sect of religionists in the world; and if they are atheists, the reality of an atheistic religion presents itself as a concrete fact. But in truth Buddhism abounds in "gods many and lords many." Buddha or Gotama himself is not only a man, but a god of most stupendous attributes, far above the Greek Jupiter, through a marvelous apotheosis. The assertion that all tribes believe in gods, and so are not atheistic, does not mean that they believe in the true God of Christian Theism; but that they hold to supernatural beings, to whom they stand in definite relations. Both the Buddhist and the Greek polytheism seem to imply the probable cessation of the existence of their pantheon in some far future age; and for successional gods after that cessation no provision had been thought out. Yet free room was left for the provision when the time comes, so that even here there is no real atheism. But does not Buddhism affirm the doctrine of final annihilation, and, indeed, the utmost desirableness of annihilation? And does not such a doctrine upset all our claims of men's intuitive thirst for and hope of immortality? It cannot be doubted that the eloquent Gotama in his day taught that existence is an evil, and that the highest desirable attainment is to be released from it by utter nothingness. And, strange to say, he prescribed, as condition of this attainment, the most absolute saintly

purity of life and character. All human things are illusion; are lie, cheat, and misery. Withdraw all desire for, or attachment to, them. Live out of, pure from, and above, all existing things; and the reward shall be that you will sink into quietude and finally fade into nothingness. Such are the contradictions of our nature. Paul preached the consummation of well-doing to be glory, honor, immortality, and eternal life; Buddha preached it to be the bottomless pit of non-existence! What is the solution of this strange antithesis? We answer, we suppose that Buddha unaccountably overlooked the truth that misery does not consist in *existence* purely, but in the wretched conditions of our present existence. He did not entertain the conception that existence might be the basis of a blessedness and a glory well worthy of our highest desire. Paul freely admitted the illusiveness and misery of our existence. Very often in terms sounding very like (with a difference) a strain from India, he paints the woe of the groaning creation subject to vanity. But, unlike Buddha, he limits the picture to our earthly present and points to a renovation. Gotama ascribed illusion to all existence, and put his followers in the mental condition of the suicide who hopes to plunge through death into nothingness. This proves not that the love of life and immortality are not instinctive, but that our instinctive feelings may be overcome by counter mental forces. They are not extinguished, but overwhelmed. And this truth is illustrated by the fact that popular Buddhism stops just a little short of annihilationism, and is delightfully contented with a sweet repose—a soft long *nap*—just on its brink. Pure annihilationism is a high Buddhist ultraism. It reminds us of the sublime Calvinistic ultraism of Dr. Hopkins, who taught that justifying faith included a willingness to be damned to hell forever for the glory of God. This was a grand contradiction to our inborn instincts. But then it was this very *willingness* that saved from the dire result. The convicted sinner would then be *willing* just because he was *unwilling*—a very pretty kink. Thus do instincts elude and conquer dogmas. But the atheist and materialist cannot safely quote Buddhism in disproof of the great truth that man is truly a supernaturalistic being, predisposed to the hope of immortality.

Closely connected with this is Dr. Flint's very interesting chapter on the modern Pessimism of Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and Bahnsen. The original leader, Schopenhauer, taught not only that the world is not worth living in, but that it is the worst world possible; a clean contradiction of our optimistic theologians (with whom we agree) that it is the best world possible. Hartmann

does not claim that the actual world is the worst possible; but that it is worse than no world at all. Bahnsen maintains that the world, bad as it is, is not assured of any relief by non-existence. Man may be miserable immortally and the world detestable eternally. What reason can be given for the hope that either will be annihilated? It must be admitted that Bahnsen, like a true genius, adds a master stroke of misery to misery already complete.

Dr. Flint does not view Pessimism as merely an ingenious transient whim. It is born of Atheism. It is confirmed by the brutalism indicated by Darwinism. Concede there is no God, no immortality, and though Pessimism commits exaggerations, yet it may, says Dr. Flint, about justify the wish of Job, that he had never been born. Generally and sincerely adopted, suicide is likely to be an ordinary custom. At any rate, atheistic Pessimism furnishes the premises for its full justification; nay, its fair obligation. Schopenhauer is said, however, to have enjoyed life, wealth, and reputation with a zest—a proof that even with him instinct was stronger than dogma. He ought by his dogma to have voluntarily adopted the shortest and easiest route to death. God, immortality, Christianity, alone shed a relieving light on earth, and are the true remedies of Pessimism.

Systematic Theology. By MINER RAYMOND, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 517. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

Dr. Raymond's *system* is now complete. And a clear, symmetrical, royal system it is. Its study and complete mastery and possession by the mind would be a noble, healthy discipline for the intellect for any man, minister or layman. We have hundreds of laymen who should make a pleasure and profit of reading it through, and contemplating the grandeur of a true Christian theology.

The present volume, in style and thought, is equal to its predecessors. Its Two Parts are ETHICS and ECCLESIOLOGY. The former is a system of Moral Philosophy, the latter a treatise on Church Polity, and especially the Polity of our Methodist Episcopal Church.

In the Ethics Dr. Raymond shows himself a master. In Theoretical Ethics he lays down the principles of Obligation, Conscience, Virtue, Culture, etc. In Practical Ethics he applies those principles to the various duties of life.

On the profound questions moved in the discussion of Theoretical Ethics we coincide in almost every particular with our

author. As to what is called the foundation of obligation, we affirm, even more positively than he does, the doctrine of Butler.

Our position is that the idea of *right* arises ever on beholding the thing or combination of things that has *rightness*. Subjectively there is the idea of right; objectively there is, by intrinsic necessity, a rightness in the thing. This is, perhaps, no other than what Dr. Samuel Clarke meant by basing right in "the eternal fitness of things," though we should say that the *rightness* and the *fitness* are about the same thing. Right is eternally itself, and nothing else; nor can it be resolved into any thing else, any more than time or space. All the varied "foundations of obligation" assigned by thinkers immediately come to this. If you say *benevolence* is the basis, that is only saying that benevolence always has the quality of being *right*. If you say "the will of God," you only say the will of God is *right*. And so "utility" is *right*. And so we have no more difficulty in seeing when a subject can be called *right* than when an object can be called *blue*.

There are two objections only which Dr. Raymond considers as valid, but in which we cannot coincide with him. The first is Wesley's most fallacious remark that "the eternal relations of things existing in time is little else than a contradiction." Now the true doctrine is as old at least as Plato, that ideas are *noumenal* and eternal, while "things" are phenomenal and intrinsically temporal. The relations of space, of geometry, are eternal; and a structural universe can be brought into existence only under the laws of those relations. That is, there are "eternal relations of things existing in time." The relations of number are eternal; while it is impossible for a plurality of things to come into existence except under numerical relation. And so the relations of right are eternal; while it is impossible to bring a moral system into existence otherwise than under the eternal law of right. The other objection is that "there is always something back of the rightness which makes it right." Of course there is; just as there is something back of the blueness that makes it blue. There must be that combination of facts and things in which rightness inheres. The subject must be before the predicate can be imposed upon it. But that makes the quality predicated none the less real, simple, eternal, and ultimate.

Dr. Raymond's views of our polity are expressed with a manly explicitness and firmness, coinciding with the views of our founders, held at all times by the great body of our best thinkers, and lying at the bottom of the great success that has crowned

our history. Growlers there have always been, seceders there have sometimes been; and it never has been any very great loss to us on the whole when the growlers have become seceders. In no case has secession ever once been a great success. The seceding bodies, retaining generally our doctrines and spirit, have as individuals richly enjoyed the divine blessing, but have never been crowned with that enlargement and organic growth that indicate the divine blessing on their separation. Wesley sent us three ordinations which he and we originally meant to be fundamental and perpetual, and so we have these orders. Our founders and we have declared from the beginning, recording it on the very first two pages of our Discipline, that Wesley gave Coke "letters of Episcopal *orders;*" so that we hold the Episcopate to be truly an *order*. We have from our first complete organization styled ourselves "The Methodist Episcopal Church;" and so we are not Presbyterian, nor Congregational, nor Quaker, nor Mormon, but Episcopal. And yet we have not an iron-bound successional Prelacy, but a free, historical, voluntary Episcopacy.

Final Causes. By PAUL JANET, Member of the Institute, Professor of the Faculté des Lettres of Paris. Translated from the French by WILLIAM AFFLECK, B.D. With Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1878. 8vo., pp. 508. [Scribner & Welford's imported edition. Price, $6.]

The simultaneous appearance of three very able works upon our Quarterly table tells us where the present battle of thought rages. Materialism and Atheism have once more rallied to their old fight, and made defiant wager of battle. Their cause is the same old cause; the arguments are the same old arguments; but, taking science into an ostensible alliance, the methods and style appear so new that for awhile the Theistic camp seemed brought to a serious stand. Time had to be taken to study the new forms of the old onslaught, and the shout of triumph from the Satanic host has been unanimous and loud. As in the onset of the rebel forces upon our national capital in our late civil war, the assailants found the righteous cause unprepared for the contest, and more than one Bull Run has sent dismay to the center. But the methods are now fairly understood; the resources of war are being rapidly collected and arranged; and the shout of triumph will in due time be transformed into the groan of defeat.

Paul Janet speaks from Paris from amid the hosts of the aliens. He is a brave leader in the contest maintained with the positivists, experimentalists, idealists, and mystics, who are at the present

time making a Babel of French thought. His present work has been preceded by two treatises; one on the connection of *Brain and Thought*, and the other entitled, *The Contemporaneous Materialism*, which has been translated into English. The author is in sympathy with the school of Reid and Dugald Stewart, and in a prefatory note to this translation avows himself happy to be introduced to the English public through the medium of fine old metaphysical theistic Scotland.

The work may be considered on the whole a tolerably complete treatise on Theism, on the modern grounds, meeting the modern Atheistic argument. That argument dwells not so much upon the apparently teleological facts, as upon a denial that the connection of the facts, however design-like, are really teleological. Janet accordingly makes the reality of teleology his main battle-ground. Yet while he does this he gives us a full chapter of *facts;* facts drawn from modern science, mostly from the structure, organs, functions, and instincts of the human and animal frame-work. This adds interest and substantiality to the philosophical argument, relieving it much from an over-abstract character. Perhaps the most valuable chapter is that in which the *objections* of the antiteleologists are each, one by one, numerically arranged, fully, clearly, and fairly worded, presented to view, and furnished each with its fair and square full answer. Although he has hard opponents to deal with, his tone is respectful and candid, and we have not noticed that a single sarcastic turn of sentence escapes his pen. He writes with a French lucidity, uniformly sacrificing terseness to clearness, ever anxious, like a genial teacher, that both the difficulties and the solutions should be understood by even the popular reader.

A History of the Mass and the Ceremonies of the Eastern and Western Churches. By JOHN O'BRIEN, A.M., Professor of Sacred Liturgy in Mount St. Mary's College, Emmetsburgh, Maryland. Small 12mo, pp. 414. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1879.

Professor O'Brien, in a modest and chastely written preface, assures us that his work is faithfully drawn for popular use from a great variety of recondite sources; always original sources, where the name of the author quoted does not warn us that he has it second-hand. Its accuracy is attested by the signature in *fac simile* of John, Cardinal M'Closkey, and in plain type of "James, Archbishop of Baltimore." The interest of Professor O'Brien's book extends beyond the limits of his own communion. Protestants will be entertained

and instructed by a contemplation of the magnificent spiritual romance substituted in the place of the simple New Testament teachings, which subsequent Christian ages have built. The origin of the word Mass is probably post-biblical, and the ceremonies therein gathered around the plain original supper are in striking contrast with that origin.

Speaking of "Private Mass," in the which the priest is not only administrator but sole partaker, the Professor says: "The first daring attack made upon Masses of this kind was by the arch-heretic Luther himself, who declared that in a conversation which he had with the devil, it was revealed to him that such Masses were real idolatry."—P. 8. The authority for this statement, we are sorry to say, is second-hand; no other than "Bouvier, *Theol. Moral.*, iii, 224." Now when we reflect upon so extraordinary a statement, namely, that Luther gravely claimed that a part of his teaching was revealed to him by the devil, we are surprised and a little discouraged that our accomplished Professor did not tell us where the passage could be found in Luther's own words! We heretics have a written tradition that Luther once claimed to have encountered the devil as an intruding foe, and to have flung his inkstand at his infernal apparition. We have, also, authentic tradition that Luther's inkstand did a great deal of damage to the devil; and, also, to some others.

The Messianic Prophecies. Being the Laird Lecture for 1879. By PATON JAMES GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels, Author of a "Commentary on the Acts," etc. 12mo., pp. 368. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1879. [Scribner & Welford's imported edition. Price, $3.]

Dr. Gloag is a plain but clear and animated writer. His book is a much-needed and well-adapted manual on the subject of Messianic Prophecy. It brings into a small compass a lucid and systematic statement of the whole subject. Its arrangement might at first appear complex; but, upon full examination, it will be found to be a clear planning of a complex matter. His division into primary and secondary prophecies clears many obscurities; and his first, going briefly over each prophecy, and presenting a concise programme, reserving fuller treatment of the specialties that may occur in any one prediction for fuller analysis in supplements, will be found in practical use to be very advantageous. The whole concludes with the inferences, in favor of the truth of Christianity, in regard to the connection of Christianity with Judaism, the dignity of the Messiah, and the purpose of his coming. It is a rich theme for the pulpit.

Hints to Self-educated Ministers: Including Local Preachers, Exhorters, and other Christians whose Duty it may be to Speak more or less in Public. By JAMES PORTER, D.D., Author of the "Compendium of Methodism," "Helps to Official Members," "Revivals of Religion," "Comprehensive History of Methodism," etc. With an Introduction by Bishop W. L. HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., of the M. E. Church. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Dr. Porter's books, we have, we believe, before remarked, are drawn from real life. While he hesitates not to draw on an extensive reading for pertinent quotation, his main staple is very much home-made. In the present book he believes himself to be addressing a wide audience, as a great proportion of our ministry are self-educated; and, we may add, there always will be many such so long as native ability will rise to its level and the Church gives it fair play. But there are none of our young ministry who will not find the pages both readable and profitable. The suggestions are numerous, drawn from a rich experience, and available for practical life. But the book has one most unfortunate and surprising omission. It does not tell every hopeful minister to take, read, mark, and inwardly digest this, our excellent Methodist Quarterly Review!

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Recreations in Astronomy. With Directions for Practical Experiments and Telescopic Work. By HENRY W. WARREN, D.D., Author of "Sights and Insights," etc. With eighty-three illustrations, and maps of stars. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

In the last glimpse we caught of Dr. Warren, from the humble level of our Book-Table, we noticed with what velocity he was ransacking our lower creation in hunt for terrene elephants; but now we descry that he has "gone up." He has gone up to scrape acquaintance with "the planets as individuals," to play with the aerolites, pull off the wig of the sun, enjoy a swim among the nebulæ, take the measurements of the measureless, and finally knock us down with "the ultimate force." But he at last becomes terrestrial enough to go to the Harpers, and, by dint of paper of radiant whiteness and pictures of brilliant blackness, to lend a dainty beauty to the empyrean sublimity of his flights.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, LL.D. Vol. VIII. Pet–Re. 8vo., pp. 1086. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

This great work, of which the eighth volume is before us, is to be completed, as the editor hopes, in ten volumes, by the close of the

coming two years. In order to compress its matter within that bulk the present volume is the largest of the eight, and, we are inclined to think, the best. To the ten a supplement will be added, gathering up the mass of new matters which have been accruing while the work has been in progress. When printed, it will be the completest Cyclopædia of religious knowledge extant in any language. Its production is a work over which not only the learned author and munificent publishers, but the Church and country, have a just ground of honorable gratulation.

Such a work must, of course, freely avail itself of the accumulated labors of the predecessors in the same field. It must in time yield its own accumulated results to future laborers. "God buries his workmen, but carries on his work." Dr. Strong has freely absorbed all that was valuable in Smith and Herzog, which would be unpardonable had he not improved the quality and largely increased the quantity of total results. "The present work contains at least twice as many distinct articles as both those dictionaries put together, and includes thousands of subjects not mentioned in either of them. Many of these additional topics are of the gravest importance and the highest interest in religious literature." Nearly half the matter of this more than one thousand octavo pages is furnished, in addition to the revised articles of twenty-four contributors, by the editor himself. Who shall say that giant laborers in scholarship are confined to Germany alone?

Among the leading articles we have an elaborate one on Peter and his Epistles; a remarkable though brief article by Professor Worman on the Phallus, the strangest and among the most widely diffused and permanent of all human superstitions; a new treatment of the Pharaohs, tracing the biography of each one known in chronological succession; and a full discussion of the Pharisees. The Philistines are brought into clearer history, and even picture. One is glad to look upon the heads of two genuine Philistines taken from the Egyptian monuments. Professor Worman is, of course, at home in an article on Philo. Under Philology, Dr. Strong, we are pleased to say, records (from an article of his in our Quarterly) his list of words which are both Hebrew and Greek, not seldom being also German and English. We have a very clear little treatise on Philosophy. We have the latest intelligence, compactly summarized, from Phœnicia. Professor George F. Holmes, of the University of Virginia, contributes two brilliant articles—one on Plato and one on Cardinal Polignac. Under S. A. Peters we are sorry to notice that no mention is made of his two

celebrated amateur forgeries, namely, of the Connecticut Blue Laws, and of the Erasmian ordination of John Wesley to a Greek Episcopate. We wish better justice had been done to the splendid line of Arminian successors to Episcopius in the Remonstrant Theological School. Episcopius and Curcellæus have been well portrayed in former volumes; but neither Cattenberg, nor Leclerck, in former volumes, nor Poelemburg in this, have had their due. More than forty pages are devoted to Presbyter and Presbyterians. The editor gives the latest view of the Red Sea and its passage by the Israelites.

Specially noted will be the article on Pre-Adamites, by Professor Winchell, foot-noted by the editor. We do not yet see any compulsory reasons derived from scientific discoveries for changing the view heretofore accepted for centuries that Adam was the first of the human race. Yet it is an open question. And so we approve the editor's giving Dr. W. a full hearing, with an entered editorial dissent. We are not clear that the professor's article adduces any argument not answered, patiently and forcibly, in the elaborate work of James C. Southall, on "The Antiquity of Man." At the same time so many have been the compulsory retractions and ignominious break-downs of scientists on the subject that modesty ought to induce them to make moderate demands. And in this connection we call attention to Mortillett's statements, noticed on another page, that the fossils adduced from the lower strata are, after all, not the relics of *men*, but of *anthropoids*, beings of a lower species. And such a fact, while the present races furnish little valid proof of pre-Adamitism from physiology, greatly removes all force from the argument from geology.

Yet, on the other hand, we do not quite see how Dr. Strong can be satisfied with his own presentation of biblical chronology. In his article on Chronology he makes the flood terminate at about B. C. 2500; in his work on Egypt Menes reigned B. C. 2400, which brings Menes a century after the flood. Even this is admitted by no standard Egyptologist—Poole alone giving Menes' date at about 2700, which brings it before the flood according to Dr. S., and still earlier before according to Usher. Now how could the race have leaped so nimbly from Ararat to the Nile as to found a kingdom in Egypt in a single century or so? We want at least five hundred years. Nor do they seem any way attainable unless we go with Rawlinson to the Septuagint, which Dr. Strong peremptorily prohibits. But the problem still remains. Wanted five hundred years between the deluge and Menes.

Moses the Lawgiver. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. 12mo., pp. 482. New York: Harper & Bros. 1879.

This volume is one of a series of five; the others treating of Daniel the Beloved, David King of Israel, Elijah the Prophet, and Peter the Apostle.

Moses the Lawgiver is a worthy subject for the pen of the political economist as well as the theologian. The wild conjecture of the skeptic that Moses borrowed both his civil polity and his religious system from the Egyptians finds its refutation on every page of the Pentateuch. Egypt worshiped a hundred gods: Isis and Osiris, Horus, the Sun, the Moon, and the rest. Egypt regarded bulls, cats, snakes, apes, bugs, and onions, as sacred objects, and was given to the lowest forms of idolatry. Yet Moses taught in explicit terms the doctrine of the divine unity, and demolished at a blow all worship of nature. The Egyptians held, also, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. This error Moses also discarded. In Egypt all lands were the property of the sovereign or the priests. Moses, long before the Israelites entered Canaan, (Num. xxvi, 55,) directed that the land should be divided by lot among the people, and that the portion of each family should be forever inalienable. Here is one of the wisest provisions of the whole system. The dark shadow which seems to follow modern civilization is the gradual formation of a hopeless class of people who are born to a heritage of vice and crime, from which no adequate means of escape have been devised by either statesman or philanthropist. The Mosaic laws of inheritance go far in the direction of a remedy. Even Mr. Bergh's benevolent labors in behalf of the brute creation are foreshadowed in certain of these ancient regulations. In a word, the Mosaic dispensation was immeasurably superior to all other civil systems existing at the time; and if Moses was not taught of God, he was by far the mightiest intellect which all the ages have produced.

We are glad that Dr. Taylor in this admirable volume has called renewed attention to the great Hebrew and his work. The twenty-six lectures trace the life of Moses, and discuss, in a style suited for general readers, the wealth of material for thought disclosed in the Scripture narrative. The author's style is beautifully clear and unpretentious, depending less upon rhetorical devices than the simple grandeur of the theme. The general reader will learn from Dr. Taylor's book to admire what he, perhaps, had wholly failed to appreciate; and the young biblical student will feel that he has struck a "lead," whose rich treasures will amply repay more thorough research.

History of the English People. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A. Volume III. 8vo., pp. 451. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

We welcome heartily the appearance in American dress of the third volume of this magnificent history. It nobly sustains the high expectations we expressed in presenting the first volume to our readers in the Quarterly Review for April, 1878. It is occupied mainly by the seventh book, on "Puritan England," covering the period from 1603 to 1680, and gives also the first ten years of the eighth, on "The Revolution," closing with the explosion of the Popish plot and the death of Shaftesbury.

The volume opens with a brilliant description, running through thirty pages, of the condition of England at the death of Queen Elizabeth, which is characterized as one of the turning-points of English history. It notices the growth of social wealth, and of the national and religious spirit, and the influence of the Bible upon literature, social life, and religion, which brings it to the consideration of Calvinism, and so of Puritanism in itself and in its relation to the people, to the Church, to politics, to the crown, to society, and to culture, and then to the rising Arminianism. This discussion is peculiarly in place in a history of the people of England, and is a fitting prelude to the narration of the events of the struggle, which properly begins with the second chapter. The same fact, namely, that the work is a history of the *people*, has led to the writing of the narrative from the people's standpoint. The struggle is of the people against James and Charles, rather than of James and Charles against the people. Thus, more clearly than in other English histories, are we able to see the real causes of, and steps in the development and growth of English institutions.

Mr. Green is a most delightful writer. His periods flow as smoothly as Macaulay's, and they have the fire of Motley, but are without the glassy coldness of the former, or the occasional roughness of the latter. He is the peer of both, and sometimes surpasses them, in vigorous philosophic thought and power of logical expression. He is master of the art of so placing events in their proper relation that they are plainly seen to follow one another according to all known laws of human action, as effect follows its cause.

Anticipating with pleasure the issue of the fourth and final volume, we commend the work to our readers as eminently worthy of a place in their libraries on the same shelf with their choicest books.

Periodicals.

The Wesleyan Christian Advocate.

Dr. Atticus Haygood's excellent paper, published at Macon, Georgia, for August 30, has the following significant passage in a letter reporting the proceedings of the British Conference for the current year:—

> Then the African Methodist Episcopal Church was very enthusiastically represented by Bishop Campbell. Of this Bishop and his address the "London Methodist" has this to say: "In the open Conference the speech of the Rev. Dr. Campbell, representative of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was the most effective of the evening. Dr. Campbell is a negro, very clever and eloquent. His address made many glorify God for his work among the colored people of the Southern States of America.

It must be noted that the word "clever" is a vile Anglicism about synonymous with our "vile Americanism," *talented*. And from the passage it appears that one colored Church of our country at any rate has been able to find a man for Bishop able to command the admiration of English Methodism. And it also seems that even a paper of the Church South is able to publish the fact that a colored Bishop bears the palm before a gifted English audience. We are unable to say whether there is in the colored ranks of our own Church the man who would do honor to the high office of Bishop or not. But we believe it very desirable that if there be the man, he should be found, both because he is fit for the office, and because he is an Afric-American. We do not, indeed, much desire to encourage the ambition of colored men for political office. We cannot but think that if the Southern whites would concede the undisturbed right of negro suffrage, and the negro concede the privilege of the official position for a while, a peaceful compromise of present difficulties might be attained. But in the Church it is different. The colored men of our own Church are very likely to view the reasons for the non-election of a colored Bishop at this time as evasions. A spirit of distrust will very probably arise, and the loyal feeling be abated. In the argument with the other colored Churches the balance will be against us. A colored Bishop, if elected, might perhaps hardly be acceptable, unless preeminently qualified, to some of the Conferences; but to such Conferences he would desire not to go, and the arrangements would be made in the Board of Bishops in accordance with the existing preferences of both sides.

But it is from broader than denominational interests we would argue the question. The elevation of the colored race to a proper position as men and citizens can be at present done less by

political than by humanitarian methods. Enable the Afric-Americans to possess and display a higher value of intrinsic character, and oppression will, in due time, be ashamed of itself. The schools, the Churches, the literature of the day can work this transformation. Every negro of commanding ability brought into position to exhibit his quality gives a lift to his race. A Frederic Douglass, a Langton, a Blyden, a Greener, a Campbell, is a refutation of the lie that condemns the race to serfdom. Our Church has largely led the way in redeeming the colored people, and we are sure that our next General Conference will not falter in its duty. The time now is, when, here at the North, the man who sustained the cause of slavery begins to feel that a more than African blackness rests upon his reputation.

The Theological and Homiletic Monthly. By Rev. R. N. Sledd, D.D., Editor and Publisher. $2 50 per annum, in advance. 12mo., pp. 80. Richmond, Va.; George W. Gary, Printer. 1879.

A graceful literary and religious magazine, started by a talented minister of the Church, South, that has attained the seventh number, and "still lives." Long may it live. It need make no apology for existence. It gathers a fine collection of gems, original and selected, of essay, exegesis, sermon, and disquisition, with contributions from the editor's own facile pen. It seems a bold single-handed enterprise; but it supplies a want, and we hope it will win an ample and permanent support from the large ministry and membership of the Church, South.

Miscellaneous.

Missions and Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By J. M. Reid, D.D. Two vols. 12mo., pp. 471, 462. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

These very valuable volumes came too late for a book notice.

Pastor and People; or, Methodism in the Field. By Rev. T. H. Potts. With an Introduction by Rev. J. M. Reid, D.D. 12mo., pp. 278. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

A very readable and pertinent series of miscellaneous paragraphs on a variety of topics connected with our interests and usefulness as a Church.

China and Japan. A Record Made of Observations during a Residence of Several Years in China and a Tour of Official Visitation to the Missions of Both Countries in 1877–78. By I. W. Wiley, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo., pp. 548. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1879.

We expect to furnish a full article in review of Bishop Wiley's very interesting volume.

Impressions of Theophrastus Such. By George Eliot. 12mo., pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

Studies on the Baptismal Question; Including a Review of Dr. Dale's "Inquiry into the Usage of *Baptizo.*" By Rev. David B. Ford. 8vo., pp. 416. Boston: H. A. Young & Co. New York: Ward & Drummond. 1879.

Chautauqua Library of English History and Literature. Vol. I. From the Earliest Times to the Later Norman Period. 8vo., pp. 204. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Sermons and Lectures. By WILLIAM ELBERT MUNSEY, D.D. 12mo., pp. 481. Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co. 1879.

The Orator's Manual. A Practical and Philosophical Treatise on Vocal Culture, Emphasis, and Gesture, together with Selections for Declamation and Reading. By G. L. RAYMOND, M.A. 12mo., pp. 342. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

A True Republic. By ALBERT STICKNEY. 12mo., pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

The African Repository, July, 1879. (Washington City: Published by the American Colonization Society.)

The Expositor, June, 1879. Edited by Rev. SAMUEL COX. (London: Hodder & Stoughton.)—1. Ecclesiastes, chapter i, verses 1–11. 2. Christ Demanding Hatred. 3. The Book of Job.—VI. The Soliloquy of Job, Second Monologue. 4. A Word Study in the New Testament; Part II. 5. Annas and Caiaphas.

July.—1. The Rhetoric of St. Paul. 2. The Book of Job.—VI. The Soliloquy of Job, Second Monologue. 3. A Word Study in the New Testament; Part III. 4. Ecclesiastes, chapter i, 12–18. 5. A Biblical Note.

August.—1. The Paradox of Christian Ethics. 2. The Book of Job.—VII. The Intervention of Elihu. 3. The Second Epistle of Timothy. 4. Zion the Spiritual Metropolis of the World. 5. The Christology of St. Paul. 6. A Biblical Note.—Gal. i, 19.

September.—1. Ecclesiastes, chapter ii, verses 1–11. 2. The Book of Job.—VII. The Intervention of Elihu. 3. The Second Epistle to Timothy, Chap. i. 4. Abraham Justified by Faith. 5. Additional Note on Rom. ix, 5.

ART. XI.—REV. REUBEN NELSON, D.D.

THE Rev. REUBEN NELSON, Doctor of Divinity, whose recent death has so filled the Church with sorrow, was born in Andes, in the State of New York, December 18, 1818, and died at his residence in the city of New York, February 20, 1879; so that at the time of his death he had just entered on the sixty-first year of his age.

He was awakened to a sense of his sins and brought to Christ when he was fifteen years old, and immediately upon his conversion he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and from that time onward till his death he was an active, devout, earnest, and sincere Christian, strongly attached to his own Church, and yet bearing a heart full of fraternal love to all true Christians of every name.

From the beginnings of his religious life his intelligent zeal in Christian work was so conspicuous as clearly to foreshadow his subsequent successful career as a public preacher and teacher of the Christian faith. At the early age of seventeen years he was regularly licensed as an ex-

horter, and began under this authority to hold meetings for prayer and exhortation. In the exercise of his gifts and duties in this office he was so acceptable to the people and so successful in his work, and the fruit of his labors was so abundant, that no one doubted that he was truly called of God to the ministry of his word, and within one year from the time he received license to exhort he was licensed to preach the Gospel. It has occurred but seldom in the history of our Church that one so youthful in years has been thrust into an office of so great solemnity and responsibility, and his rapid promotion by the spontaneous suffrage of his brethren who knew him most intimately bears testimony to the exalted place he held in their affection and confidence.

Believing himself to be called of God to the office and work of the holy ministry, and being convinced of the importance of a thorough education to fit him for the highest usefulness in his vocation, he devoted himself at once to academic studies, and prosecuted his course with untiring industry and with distinguished success.

In August, 1840, being then in the twenty-third year of his age, he was admitted on trial in the Oneida Annual Conference, and was appointed as the third preacher on Otsego Circuit. At the Conference of 1841 he was appointed as the third preacher on Westford Circuit. During these two years he did his work faithfully and successfully on the circuits to which he had been assigned, and at the same time fulfilled the duties of Principal of the Otsego Academy, located at Cooperstown, in the State of New York.

In 1842 he passed his examinations in the Conference studies, was admitted into full connection in the Conference, ordained to the Order of Deacons in the Church, and appointed Principal of the Academy which had already been under his supervision the two preceding years. Near the close of this year a partial paralysis of the vocal organs made it impossible for him to speak aloud, and he was compelled to resign his place in the institution over which he had presided with notable ability for three years.

At the Conference of 1843 his name was placed in the list of superannuated preachers, a relation in which he remained for one year. During a portion of this year he was employed as a private tutor, teaching Latin and Greek to some young men who were preparing for college, though he was obliged to give his instructions most of the time in a whisper. By the close of the year he had so far recovered his voice as to able to resume his work in the ministry.

In the year 1844 the Oneida Conference founded the Wyoming Seminary, in the beautiful and historic Wyoming Valley, locating it at Kingston in the State of Pennsylvania, just across the Susquehanna River from the city of Wilkesbarre; and, as was eminently fitting, in view of his scholarship, character, and reputation, Reuben Nelson was appointed its first principal. He held his position at the head of this school, and conducted its affairs with distinguished ability and success through a period of twenty-eight years; excepting only two years—the Conference

years of 1862–63 and 1863–64—during which he was the Presiding Elder of the Wyoming District, within whose bounds the Seminary was located, and during even these two years his molding and guiding hand was in no small degree upon the institution. During the Conference year of 1868–69 he did double duty, being at the same time Presiding Elder of the district and Principal of the Seminary, fulfilling the duties of both offices to the satisfaction and delight of the Church and of the friends and patrons of the institution.

His relation to the Conference and to the Seminary necessarily entailed on him various and varied services. As a preacher and as a teacher, in the pulpit and in the recitation and lecture room, his duties were exacting and incessant; still he met to the full all reasonable demands upon his time and strength, and did it, too, with an unfaltering devotion to every interest confided to his care by the Church. Under his wise and vigorous administration of its affairs for well-nigh a score and a half of years the Wyoming Seminary grew to be the chief educational center of the beautiful valley whose name it bears. It stands a monument of his wise forecast, patient toil, and unfaltering energy, one of the very best institutions of its grade in the land. The country has felt its influence and power. Its graduates are numerous and notable. They have come to usefulness and honor in the holy ministry, and in other lines of Church work, both at home and abroad; they have attained to eminence in the learned professions, and occupy high places of dignity and trust, as legislators, jurists, and statesmen, while multitudes in less conspicuous positions adorn the various other departments of churchly, secular, and social life.

As an educator Dr. Nelson had few equals, and perhaps no superiors. He was scholarly in his tastes and in his acquirements, and he was "apt to teach." In acknowledgment of his liberal and varied learning, and of his distinguished success in the line of his profession, Union College conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts, and Dickinson College that of Doctor of Divinity.

Dr. Nelson possessed in large measure the esteem and confidence of the members of his own Conference. In 1852 the Oneida Conference was divided. One portion of it retained the old name, and the other was called Wyoming, as it comprised within its bounds the beautiful valley bearing that name. In this division the Seminary and its Principal fell to the new Conference. In 1858 he was chosen Secretary of that body, and was unanimously re-elected by acclamation at every succeeding session till the one of 1870, at which time, because of the increasing and pressing demands of other duties, he declined to serve any longer in the office.

In 1860 he was chosen a delegate to the General Conference to meet that year in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., and he has been a delegate to each General Conference since that time, receiving a larger number of votes each time he was chosen than was given to any other delegate from his Conference, being thus by the immemorial usage of the Church placed at the head, and made the chairman of his delegation.

He was an active and useful member of the General Conference, always serving on important committees, and contributing his full share of influence in directing and controlling the action of that body. At the General Conference of 1876 he was chosen by the Committee on Episcopacy to preside over its deliberations, and the duties of this chairmanship were discharged with ability and success.

In 1872 Dr. Nelson was elected Agent of the Methodist Book Concern, in the city of New York, and also Treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In both these offices he was the immediate successor of the Rev. Thomas Carlton, D.D., who had worthily held both of these positions of honor and of trust without interruption for a fifth of a century. In this new and untried sphere of toil and care Dr. Nelson manifested the same keen insight and foresight, and displayed the same energy and enterprise, that had always characterized his conduct in every place and duty assigned him by the Church. He succeeded to this agency in troublous times. The Book Concern had just passed through a most trying ordeal. Its former management had been fearfully assailed and maligned, not only in private circles both within and without the Church, but also in commercial communities, and in the public prints throughout this country and in other lands, thus begetting great hesitancy and distrust every-where in relation to its affairs. Although the results of the most careful and exhaustive scrutiny that could be made by competent and skilled accountants had signally failed to justify or even to excuse the slightest suspicion of the honesty of its Agents or of the solvency of the institution, yet the vigorous and persistent assaults upon both strongly tended to overthrow its credit and destroy its usefulness. Moreover, the financial affairs of the country were greatly disturbed. Many commercial houses of long-established and wide-spread reputation for solvency and strength were utterly ruined, while others survived as but the wreck of their former greatness. It was difficult, and, indeed, hazardous to do business at all; and yet, aided by the judicious counsel and co-operation of his associate, Mr. John M. Phillips, Dr. Nelson carried forward the publishing interests which had been committed to him with such carefulness, wisdom, and success as fairly to earn and command the confidence of the Church, and of the whole business community as well, in his ability and integrity; and the General Conference of 1876 showed its appreciation of the administration by re-electing unanimously and by acclamation both the Agents for another term.

From the organization of the Missionary Society onward till 1876 the Missionary Treasurer of the Church had been chosen by the Missionary Society itself or by its Board of Managers. A change in the Charter of the Society recently made had transferred the authority to appoint that office to the General Conference, and Dr. Nelson was unanimously elected to that position. He held this office and discharged its duties with signal success until his death, when he was succeeded by his surviving associate, Mr. Phillips.

The same energy and sagacity which distinguished the administration of Dr. Nelson during the first term of his agency were not a whit abated in the second. With an unselfish devotion to his trust, he studied and planned and toiled when he ought to have rested, otherwise he might have lived to labor longer for the Church. For weeks before he was brought down by his last illness his friends perceived that his health did not seem as firm as usual, and he was advised by them to rest a little from his wearing toil. He was all oblivious to his real condition, though it occasioned the keenest solicitude among his friends, and he persisted in constant attention to the duties of his office until within three weeks of his death, at which time he became seriously sick, suffering from an attack of malarial fever which soon assumed a typhoid type. The disease yielded so far to skillful medical treatment that he was able to walk about his room on the Saturday evening preceding his death; and he received the congratulations of his physicians and friends on his improved condition and the prospect of his speedy recovery, and both he and they anticipated his complete restoration to health in a short time. But within a very few minutes afterward, while walking across the floor, he was suddenly stricken down with paralysis, which extended to the entire left side of his body. He became insensible at once, and, with the exception of two or three brief periods of consciousness, he continued in that condition till his death, which occurred on the following Thursday, at ten minutes past four o'clock in the morning. Thus closed an honorable, active, and useful life.

"Servant of God, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past;
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crowned at last.

"With saints enthroned on high
Thou dost thy Lord proclaim,
And still to God salvation cry,
Salvation to the Lamb."

It may be of interest to note in connection with the decease of Dr. Nelson, that, of the whole number of Agents of the Book Concern both East and West, only three have died in office. Rev. John Dickins, the first one of the long list, died in 1799, and Rev. E. Cooper was appointed to fill the vacancy. In 1808 Revs. John Wilson and Daniel Hitt were appointed, and Mr. Wilson died in 1810. So that for near seventy years the official ranks have been undiminished by death. In 1856, just before his term of office expired, the venerable and venerated Dr. Bond, Editor of "The Christian Advocate and Journal," departed this life. He (in 1856) and Dr. Nelson (in 1879) are the only officers appointed by the General Conference to an agency or editorship in New York, with the exceptions above referred to, for nearly a century, who have died while holding office, though some of them saw many years of service.

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